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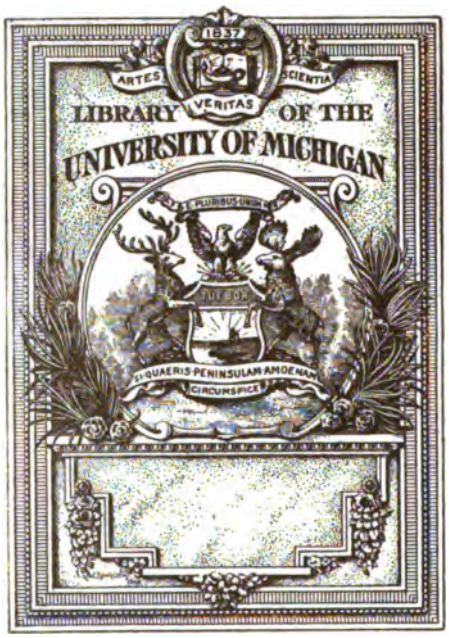
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METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1895.

ART. I.—NATURAL AND SUPERNATURAL.

THAT the natural is or is not all-embracing is one of the perennial contentions. It is also one in which partisan spirit has to an unusual degree taken the place of thought and logical obligation. It is plain that this question cannot be profitably discussed without some definite conception of what we mean by nature and the natural; but in place of definition we have all too often only mutual belaboring on the part of the respective champions. In popular thought the notion of nature is supposed to be perfectly clear; whereas, in fact, it is in the highest degree obscure and uncertain. It is this fictitious clearness and real obscurity which explain the desultory and sterile character of the debate concerning the range and realm of the natural.

And yet this antithesis of natural and supernatural is one of the most important in our thought. It contains the reason of the opposition of science and religion, so far as that opposition has an intellectual root. Whoever will reflect upon the arguments on this subject will see that they all depend upon a certain conception of the natural. Evolution would never conflict with religion but for a peculiar conception of the natural. No one would ever have dreamed of a conflict between science and religion but for a particular conception of the natural. In history, also, all alleged supernatural occurrences are to be looked upon either as fictions or as misunderstood natural events. A natural interpretation is demanded, and this is held to exclude the supernatural. Thus the natural and the super-

natural are set up as mutually exclusive, and in the name of this opposition a deal of unprofitable, and some mischievous, talking is done. It is worth while, therefore, to attempt to clear up the problem, not so much with the aim of solving as of understanding it. In any case, we cannot hope to solve it unless we first understand it. Nature and natural have, of course, a great variety of meanings; but in this discussion they will be limited by their antithesis, the supernatural.

When we are seeking to define the natural a first thought is to limit it to the world of matter, leaving spirit and the spiritual as something apart. But the natural, as the antithesis of the supernatural, is by no means confined to the physical realm. The reign of law is soon discovered in the inner world, and thus, gradually, the spiritual also is drawn into the sphere of the natural. Mental movements, as well as physical changes, arise naturally. Certain fixed ways of grouping and happening are found in the inner world as well as in the outer. Life, mind, society, all human activity and progress, are said to be subject to laws as fixed as those of the planets. They may be more complex and less easily discerned, but they are as absolute and unyielding as the law of gravitation. When this announcement is made with due emphasis and proper rhetorical embellishment it never fails to produce a sensation. If the untrained bystander chance to be antireligious in his disposition he hastens to conclude that certainly religion, and probably God, must go. If he be religious in his tendencies he begins to look about somewhat anxiously for breaks in the "iron chain" and queries whether science be not the true antichrist. If he be one of the clergy the performance varies according to the ecclesiastical type; but, in any case, "science falsely so called" comes in for sundry disparaging remarks.

The grounds of this flurry are not far to seek. First, an order of law is discovered, and this is forthwith transformed into necessity. This is next connected with the crude metaphysics of uncritical thought, and nature is at once erected into a mechanical and self-sufficing system, and its laws are made self-executing necessities. The movement is completed when finally nature is hypostasized as a cause and, under the form of "Nature," appears as a very able cosmic manager. By this time the speculator is prepared to maintain natural causation against

supernatural, and continuity and uniformity against miraculous break and irruption. If there be any supernatural, which is increasingly doubtful, it is deistically conceived as something perhaps necessary to set the system agoing, but, at present, without any assignable function. And if the supernatural should manifest itself in the system it could be only by violence and arbitrary irruption. Every practiced reader is familiar with this line of thought.

Now, that in all this the speculator is under the unsuspected influence of all the idols, both of the tribe and of the den, is manifest upon a little reflection. Two things quite distinct are confused: first, the observed order, and, second, its cause. That observation reveals only the order of coexistence and sequence, and does not extend to causation, is a commonplace of modern philosophy. The order of being and happening must be learned from experience. The nature of the cause or causes is a problem of speculation. The inductive problem might be solved without touching the speculative; and there might be complete agreement in the report of observation, with the widest divergency in the speculative explanation. But the crude speculator never masters this distinction, and oscillates confusedly between nature as an observed order and nature as a system of necessary, generally material, causation. There can be no progress in this discussion until these questions are sharply and finally distinguished. Matter, as a general name for the bodies about us, is an undeniable fact; but matter as cause is a very obscure notion, and, indeed, it may well be doubted if there is any such thing. Nature, likewise, as the observed order of things and events, is a perfectly clear conception; but "Nature" as cause, as self-administering system, is a piece of more than doubtful metaphysics.

And now, possibly, we shall best work our way into the subject by attempting to define a natural event. It is a somewhat roundabout way; but we shall thus best get an insight into the metaphysics implicit in the current view.

As a matter of experience we find that things and events are connected with other things and events in certain ways. There is an order discernible in their happening and their mutual relations. Such an order we call a law. Among these laws themselves we find a higher order, which unites them into a system.

Thus, we are led to think of a system of law which embraces all events and prescribes to each its nature and position in the whole. Events thus connected by law with other events, so that they are not something anomalous and discontinuous, but cases of a kind or exemplifications of a rule, we call natural. The system which embraces all things and events we may call nature. In so doing, however, we must recognize that this conception of nature transcends experience. Nature is not given as a systematic whole; only the natural event is given, that is, the event which is connected by rule with other events. Let us keep, then, to the natural event, and postpone the consideration of "Nature."

Of course, this view of a natural event does not imply a rigid monotony of events. The continuity of natural law is compatible with great phenomenal discontinuity. We often have apparent departures from the apparent order; but, on closer inspection, it is found that the essential order of law is maintained, even in its seeming infraction. Thus, an earthquake may be a departure from the accustomed immobility of the earth's crust; but it is, nevertheless, the outcome of the familiar laws of physics. Thus, again, the freezing of water in a flame seems like a contradiction of natural law; and yet the laws of physics are not violated, but rather illustrated by this fact. And so we easily come to believe that all events are bound up in an order of law, and that if we knew all we should find even the most anomalous events falling into line. Having once mastered this distinction between essential continuity and phenomenal discontinuity, we become somewhat tolerant, even of apparently miraculous stories; only nothing of the supernatural must be allowed in them. Cures, at shrines or by means of relics or holy water or by formulas of blessing or exorcism, become quite credible if we may view them as cases of the influence of the mind on the body. Even witches, who have long been under the ban, are becoming a fairly intelligible folk since the development of hypnotism.

A natural event, then, is one which is comprised in an order of law and is explained by it. It is easy to agree with the first part of this definition. It affirms simply an order of coexistence and sequence among things and events, and says nothing about their causation or dynamic connection. On this view

we might even regard nature as only the orderly form under which a divine purpose is being continuously realized by a continuous divine activity. But the second part of the definition contains a trace of metaphysics. The natural event is said to be explained by the order of law. Much depends, therefore, on the meaning of explanation.

Explanation is of several forms. An event is said to be explained when it is seen to be a case of a kind, or when it is seen to be an implication of the laws which concur in its origination, or when it is referred to its efficient cause, or when it is related to a purpose. In the first case we merely classify the event and say nothing of causation. In the second case we connect the event with other events; but we still leave the problem of causation untouched. In the third form our thought is metaphysical; and in the fourth form it is teleological. In which of these senses is the natural event explained by the order of law? Criticism would show that it is only in the first two senses that we have a natural explanation. What lies beyond these is metaphysics and teleology. But our spontaneous dogmatism, when brightened up by a little not very profound reflection, will insist that a natural event is causally or dynamically explained by its antecedents. Nature is not only a phenomenal order, but a dynamic system which, for the present, at least, works itself out according to the law of the conservation of energy, neither losing anything to an extranatural region nor suffering any irruption from without. And within this system the antecedents causally explain the consequents. This constitutes it natural.

This view seems almost self-evident, as it has our native sense-dogmatism and, apparently, the law of causation also in its favor. The former element is shown in its baselessness by criticism, and the appeal to the law of causation identifies the general principle of causation with a particular conception of it. But the general conviction that events must have a cause does not decide the nature or location of the cause. The causation need not be in the series of events at all, but may rather lie in something which is distinct from any or all of them. A series of thoughts has no dynamic relations among the thoughts composing it, although they may succeed one another according to law. The proper causality, however, is not to be found in the thoughts

themselves, but rather in the one mind which is not the thoughts, but rather their common source and bond. It is possible that this conception applies to the causation of all phenomena. Whatever Hume may have done with causation in general, he certainly succeeded in making physical causation a very questionable conception.

But the conception of nature, as a system of mechanical and unpurposed causation, still dominates uncritical thought. We cannot, indeed, follow the order of natural causation by any continuous logical movement. We are not able to trace the antecedents into the consequents, or to find the consequents in the antecedents, or to see that both antecedent and consequent are but successive phases of one fact. The junctions and transitions of nature are all opaque to our intelligence. We see one fact following another fact, but we do not see that it is the result of the previous fact. For all we know *A* is not the cause of *B;* but both *A* and *B* are implications of a law or products of a cause deeper than both. In passing from one phenomenon to another, thought moves along no continuously welded line, but rather over a corduroy road, with all the accompaniments of bumping and jolting. But what we do not know we may well believe; and, hence, we may safely assume that natural causation is continuous and all-embracing. That it is actual is a matter of course for spontaneous thought.

Our logical inability to reach such continuity and the ease with which it may be assumed are well illustrated in parts of Mr. Spencer's philosophy. In his very natural desire to bring his system into line with physical science he defines evolution as an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, etc. In this definition matter and motion are the only recognized factors; and the redistribution of matter and motion becomes the comprehensive formula for the cosmic problem. But Mr. Spencer also has an unknowable, inscrutable force in his system as its foundation; and some way must be found of uniting it with the physical formula. This is done by declaring that matter and motion are phases, or aspects, or manifestations of the unknowable force, and by pointing out that the indestructibility of matter and the continuity of motion at last reduce to affirmations of the persistence of force. This doctrine is the deepest of all and includes all. We may, then,

proceed to redistribute matter and motion, in the sure conviction that the continuity of this order will never fail us. But, in his view, it is precisely this continuity which is doubtful, or which, at best, is a matter of pure assumption.

The unknowable, we said, is a silent partner in the concern; silent, because only matter and motion appear in conducting the business; and yet a partner, if not the entire firm, because on investigation these active partners turn out to be only masks of the unknowable itself. And then a question arises concerning the constancy of these manifestations. The argument from the persistence of force, such as it is, only shows that the force manifested must not perish, but not that it must always retain its present form. There is nothing to show that the unknowable must always manifest itself in just so much matter and motion, neither more nor less, or that it must manifest itself in matter and motion at all. It is, then, possible, so far as the argument goes, that the material manifestation should be a variable one, and should even cease altogether. In that case our speculator, who abhors the notion of breaks and faults in nature, would be as badly off as the most exaggerated supernaturalism could possibly make him. Without very much more information concerning the unknowable than we actually possess no one can afford to be responsible for its doings. For all we can say the natural order may at any time be modified by some new reaction of this nonphenomenal power; to what extent is beyond all calculation. But our logical defenselessness may easily be covered up by a few flourishes about continuity, or words to that effect.

We have another illustration of the same desire for natural continuity and of the ease with which it is reached by faith in the discussion concerning the origin of life. It is pretty generally agreed that spontaneous generation does not occur nowadays; but this by no means prohibits us from believing in a natural explanation. The extraordinary physical conditions of the earth in early times may well lead us to expect extraordinary results; and among them might be "the momentary revelation of an otherwise latent law." The more we think of it the clearer it becomes; and, especially, the more we reflect upon that abomination of desolation, a miracle, the stronger grows our conviction that it must have been so. Such an event would be, indeed, a

phenomenal miracle; for "the momentary revelation of an otherwise latent law" is indistinguishable from the occurrence of a single extraordinary event, and a veritable miracle could hardly appear as other than a unique and lonely event. Still, such an occurrence would not be a real miracle, as it would have its ground in nature, and not in any extranatural source. How a momentary revelation, which is never repeated, can be called a law is also a point of some difficulty. Of course, we refer to the extraordinary conditions; but, as life itself is not compatible with conditions which vary widely from those existing, we have to be a little cautious in emphasizing the peculiarity of the conditions. In fact, all that we get from our natural explanation is not any positive insight, but simply a denial of any extranatural agency. With this we are enabled to believe in a continuity which we cannot trace or to affirm a continuity which we cannot demonstrate.

We reach a similar result in our fear of admitting the supernatural in the spiritual life. Our knowledge of mental laws is very vague and superficial at best; but there is nothing to prevent our assuming that, if we knew all the antecedents, the physical and social environment also, and the personal equation as well, we could trace the rise of every thought and emotion as a perfectly natural event. Genius, special gifts, peculiar insight may, indeed, be allowed, as it would be a sorry performance to reduce men to a dead level; but all of these things must be referred to a natural origin. Only on this condition can we dwell in mental peace. A natural origin means an origin within nature; and nature is vaguely conceived of as a necessary system, which contains its causation in itself and blindly unfolds its implications. That any such nature exists is known, of course, by hypothesis.

But, now, it may be urged that the existence of such a nature is a postulate of science and, therefore, is not to be denied. This is a claim so often made that it has acquired weight by sheer repetition. The desire for totality, also, is so strong that the uncritical mind is sure to find such a claim plausible. But science is only one of human interests, and, like all the others, it must consent to see its claims discounted by reality. For science as a study of the practical uniformities of experience, with "a reasonable degree of extension to adjacent cases,"

nothing is needed but the practical continuity of phenomenal law. For science as absolute knowledge, or as absolute system comprehending all things in a spatial and temporal order and rigidly deducing every consequent from its antecedents, thus binding all things together by an iron chain of necessity, etc., the assumption in question may well be a "postulate;" but whether we are to grant the postulate remains an open question. There is something humorous in supposing a thing real because it is postulated. And this absolute science itself is really only an idol of the den, a figment of the system-building fancy. It is due, partly, to the unchastened desire for totality and finished system, and, partly, to mistaking one aspect of life and experience for the whole. Possibly, even physical reality has some more practical and important function than simply to fulfill the calculations of the theorist. As a matter of fact, it is not a bad servant and minister of intelligence, and it makes a very fair stage for the development of life and history. Such a conception of its functions is quite as consonant with the indications of experience as the "postulate" of absolute science.

The practical importance of these theoretical threats provided the postulate is not granted may be estimated by considering the relation of human will and purpose to physical nature. Here is a field where physical events are constantly happening, without being deducible from their physical antecedents. Here, our will counts for a cause of changes, so that the physical system is constantly taking on forms which, left to itself, it would not have assumed. Very considerable features of that system are to be traced, not to the nebula, but to human will and purpose, which have impressed themselves upon the system. Once in a while, a speculator gets so confused with "science" and its "postulates" and with his dream of a system that he denies all this and leaves us to infer that his own thought counts for nothing in his physical movements, not even in his denial. The plexuses, the ganglia, the nascent motor excitations, and, in particular, the conservation of energy, judiciously misunderstood, have all wrought together and done whatever we have attributed to him, yet without any intervention of his thought whatever, and, indeed, so far as we know, without its existence. Such cases, of course, are pathologic; they only serve to show what mental blindness and confusion may be wrought by a

romantic devotion to theoretical abstractions. But if we are to escape the pathology we must recognize that our will counts for something in the course of physical events—a conclusion, indeed, very obnoxious to dealers in absolute "postulates," but not so farfetched to a student of practical life, at least to one who has not been, as Berkeley would say, "debauched by speculation."

There is no occasion, then, to be disturbed over the *ultimatum*—either absolute continuity or no science. Such intimidations are formidable only in the closet, and have influence mainly in the den. A set of sprites cognizant of physical phenomena, but not of human personality, might set themselves to study the physics of bodily movement. They might discover a great many uniformities in which all might agree; but if they should proceed to lay it down as an absolute postulate that every physical movement must be rigorously deduced from an antecedent movement, and especially that no extraphysical influence of a volitional nature was to be allowed, under penalty of exploding science, we should think that they had got hold of the writings of some of our romantic continuity theorists and dealers in absolute science.

But, whatever freedom we allow our hypothetical sprites, it is high time we saw through these fictions of abstract theory. If we allow that human wills or other wills are playing into nature there is still a great realm of discoverable phenomenal uniformity which is the fruitful field of practical science. This remains, whatever our theory of cosmic causation. Even if we suppose that it is freedom which acts through the law, the law remains and a knowledge of it is practically as valuable as ever. Freedom in nature cancels no law of physics. Freedom in willing cancels no law of mind. The claim that the realm of law would go if we admitted that our volition has anything to do with our voluntary movements is not speech, but mere ejaculation. It is the outcome of a scientific prudery which understands neither itself nor its problem.

It is a long while since we set out to find what we mean by a natural event. After a deal of casting about it would seem that all we can agree upon is this: a natural event is one which occurs in an order of law. In this sense even the influence of the human will in the physical world is natural. It is not, in-

deed, something which the physical system produces of itself; but in the total order of life it is a familiar fact. It is, also, highly obscure and mysterious in its causation; but, as a fact of constant occurrence under certain conditions, it is natural. The sequence of other events may be equally mysterious as to its causality, and we may be equally unable to connect antecedent and consequent by any logical or dynamic bond; but when we are able to trace an order of law in the happening we call it natural. When we pass beyond this conception of the natural and erect nature into a blind and necessary system we plunge into metaphysics, and naturalism becomes little more than the crude dogmatism of the senses.

This conception of the natural, it will be noticed, says nothing about causation. It simply claims that events are connected in an order, and that when we analyze an event we find it connected with other events according to fixed rules. When the rules prove to be well-known ones we have a familiar event, or one of a familiar class. When the event cannot be classed under known laws we still believe that there are laws under which it might be classed if we knew them. Pushing this thought to the limit, we come again upon the thought that all events are natural, or that all are bound up in a system of law which prescribes to each its place and the mode of its occurrence. Thus, once more the natural becomes all-embracing, and leaves no place for the supernatural.

In this suggestion our thought passes from the natural event to "Nature" as a system and ground of events. In this it is led on, partly, by metaphysical considerations and, partly, by the desire for totality or systematic completeness. Neither of these grounds, however, is clearly conceived in spontaneous thought. Metaphysical continuity there must be somewhere; but whether it is to be in the system itself, conceived as something substantial, or rather in the ontological cause and ground of the system, does not at once appear. In assuming the substantiality and causal continuity of nature the mind confounds the general demand for metaphysical continuity with a particular and doubtful conception thereof. It might turn out that the continuity of the system is not one of stuff or substance, but one of law and plan, so that all things and events, new and old alike, are subject to the one order of law, just as the

continuity of a web does not consist in having only the same threads, but in weaving all threads according to the common pattern. All events may well be comprised in an order of law; but it is not decided whether this order is a self-sufficient, opaque necessity, or whether it is simply an abstraction from the observed facts of coexistence and sequence. In the subjection of physical forces to our service certain fixed orders are followed, but, nevertheless, our purposes are wrought out. Again, things and events may form parts of a connected and systematic whole; but it is altogether possible that that whole is a plan, and not an opaque necessity. Doubtless if we knew all everything would be explained; but before we can make any use of this conviction we must inquire what the "all" is we should need to know and in what sense explanation is taken. If we make the "all" large enough even miracles themselves would be explained—that is, we might find for them a sufficient cause and a sufficient reason.

But this paper is growing long, and we are not getting on. About the only thing clear thus far is that the question is a perfect thicket of metaphysics. In lack of both time and space to argue out the matter we content ourselves with indicating the direction in which we conceive the truth to lie.

First, we must distinguish the scientific from the metaphysical question. The fruitful field of science lies in the study of the uniformities of coexistence and sequence revealed in experience and in seeking to connect things and events in accordance therewith. There are regular ways of being and happening in the physical, mental, and social worlds; and a knowledge of these ways is of the utmost practical value. In this sense law may well be universal. But these uniformities do not touch the question of freedom and purpose at all. The laws of physics are fixed; and this very fact fits them to be our servant. The laws of mind are equally fixed; but freedom works through them.

Next, the metaphysical question. This is something quite distinct. Popular metaphysics is built up almost entirely around the notion of matter, conceived as a lump. This is the central conception, and this is the antithesis of intelligence. The conception of nature is built on the same model and largely with the same material. Thus, nature is looked upon as the antithe-

sis of mind, and to call a thing natural is to deny all relation to intelligence. When, then, the universality of law is affirmed it is at once identified with the universality of blind mechanical causation, and then we wail or triumph according to our disposition. But when the critic comes and searches out this mode of thinking its superficiality is quickly seen. It is really the apotheosis of sense-thinking.

But if it should turn out that the cause behind the law is essentially personal and purposive, and that the system of law represents only the general form of this free causality, there would be no difficulty in holding that events in general are, at once, natural in the mode of their occurrence and supernatural in their causation. The natural would be the mode of manifestation of the supernatural, and the supernatural would be the real ground and administrator of the natural. In that case we should not have the antithesis of two mutually exclusive realms, but rather that of ground and manifestation, or of agent and mode of working. The supernatural would not be something of a scenic and arbitrary character apart from nature, but rather a supreme will and reason in nature, realizing its purposes through nature. And to this conception of the relation of the natural to the supernatural metaphysics is surely bringing us. That conception of nature as a blind causality which does a great many unintended things on its own account is a metaphysical superstition. This superstition is the source of the difficulty so many feel over the doctrine of evolution and, also, of the traditional polemic concerning prayer and special interpositions in general. The naturalistic interpretations of religious history have the same root. In all of these cases the assumption is commonly made that whatever can be referred to natural agency is thereby rescued from any supernatural or purposive interpretation. Here the question of naturalism or supernaturalism tacitly becomes a question of atheism or theism.

But if the supernatural be the living reality of the natural these difficulties disappear. All the believer cares to maintain is that events are intended, however realized; and what the unbeliever should show, in order to give his claim any significance, is that the event roots in no purpose anywhere. If it represents a divine purpose it is as truly purposeful when real-

ized through natural processes as it would be if produced by fiat, and it would be as "special" or "particular" if thus produced as it would be if created on the spot. In any other sense than that of being intended it is unnecessary to insist upon anything special or particular in the flow of events; and in this sense it is hard to see how any theist can reserve anything from being special and particular. We may, indeed, not be able to trace the divine meaning in an event, but if there be meaning in anything there is meaning in all things.

Curious oversights are apt to master us here. To begin with, the fallacy of the universal misleads us into thinking that the creative act produced only a system of things in general, which system then wrought out a set of particular effects on its own account for which no one is responsible. General laws and classes were the first and only created product; thereafter things got on by themselves. But these laws and classes, as such, contain no hint of concrete and particular things and events, and hence the latter are thought to be no part of the original plan. Through this deceit of the universal they fall out of our thought and are not supposed to have been in the creative thought. Thus, finally, they sink down into unintended by-products of the natural mechanism and admit of being thought meanly of.

The naïve superficiality of all this is evident. General laws and classes can exist apart from intelligence only in concrete and particular application. There is and can be no system of things in general. If, then, we suppose that God created a system of nature which was intended to unfold according to inherent laws we must say that the creative act implied and carried with it all that should ever arrive in the unfolding of the system. There is no way by which things or events could slip in which were not provided for. Each minutest event was potential in the primal arrangement, or it could not have happened. Mechanism can only unfold its own implications; it can make no new departures so as to reach anything essentially new. And if we suppose the Creator to have known what he was doing we must either suppose him to have intended the consequences or to have been unable to prevent them. But this question of intended or unintended, which is the only important one in this matter, is obscured by supposing the issue

to concern only the method of realization; as if the natural were necessarily unrelated to intelligence, and as if the supernatural must be unnatural in its methods.

The same crude conception underlies much of our philosophy of history and not a little of our biblical discussion; but into this field we forbear to enter. Concerning the miracles of the Bible we remark only that, while not intending in any way to deny them, we may yet be helped in accepting them by our general conception of a natural supernatural and a supernatural natural.

The net result of this discussion is not very great. We have gained some insight into the abysses of metaphysics which underlie the question and, especially, into the crude metaphysics which underlies the popular conception. The rest of the conclusion may be summed up as follows:

The physical world and the mental world are the two realms of experience. In both worlds things exist and events happen in certain ways. These are the discoverable uniformities of experience which are the great field of practical science. Events occurring in accordance with this order we call natural. Neither of these worlds goes along strictly by itself, but each is modified by the other. The fancy that physical science is overthrown if we allow the continuity of physical movement to be affected by anything beyond the physical series is a piece of intelligible, but not intelligent, scientific prudery. Along with this must be placed the fancy that mental science is overthrown if we allow any freedom of will. The continuity which a sane science demands is simply a community of law for all events, old and new alike. The dream of a metaphysical continuity in the finite system, whereby each antecedent stage dynamically causes its consequent stage, is only a dream. Neither member of the finite system can be understood in itself, and either, taken alone, is but a one-sided abstraction from the reality. Neither can these members be understood when taken together, apart from reference to a fundamental reality which is the source and ground of both. Here is where both the physical world and the finite spirit have their root; and any absolute science of either must involve an absolute knowledge of this basal being. The impossibility of interpreting this being materially or mechanically and the necessity of interpreting it after the

analogy of free and spiritual existence are shown by the results of all philosophy which has risen above the sense-plane. From this standpoint nature is no self-sufficient, brute existence in space and time; but all finite existence is but a product or manifestation of which God is the ever-present administrator and ground, and natural laws are at bottom only his ways of working in the production and connection of things and events. And these, in turn, are due, not to any mechanical causation behind them, but to the ceaseless causal activity of the basal reality which forever produces them according to his plan and purpose. If, then, we would find the true cause of things we must look for it, not at the unattainable beginning of a temporal series, but in the Living Will, which not only worketh hitherto, but worketh still and worketh for evermore.

Borden P. Bowne.

ART. II.—JOHN RUSKIN: A STUDY IN LOVE AND RELIGION.

MR. COLLINGWOOD'S *Life and Work of John Ruskin* has thrown some welcome light on the religious views of our great art critic and on those "affairs of the heart" which in his case have, as with one consent, contrived to run anything but smoothly. These personal touches form the charm of the new biography. Ruskin's name has so long been a household word among us that any glimpse into his private life which is allowed us seems to establish a closer intimacy with an old friend and lend new meaning and pathos to his prosperous, yet sadly clouded, course. Ruskin himself took the world into his confidence years ago in *Præterita*, that history which, as Mrs. Ritchie says, is not written with ink, "but painted down with light and color." His friend Mr. Collingwood has drawn largely on those reminiscences, but has been able to supplement them with facts gathered from private sources and carefully gleaned during twenty years of intimate association with the master. Much light is thus thrown on Ruskin's history, from his first days in London right on to the present hour, when "the plow stands in the furrow and the laborer passes peacefully from his toil, homewards." No one has less to fear from such unveiling. Ruskin's great gifts have been nobly devoted to noble ends. Those who differ most from him in his teaching on art, on political economy, or on education do not fail to pay tribute to the high-souled sincerity that has shaped his conduct. His unselfish generosity and his manly scorn of everything base or unworthy have won for John Ruskin the loving respect of all good men.

The early chapters of *Præterita* have made the story of his boyhood a kind of English classic. His grandfather, a young wine merchant in Edinburgh, ran away with Catherine Tweddale from her father's manse at Glenluce, in Wigtownshire, when she was a bright and animated brunette not yet sixteen. The young couple settled in the old town, at the head of George Wynd. A little daughter was born to them a year afterward. A few weeks later a friend, who came into the room unannounced, found the young mother, not yet seventeen, "dancing

a threesome reel, with two chairs as partners, she having found at the moment no other way of adequately expressing the pleasure she took in this mortal life and its gifts and promises." The Ruskins belonged to the upper middle class and had a pleasant circle of friends in Edinburgh. Their son, John James, went to the high school, then prospering exceedingly under the care of Dr. Adam. When school days were over he set out to London to push his fortunes in the office of Gordon, Murphy & Co., wine merchants. There Mr. Peter Domecq, owner of famous vineyards at Macharnudo, in Spain, who had come to England to learn his business, was his fellow-clerk. He formed so high an opinion of young Ruskin's ability that when the house of Gordon broke up he offered him the management of his London agency. The new firm, Ruskin, Telford & Domecq, opened a modest office in Billiter Street in 1809.

Young Ruskin returned to Edinburgh for a visit. His cousin Margaret had come to keep house for his father a few years before. Her mother kept the Old King's Head at Croydon. Margaret had been the pattern girl and best needlewoman in Mrs. Rice's school there. "Tall and handsome, pious and practical, she was just the girl to become the confidante and adviser of her dark-eyed, active, and romantic young cousin—his guardian angel." The cousins now became engaged. She was four years older than himself; but the young people felt that their marriage must wait till circumstances would permit them to set up housekeeping. The elder Ruskin had gradually ruined himself. When he became insolvent his son worked hard to satisfy the creditors. Nine years of assiduous toil, without a holiday, saw all debts wiped off and the young firm in Billiter Street so well established that its energetic chief felt at last free to marry. He hastened north to claim his cousin's hand. Margaret was inclined to wait, but one evening was persuaded into a prompt marriage. Next morning her husband bore her off in triumph to London.

They set up housekeeping at 54 Hunter Street, Brunswick Square, where John Ruskin was born February 8, 1819. His mother told him that, like Hannah, she had devoted him to God before he was born. Mrs. Ruskin lavished all her care upon her only child. Mr. Collingwood thinks that "the reli-

gious instinct so conspicuous in him is a heritage from Scotland; so is his conscience and code of morality, part emotional, part logical, and often unlike an Englishman's in the points that satisfy or shock it." The home training had some taint of Spartan hardness; but its systematic Bible study bore memorable fruit in later years. Every morning after breakfast mother and son went through two or three chapters, reading aloud alternate verses. Every syllable, from Genesis to Revelation, was taken in turn, hard names and all. They got through the Bible in about twelve months, and read it over together thus at least six times. After the daily chapters were finished John had to learn some verses before twelve o'clock. Nothing was allowed to interfere with this task. "To that discipline," Ruskin says, "patient, accurate, and resolute, I owe not only a knowledge of the book, which I find occasionally serviceable, but much of my general power of taking pains and the best part of my taste in literature." Peace, obedience, faith—these were the graces on which chief stress was laid in the Ruskin nursery. The Bible readings were interrupted by the first continental journey when John Ruskin was fourteen. He now read a chapter by himself morning and evening, "of course, saying the Lord's Prayer after it and asking for everything that was nice for myself and my family."

A compact sermon delivered at the age of three shows that Ruskin was never exactly an evangelical. The little fellow climbed into the chair in which he still sits in the evenings at Brantwood and said: "People, be dood. If you are dood, God will love you. If you are not dood, Dod will not love you. People, be dood." There were serious defects in his training:

> I had nothing to love. My parents were, in a sort, visible powers of nature to me, no more loved than the sun and the moon. . . . Still less did I love God; not that I had any quarrel with him or fear of him, but simply found what people told me was his service disagreeable and what people told me was his book not entertaining. I had no companions to quarrel with, neither; nobody to assist and nobody to thank.

He accepted his home teaching without question. It seemed that all required of him was to say his prayers, go to church, learn his lessons, obey his parents, and enjoy his dinner. He describes himself as "by protection innocent, instead of by practice virtuous." The literary instinct awoke early. At

six the child author began to imitate the books he had read and to make his first attempts at poetry. He soon became deeply interested in mineralogy, one of the studies which has exercised over him a lifelong fascination. Before he went to Oxford he had become Turner's champion, roused thereto by an attack made on the painter in *Blackwood's*. But, precocious as he was in these respects, he took his religion at second hand. Like his parents, he was a strict Protestant, though not exclusively attached to any party. "He had seen the good side of more than one school of Protestant Christianity, and their weak points as well. So that an ecclesiastical contest had no interest for him; he could take neither side."

Ruskin was intended for the Church; but when he went up to Oxford the tides of religious controversy which were beginning to flow there at the end of the thirties made no impression on his mind. "It seems strange," says Mr. Collingwood, "that a man who had been brought up on constant Bible-reading and sermon-hearing, who was destined for the Church, whose eventual mission has been to refer everything to the language and principles of religion—it seems strange that he, of all people, should have looked on unmoved while great questions were being agitated, consciences wrung, and souls torn asunder between faith and doubt." The fact is, Ruskin had scarcely begun to think on such matters.

His college course was uneventful. He won the Newdigate by his poem "Salsette and Elephanta;" but just when he seemed ripe for honors in the schools his health gave way. His friends had expected that a few months would have seen him safely launched on an honorable and dignified profession. His illness changed everything. He was forbidden to read and sent abroad to winter. All hope of distinction at the university thus vanished. When he had found his true vocation Ruskin overheard his father talking with one of their artist friends, who regretted that the young man had been imprudent enough to write about Turner and Raphael, instead of explaining to the people the way of salvation. An admirable clergyman had thus been lost. "Yes," said his father, with tears in his eyes, "he would have been a bishop."

An unfortunate love affair was the secret of his breakdown. Ruskin gives a pleasant picture in *Præterita* of an evening

spent with the family of his father's partner, Mr. Domecq, in Paris. The English boy of fourteen, who could speak very little French, was feeling hopelessly in the cold when Elise Domecq, a girl of nine, came across the room and chattered to him for an hour and a half, "requiring no answer, of which she saw I was incapable, but satisfied with my grateful and respectful attention and admiring interest, if not exactly always in what she said, at least in the way she said it." Three years later, in the beginning of 1836, a few weeks after the Ruskins had returned from Italy, Mr. Domecq came over to England with four of his daughters. The eldest sister had just been married to Count Maison. The visit made no small stir in the Ruskin household. "How we got them all into Herne Hill corners and cupboards would be inexplicable but with a plan of the three stories! The arrangements were half Noah's ark, half doll's house; but we got them all in." They were the first really well-bred and well-dressed girls John had met—"a most curious galaxy, or Southern Cross, of unconceived stars floating on a sudden into my obscure firmament of London suburb." The girls were foreigners and convent-bred Catholics; but the youth of seventeen was soon entirely bewitched by the eldest of them, Adèle Clotilde, a graceful, oval-faced blonde of fifteen. Adèle, "sternly and accurately" sensible, altogether failed to understand her bashful lover, whose "uneasiness bred an appearance of antagonism. In fit upon fit of shyness he disputed, prosed, sulked, did everything that could alienate a bright girl—from Paris, too; whose notions of British morgue and phlegm were only too justified by his want of style and his obvious awkwardness." His very seriousness repelled his gay visitor. When he wrote a story to amuse her the note of passion in it only made her laugh.

But the boyish passion was not dampened by such rebuffs. When the girls returned to France the sunshine seemed to have gone with them. The young lover bravely set himself to win some distinction which might enable him to carry his suit. In 1838 the girls were sent to a convent school at Chelmsford to perfect their English. Ruskin and his mother went to see them there in August. The Christmas vacation found the Domecqs again at Herne Hill. Ruskin was now a rising young man, but he did not find favor in Adèle's eyes. The girl, who was "not in the least amiable," only laughed at his attentions. He won-

dered mightily in later years what sort of creature he should have turned out if love had been with him instead of being against him.

Ruskin's father deplored the state of mind into which his son had been brought by Adèle. Mr. Wardell, one of his neighbors in Billiter Street, older and richer than himself, had an only daughter, very beautiful, entirely good and gentle, and carefully educated. Young Ruskin was invited to spend the afternoon and dine at Hampstead. Miss Wardell was "a softly molded, slender brunette, with her father's dark-curling hair transfigured into playful grace round the pretty, modest, not unthoughtful, gray-eyed face." Ruskin did his best to be agreeable, not without result. The young lady came over to Herne Hill to pay a return visit, and Ruskin remembered "her looking a little frightenedly pleased at his kneeling down to hold a book for her, or some such matter." His father and mother now asked him seriously what he thought of her. He frankly explained that, though he saw all her beauty and merit and niceness, she was yet not his sort of girl. The negotiations went no further at the time, and soon afterward Miss Wardell died of nervous fever. In March, 1840, Adèle Domecq married young Baron Chesne. This was a bitter trial to John Ruskin. Mrs. Rhie tells us that she could understand the charm of the Frch girls; for once by chance, traveling on Lake Leman, she saw a beautiful young lady on the steamer, all dressed in gra with a long veil floating on the wind:

> The story of the French sisters has gained an added interest from the remembrance of those dark, lovely eyes, that charming countenance; for afterward, when I knew her better, the lady told me that her mother had been a Domecq and had once lived with her three sisters in Ruskin's house. Circumstances had divided them in after days; but all the children of the family had been brought up to know Mr. Ruskin by name and to love and appreciate his books.

Ruskin was twenty-one when his great disappointment came upon him. He was compelled to quit Oxford and spent two years wandering in quest of health. Gradually his mind regained tone. He was able to take interest in art and literature, and by and by went up to the university for his degree. The state of his health forbade him to think of entering the Church; and, indeed, his thoughts no longer turned in that direction. He

was drifting insensibly toward his true vocation. His drawing-master, J. D. Harding, who taught his pupil to observe as well as draw, had considerable influence in fixing the young man's course. One day Ruskin noticed a stem twined with ivy, which opened his eyes to the charm of nature's decorations. He saw that sincerity and truth must be the watchwords of true art. This was in May, 1842. Before the year was out he was hard at work on that first volume of *Modern Painters* which took the world of art and literature by storm in April, 1843.

Many things were changing in Ruskin's world. The Scotch Puritanism of his boyhood was too narrow for his mature years. His mother took him early to church, but in spite of his quiet habits and her golden vinaigrette, "always indulged to me there, and there only, that I might see the wreathed open pattern above the sponge, I found the bottom of the pew so extremely dull a place to keep quiet in (my best story-books being also taken away from me in the morning), that, as I have somewhere said before, the horror of Sunday used even to cast its prescient gloom as far back in the week as Friday, and all the glory of Monday, with church seven days removed again, was no equivalent for it." With all her earnestness Mrs. Ruskin had not learned the art of making her boy regard Sunday as the crown of the week's felicities. The gloom and horror of the day at Herne Hill stands in striking contrast to the delightful Sabbaths which John G. Paton chronicles in his autobiography. The lowly Scotch weaver knew how to surround God's day with double joy for his children.

The elder Ruskin, whose health had suffered much from hard work in his early business life, could not bear the long service of the Church of England. The family, therefore, went to Beresford Chapel, Walworth, where Dr. Andrews, father of Mrs. Coventry Patmore, the "angel in the house," was minister. They were allowed, not without offended and reproachful glances from the more conscientious worshipers, to come in when prayers were half over. Mrs. Ruskin was evidently more devoted to her religious duties than either her son or husband. John Ruskin speaks of a Sunday afternoon walk in Wales, "dashed only with some alarmed sense of the sin of being so happy among the hills, instead of writing out a sermon at home; my father's presence and countenance not

wholly comforting me, for we both of us had alike had a subdued consciousness of being profane and rebellious characters, compared to my mother." He tells us that when at Chamouni they witnessed "the entire manner of life in a purely Catholic village and valley, recognizing it, I hope, all of us, in our hearts, to be quite as Christian as anything we knew of and much pleasanter and prettier than the Sunday services in England, which exhausted the little faith we had left." In England his father liked going to church as little as did he himself.

Ruskin never thought of traveling, climbing, or sketching on Sunday for many years. He says: "My first infringement of this rule by climbing up the isolated peak above Gap, with both Couttet and George, after our morning service, remains a weight on my conscience to this day. But it was thirteen years later before I made a sketch on Sunday." This mountain climb was in the spring of 1845. It was the first shot fired in a war which Mr. Collingwood describes as "one of the strangest and saddest wars between conscience and reason that biography records; strange, because the opposing forces were so nearly matched, and sad, because the struggle lasted until their field of battle was desolated before either won a victory." It now began to dawn upon Ruskin that men had been curiously judging themselves by always calling the day of judgment *dies iræ*, instead of *dies amoris*. He became an interested student of Roman Catholicism. Many traces of this feeling survive in *Præterita*. At Sallenches, in 1849, he found that the people wrote down their sins in order to spare their memories, as they only went to confession once a year. The landlord's daughter expressed her horror of "losing one's sins" and of their being found by some one who was not a confessor. The villagers spoke, with great pleasure, of a Capuchin's visits. He "preached so well that everybody listened with all their might, so that you might tap them on the back and they would never turn round." They were not so favorable to the Jesuits, who would not allow a single sin to be committed by persons coming to them in general confessions. An old servant at the inn spoke a patois which the priest did not understand. He could not tell whether she knew her catechism and would not give her absolution. The poor, disappointed creature "raved and wept and was in a passion with all the world."

A year or two later Ruskin chanced upon a little fourteenth century *Hours of the Virgin* at some bookseller's in a back alley. No girl of seven years old could be happier with a new doll than he was with this treasure. The feeling was something between the girl's with her doll and Aladdin's with his lamp. He had found "a new spirit slave to build palaces for him with jewel windows:"

> For, truly, a well-illuminated missal is a fairy cathedral full of painted windows, bound together to carry in one's pocket, with the music and the blessing of all its prayers besides. And then followed, of course, the discovery that all beautiful prayers were Catholic, all wise interpretations of the Bible Catholic, and every manner of Protestant written services whatsoever either insolently altered corruptions or washed-out and ground-down rags and *débris* of the great Catholic collects, litanies, and songs of praise. People predicted his speedy conversion to Rome, but they were mistaken. He did not believe in the "living pope any more than in the living Khan of Tartary."

Ruskin was now in full revolt against the tenet in which he had been brought up, that people might not seek their own pleasure on Sunday or do anything useful on that day. "Gradually, in honest Bible reading, he saw that Christ's first article of teaching was to unbind the yoke of the Sabbath." The great Old Testament passages had, and still have, power over him; but he recognized that "the inveterate habit of being unhappy all Sunday did not in any way fulfill the order to call the Sabbath a delight." While in this mood he heard a Waldensian preacher at Turin denounce the wickedness of the world. This fastened him in the old article of Jewish faith, "that things done delightfully and rightly were always done by the help and in the spirit of God."

The weakness of many teachers of great reputation led him still further in revolt against their views. He loved Maurice, as everyone did who came near him, but could not bear the way in which he treated the Bible. "Maurice," he says, "was by nature puzzle-headed and, though in a beautiful manner, wrong-headed; while his clear conscience and keen affections made him egotistic and, in his Bible reading, as insolent as any infidel of them all." Ruskin went to hear his comments on the story of Jael. Maurice denounced the Jewish heroine. "Such dreadful deeds could only have been done in the dark

biblical ages." Ruskin ventured to inquire why, then, Deborah sang, "Blessed above women shall Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite be." For answer Maurice denounced Deborah as a mere blazing Amazon. It was the first time, Ruskin says, "I had fairly met the lifted head of earnest and religious infidelity in a man neither vain nor ambitious, but instinctively and innocently trusting his own amiable feelings as the final interpreters of all the possible feelings of men and angels, all the songs of the prophets, and all the ways of God." The same feeling comes out in Ruskin's comment on the teaching of a leading evangelical, Mr. Molyneux, who spoke on the prodigal son at the Earl of Ducie's. Ruskin ventured to ask what the other son meant, and was told that he was "merely a picturesque figure introduced to fill the background of the parable agreeably, and contained no instruction or example for the well-disposed scriptural student, but, on the contrary, rather a snare for the unwary and a temptation to self-righteousness, which was, of all sins, the most offensive to God."

Ruskin had established his reputation as an art critic by the first volume of *Modern Painters*. His fame steadily grew with the work of the next four or five years. But his father and mother earnestly wished him to marry. His health was still far from satisfactory. At their solicitation, therefore, he visited Perth in 1847 and proposed to a young Scotch lady, the daughter of old friends there. She had visited Herne Hill when Ruskin's health was broken down and challenged the woe-begone lover to write a fairy-tale, as the task which seemed most out of his line. In a couple of sittings he produced "The King of the Golden River." Mr. Collingwood says:

> She had grown up into a perfect Scotch beauty, another Fair Maid of Perth, with every gift of health and spirits which would compensate, as they thought, his retiring and morbid nature. And if she, by obedience to her own parents, got the wealth and position they sought for her, on the other hand the dutiful son easily persuaded himself that he was, after all, the luckiest of mortals. He was ready to do anything, to promise anything, for so charming a prize. The parents on each side had their several conditions to make, but united in hastening on the event, alike "dreaming of a perishable home."

They were married on April 10, 1848. The first days of the honeymoon were spent at Keswick, whence Ruskin wrote on

Good Friday to Miss Mitford. His letter has a somber earnestness, not without significance, as we trace the course of his ill-assorted marriage. "I begin to feel," he writes, "that all the work I have been doing and all the loves I have been cherishing are ineffective and frivolous; that these are not times for watching clouds or dreaming over quiet waters; that more serious work is to be done; and that the time for endurance has come rather than for meditation, and for hope rather than happiness." He reports that there was a good clergyman at Keswick, Mr. Myers, and that he was recovering trust and tranquillity. A noble thoughtfulness is manifest in these words; but we can understand that the gay young wife, full of life and spirits, was not altogether in sympathy with such a husband. The course of time revealed the dissimilarity between them more emphatically. Amid ceaseless labor, rendered increasingly trying by physical weakness, Ruskin found it needed no small effort "to do what he believed to be his duty toward a wife whose affection he earnestly sought, but whose tastes were discordant with his." Meanwhile there was "disappointment and disillusioning" for the "young girl, who found herself married, by parental arrangement, to a man with whom she had nothing in common; in habits of thought and life, though not so much in years, her senior; taking 'small notice, or austerely,' of the gayer world she preferred." People were intensely puzzled when she left him after six years of married life; but the secret is not hard to fathom when we see in what different worlds these uncongenial spirits moved.

Ruskin worked on steadily after this great blow had laid the fabric of his domestic peace in the dust. We have seen that till he was forty he was a believer in English Protestantism. After that time he began to feel that he had to reconstruct all his religious theories. "He saw both Protestants and Roman Catholics, in the perspective of history, converging into a primitive, far-distant, ideal unity of Christianity, in which he still believed; but he could take neither side after this." His social theories also clamored for reconstruction. He buried himself among the Alps at Mornex to think matters out. "The loneliness is very great," he writes, "and the peace in which I am at present is only as if I had buried myself in a tuft of grass on a battlefield wet with blood; for the cry of the earth about me is in my ears continu-

ally if I do not lay my head to the very ground." A little later he says, "I am still very unwell, and tormented between the longing for rest and lovely life and the sense of this terrific call of human crime for resistance and of human misery for help, though it seems to me as the voice of a river of blood, which can but sweep me down in the midst of its black clots, helpless." The sequel to this mental struggle is well known. The admired art critic became the heretic economist, who thundered against orthodoxy in religion, morals, politics, art, science, and social life, to find himself scouted as a fanatic dreamer. Thackeray had to tell him that his papers in *Cornhill* were so unanimously condemned and disliked that he could only admit one more. His father's displeasure was harder still to bear. It seemed to the old man as though his son was wantonly throwing away his reputation and earning for himself the name of fool. Yet amid all his heresies Ruskin's heart was right. However strongly we may dissent from his teachings, we admire him even more as the champion of the oppressed, with the burden of the world rousing him to indignation, than when we see him preaching his crusade against insincerity and falsehood in art.

In 1867 he gave the Rede Lecture at Cambridge. In his impressive peroration he urged on the younger men "the infinite importance of a life of virtue and the fact that the hereafter must be spent in God's presence or in darkness." He reminded the heads of the university that their continued prosperity must rest on their obedience to the command of their divine Master, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness." "All mere abstract knowledge, independent of its tendency to a holy life, was useless." He had drifted far from his old moorings; but the man who could utter such words was certain to be led into clearer light by and by. In 1868 he fell under the influence of St. Ursula, who became, as he visited Venice time after time for her sake, a spiritual presence and an inspiration. "What would St. Ursula say?" led him to cultivate patience and gentleness under many provocations. His mother died in 1871. A still heavier blow was impending. He had become attached to one of his pupils, a lady much younger than himself. His friends hoped that at fifty-three he was at last to drink the cup of domestic happiness. But the lady was

an earnest Christian. She could not make up her mind to marry one who seemed to scoff at her faith. She therefore turned resolutely away from the happiness which she so much coveted. The sacrifice cost her her life. Three years later, when she lay dying, Ruskin begged to see her. "She sent to ask whether he could yet say that he loved God better than he loved her; and when he said 'No,' her door was closed upon him forever." She died on May 29, 1875.

Ruskin sought refuge in work from the greatest sorrow of his life. His writing in *Fors Clavigera* became more serious and earnest in tone. When an Aberdeen teacher asked for a New Year's message for his Bible class Ruskin replied: "The condemnation given from the judgment throne—most solemnly described—is all for the 'undones,' and not for the 'dones.' People are perpetually afraid of doing wrong; but, unless they are doing its reverse energetically, they do it all day long, and the degree does not matter." He said plainly that he did not know there was another existence; he hoped there was. Gradually clearer vision came. On Christmas Day, 1876, he seemed to gain that assurance of another life for which he had been looking since his great bereavement. "His intense despondency changed for a while into a singular happiness; it seemed a renewed health and strength, and, instead of despair, he rejoiced in the conviction of guarding providences and helpful influences." His writings now showed traces of a profound mysticism. He renounced his skeptical judgments and searched the Bible more carefully than ever to find its hidden meanings. The following December he lectured to a crowded audience at Oxford, "this interest of theirs being granted to me, I doubt not, because for the first time in Oxford I have been able to speak to them boldly of immortal life." In 1879 he prepared a series of lectures on the Lord's Prayer for the Furness Clerical Society's meetings. He spoke about the need of living faith in God's fatherhood and of childlike obedience to the commands of old-fashioned religion and morality. "No man," he said, "more than I has ever loved the place where God's honor dwells or yielded truer allegiance to the teaching of his evident servants. No man, at this time, grieves more for the damage of the Church which supposes him her enemy, while she whispers procrastinating *pax vobiscum* in answer to

the spurious kiss of those who would fain toll curfew over the last fires of English faith and watch the sparrow find a nest where she may lay her young around the altars of the Lord." He describes himself in a later letter as "only a Christian Catholic, in the wide and eternal sense. I have been that these five and twenty years, at least. Heaven keep me from being less as I grow older! But I am no more likely to become a Roman Catholic than a Quaker, Evangelical, or Turk."

Perhaps the most pleasant glimpse of Ruskin's religious feeling is found in his talk to the Coniston children after a dinner which he gave them in January, 1881. They had been singing "Jesu, here from sin deliver." "That is what we want," he said—"to be delivered from our sins. We must look to the Saviour to deliver us from our sin. It is right we should be punished for the sins which we have done; but God loves us and wishes to be kind to us and to help us that we may not willfully sin." Family prayers at Brantwood were in these days conducted by Ruskin himself, whose carefully prepared Bible reading sometimes lasted longer than the household found quite convenient. He wrote collects, which still exist, "deeply interesting as the prayers of a man who had passed through so many wildernesses of thought and doubt, and had returned at last, not to the fold of the Church, but to the footstool of the Father." With that touching scene the curtain may fittingly fall on this record of the inner life of one whom all earnest men honor as a preacher of sincerity and truth. For John Ruskin there has been "but one reality—the great fact, as he knew it, of God above, and man either obeying or withstanding him."

ART. III.—THE HUMANE SPIRIT IN HEBREW LEGISLATION.

ANYONE who has studied the code of laws, and the comments and exhortations of the prophets on them, contained in the Old Testament must be convinced that this legislation was designed to be exceptionally humane and beneficent. Its fundamental principle is the inestimable value of human life, even in a merely physical existence. This is the gift of God and cannot be despised or maltreated, because man is made in the divine image and the creature owes to the Creator a responsibility and trust that cannot under any circumstances be bartered away or forfeited. The relation extends to all the conditions of human subsistence, and must be carefully preserved in all the ramifications of society, comprehending its humblest member. Mosaism, in its exhibition of tender concern for the decaying body, is the natural precursor of the evangelical doctrine that places a priceless estimate on the worth of the immortal soul. Here was a system that contained the germ out of which was developed the most enlarged Christian philanthropy.

It was the purpose of the Israelitish order to preserve the equality of all citizens in the eyes of the law, and to maintain, as far as practicable, the equilibrium of wealth among them. Extreme poverty was regarded as an evil to be prevented and palliated as far as possible; but the penniless were not to be annihilated because they were unable to contribute to the general stock. A spirit of sympathy was enjoined because the sons of Jacob were brethren, and they were to remember that they had been bondmen in the land of Egypt. Isaac M. Wise* asserts that, "as regards the laws of charity [benevolence] and tolerance especially, the most enlightened modern nations have not yet reached the eminence of the Mosaic law."

Illustrations of the kindly provision for the poor are numerous and scattered throughout the *Torah*. Let a few suffice. On general principles the Hebrew was thus instructed: "Thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother: but thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him, and

* *History of the Israelitish Nation*, vol. i, pp. 151, 152.

shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need" (Deut. xv, 7, 8). In regard to such a one it was commanded, "Take thou no usury of him, or increase" (Lev. xxv, 36). For particular acts, the more prosperous were directed to aid the poor in the second tithe taken on the increase of the third year (Deut. xiv, 28, 29). At harvest "thou shalt not wholly reap the corners of thy field, neither shalt thou gather the gleanings of thy harvest. And thou shalt not glean thy vineyard, neither shalt thou gather every grape of thy vineyard; thou shalt leave them for the poor and the stranger: I am the Lord your God" (Lev. xix, 9, 10). Observe here the authority for the injunction. Likewise the forgotten sheaf was to remain "for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow" (Deut. xxiv, 19). When a pledge for a loan was exacted it was commanded with a fine sense of delicacy: "Thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge. Thou shalt stand abroad, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out the pledge abroad unto thee" (Deut. xxiv, 10, 11). How grateful some poor seamstresses and washerwomen would be nowadays if this injunction were observed: "The wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night until the morning" (Lev. xix, 13). In legal procedures the poor were to be protected: "Thou shalt not pervert the judgment of the stranger, nor of the fatherless; nor take a widow's raiment to pledge" (Deut. xxiv, 17). For similar instructions read Exod. xxii, 22–27; xxiii, 9.

The enforcement of these humane provisions seems to have been an important part of the later prophets' mission. An indignant spirit is aroused in Amos because, during the prosperous and luxurious reign of Jeroboam II over the northern kingdom, "they sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes," and because they panted "after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor" and turned aside "the way of the meek" (Amos ii, 6, 7). Was there ever a keener and more vigorous metaphor—greedy land-grabbers begrudging the little earth used by the stricken as a sign of their distress? Micah appeals to the mountains as witnesses of the Lord's controversy with Judah, because the people thought to gain favor by the multitude of sacrifices, rather than in doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with their God. There could be no reconcilia-

tion so long as "the treasures of wickedness" remained "in the house of the wicked, . . . for the rich men thereof are full of violence" (Micah vi, 10–12). Isaiah, in the sublimity of his terrific arraignment, charges that the hands of his people are full of blood. He insists that there is only one condition of forgiveness and restoration: "Cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow" (i, 16, 17). Jeremiah, the prophet whose memory is most cherished among the Jews, boldly conditions the continuance of the kingdom on a radical reform in the treatment of the stranger, the fatherless, the widow, and him who has been spoiled by the hand of the oppressor (xxii, 3). Malachi, notwithstanding his zeal for the reformation of the temple worship and the restoration of the ecclesiastical revenues, at the same time assures the people that the Lord "will be a swift witness against . . . those that oppress the hireling in his wages, the widow, and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger from his right" (iii, 5). Daniel, the eminent statesman and true servant of the living God, appears in the most majestic rôle when he so eloquently and pathetically advises Nebuchadnezzar to break off his sins "by righteousness" and his iniquities "by showing mercy to the poor" (iv, 27).

In the poetical books there are numerous expressions to show the growth of the humane sentiment. It is clear that there was no wane in the recognition of justice for the weak. In Psalm xli, 1, a benediction is pronounced on those who consider the poor. In Psalm cxii, 9, a man is accounted righteous because he hath given to the poor. Psalm lxxii describes the typical king as saving the poor and needy. Job in his defense claimed that he was a father to the poor (xxix, 16), and that his soul was grieved for them (xxx, 25). He calls his accusers to witness if he had ever withheld the poor from their desire (xxxi, 16–21). So the Book of Proverbs teaches: "He that oppresseth the poor reproacheth his Maker" (xiv, 31); "He that hath mercy on the poor, happy is he" (xiv, 21). Let these quotations suffice. For others reference may be made to a concordance. Well was it said in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead."

While it was a duty to furnish immediate relief to the needy

no Hebrew was to be pauperized.* His self-respect must be maintained, and he must not be deprived of the privilege of working for a livelihood. Money was loaned, not donated. Food was given in the natural state, and it must be prepared for eating. If he fell into debt he might be sold as a servant, but he was still to remember that he was not a chattel whose manhood had been forfeited, for at the end of the sixth year he was free to pursue his own vocation. No son of Abraham could become a hopeless slave. Though multitudes were taken captive in war and sold into a miserable bondage, they indignantly protested against the infringement of their inherent claims, as expressed in a reply to Jesus: "We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man." When a Hebrew was thus temporarily enslaved the master was enjoined to treat him with the most considerate clemency. When released he was not to be sent away empty, but was to be furnished liberally from the flock, out of the threshing floor and out of the wine press (Deut. xv, 13, 14). Even a slave purchased *in perpetuo* could not be maltreated without thereby gaining manumission (Exod. xxi, 26, 27). Every master must remember that in his ancestry he had been "a bondman in the land of Egypt," and that the Lord his God had redeemed him (Deut. xv, 15) because the Creator had compassion on the work of his hands. The half shekel required of every man of the children of Israel as a "ransom for his soul unto the Lord" (Exod. xxx, 12–16) served as a constant and delicate reminder that he was a permanent citizen who could not be disfranchised, and that in some sense, at least before the Lord, one man might be as good as another. "The rich and poor meet together: the Lord is the maker of them all." Very often a per capita tax is regarded as a burden, whereas it may be esteemed as a pledge of equality before the law. In the sanctuary an Israelite could but feel a sense of his importance. Jehovah would take no cognizance of incidental concomitants which constitute no essential part of the real person and individuality. Religion formed the very basis of civil society. All life in Palestine converged to the temple, and it was the Lord who dwelt between the cherubim.

* See Rev. Morris Joseph's address on "Jewish Ethics" in *Religious Systems of the World*, pp. 699, 700.

By the law of tribal inheritance land could not be permanently alienated. Such a regulation may perhaps now be regarded as a very crude attempt to counteract tendencies sure to result in gross abuse; but its purpose was commendable, and it served to educate the people fully as much by its temper and its spirit as by its immediate application. Whatever may be the opinion of the reader on the views advocated by Henry George, there has ever existed indisputably a crying evil in the accumulation of large estates under the unchallenged ownership of a single individual. Such an individual in the Bible is treated as an enemy of society and under the divine ban. "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth!" says Isaiah (v, 8). How is it now, when the land is leased for a short term by tenants, or worse, when it is cultivated in large tracts by mere hirelings under command of the proprietor? Schools and churches cannot flourish. No incentive is offered for permanent social improvements. The neighborhood feeling is utterly destroyed. Immorality increases. The denizens are apt to give themselves up to sensuality and debasing pleasure. They seek exclusively the enjoyments of a day, for they have neither responsibility nor interest in the place and its future. To rebuke this vicious tendency, always existing, the story of Naboth's vineyard was recorded. King Ahab was entirely willing to give a money or land equivalent for the coveted plot; but had Naboth assented he would have been disloyal to that legal system which was designed to preserve to him and his fellow-citizens their inherent rights to the soil. The crime of the royal house, which put the worship of Jehovah to scorn, consisted in the determination to overrule this sacred provision for the independence of the Hebrew family. As long as the law of home tenure was in force, so long would it be impossible for the rich to secure a monopoly of the fief, and thereby multiply their dependents and sap the strength from the conditions of a prosperous society. By the tribal assignment of nonforfeitable estates the population was more likely to be evenly distributed, so that one section would not gain overweening ascendency or advantage of another, and the clashing of classes and localities would be largely avoided.

The religious festivals occurring at stated periods were especially utilized for the comfort and elevation of the poor. There was one mitigating feature in the American system of slavery, for the negro always looked forward to Christmas week as an unconditioned respite from his galling servitude. For the covenant people, however, the feasts of the Lord were very frequent, and they invariably brought occasion of cheer to the unfortunate. The celebration of the feast ordained for the month Adar, and called Purim, consisted largely in the sending of gifts to the poor. When the feast of tabernacles was restored in the days of Nehemiah the people dwelt in booths in order to place themselves in some sort of equality. One part of the ceremony required that they should "send portions unto them for whom nothing is prepared," very much as the custom was in the times of the old-fashioned camp meetings, which did so much for the regeneration of pioneer communities. If land had been mortgaged it was returned to the original family owners on the recurrence of the seventh, or sabbatical, year, which must have been an occasion of great gladness to those who by misfortune or mismanagement had signed away their right to the annual product of the earth. There might seem to be a discrimination against the creditor, who must relinquish the use of the ground; but he understood when he opened the account how far the borrower was allowed to involve his estate. It is true that an improvident debtor might be embarrassed because he could get no credit of value beyond the year of release; but the law was instituted to prevent him from pauperizing himself. Both creditor and debtor classes would receive advantage from a law that prohibited absolute impoverishment of any member of society. More grateful still was the year of jubilee—an event that might occur in the lifetime of any citizen—and yet so infrequent as not likely to happen more than once. In ordering the feast it was said, "Ye shall not therefore oppress one another" (Lev. xxv, 17). By Americans it ought especially to be remembered as having given occasion for the edict inscribed upon the Liberty Bell, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof" (Lev. xxv, 10). Charles Wesley caught the true spirit of the institution in the refrain to his celebrated hymn, "Blow ye the trumpet, blow." For the Hebrew serv-

ant the sabbatical year might happen whenever the term of his servitude expired; but bond service could not extend over the jubilee.

Of all festivals the Sabbath of days was most benign in its aim toward the poor. All regular toil and much of the daily routine of ordinary labor must cease. As at the present, though so often misconstrued, it was the poor man's friend. It prevented master or employer from driving the toiler to death. That which might be pursued with vigor for six days became unlawful on the Sabbath; so that even a slave for one seventh of the time was owner of himself, a very humane provision which secured to the most abject complete exemption from his debasing condition for a portion of his time. He had ample opportunity for the cultivation of those thoughts and emotions which would develop his moral manhood and bring him to a sense of his responsible relation to God. The feast was not only a holiday, but better, a holy day for growth in religion, of which the chief earthly feature is the manifestation of love for one's neighbor.

In various minor ways the value of human life was inculcated. When a house was erected the occupant was required to maintain a firm battlement around the edge of the roof (Deut. xxii, 8). Parents must manifest a wide consideration for the well-being of their children; and it was forbidden, as a most horrid crime, to sacrifice offspring unto Moloch or any other of the savage idols worshiped by surrounding nations. The patriarchal order, which had invested Abraham with unquestionable authority over the life of Isaac, was wholly abrogated, and in the responsibility for individual existence no one could stand between the possessor of it and his God. Lynch law was not allowed, and the occasion for its exercise was removed by the substitution of a simple and impressive *lex talionis*. If murder occurred, the nearest of kin to the victim was charged with the duty of avengement. Cities of refuge for the unfortunate offender, conveniently located throughout the land, were monumental reminders of the sanctity of human life. As they were priestly residences, there came to be an indissoluble association between exemption from capital punishment and the ceremonies of a religion which formed the vital framework of civil society. An inno-

cent perpetrator was bound to stay in his chosen sanctuary until the death of the high priest who stood for the present order of things. Life began anew with another pontiff, for it was sacred before God. Not even an irrational creature could escape with impunity when life was destroyed (Exod. xxi, 28–32). There were also given some very tender admonitions in regard to the treatment of dumb animals, so that the purpose of a modern society for the prevention of cruelty was long anticipated. Some progressive scientists have urged, apparently as an original idea, that the right of brutes to live and enjoy themselves should not be causelessly invaded. Even when Jewish legalism had gone to seed it did not fail to exercise a lively compassion for the comfort of beasts.

While polygamy and divorce were permitted they were not encouraged, and woman's rights were respected far beyond the custom of contemporary nations. Isaac Mayer Wise says * that the maxim was current among the people, "Who is divorced of his first wife, has made the same experience as if the temple had been destroyed in his days." "A case of divorce," he adds, "belonged to the anomalies of the law." The husband of a bride was exempt from military service for one year after the wedding, and that among a people who were under strict martial discipline (Deut. xxiv, 5). Caution of the most gallant nature was obligatory when the life or shapeliness of unborn infants was imperiled (Exod. xxi, 22, 23). A delicate respect for others' misfortunes is required in the law, "Thou shalt not curse the deaf, nor put a stumbling-block before the blind" (Lev. xix, 14).

Let this system of legislation be compared with the codes in practice among other nations. It cannot be asserted that the Hebrews monopolize all the kind and considerate regard for humanity; but they were preeminent in laying the foundation for an ideal philanthropy.

The Spartans were distinguished for vigor of life and sturdiness of character, but at what a sacrifice of individual rights! The fundamental principle in the laws of Lycurgus was the subordination of the single life to that corporate abstraction, the State. Weakling infants were exposed on Mount Taygetus to die or be brought up with the Perioeci. The males

* *History of the Israelitish Nation*, vol. i, p. 146.

were fed at the public table and on a very plain diet, of which a part was black broth. The boys were scourged at the altar of Artemis, until blood gushed from their bodies, in the presence of their parents. Family life in the Christian sense was wholly impossible. The condition of the Helots was exceedingly deplorable, for they were permanently and hopelessly enslaved to the land.* Lycurgus may have entertained a worthy purpose in this legislation, and may have been actuated by the maxim, "The greatest good of the greatest number;" but the body politic cannot exist for its own sake. The Hebrew economy was instituted to develop and exalt individual life. In Athens there was greater freedom, but it was said that the laws of Draco were written in blood, and Solon was employed to create a reform in the government; yet his work was entirely devoid of the religious motive which has given permanency to the Hebrew system.

There is a striking contrast in the social regimen of the Israelites and that of the Roman people. While by many the laws of the twelve tables have been regarded as the palimpsest on which the code of modern liberty has been written, not enough credit has been given to the system of Moses in the formulation of political ideas.† Personal right was acquired by severe and persistent struggles on the banks of the Tiber. The children of Israel were taught to believe that their *Magna Charta* was granted simultaneously with the foundation of the State. Many acts of injustice were perpetrated by the representatives of royalty in Jerusalem and Samaria, as numerous and scathing rebukes by the prophets unmistakably show; and there can be no question but that Solomon's reign was a vicious tyranny by which the poor were often bitterly oppressed. These instances of abuse can be readily duplicated at any time in the history of Rome; while on all such flagrant and impious oppressions the religious teachers in Israel pronounced the wrath and punishment of God. The Book of Deuteronomy, whose reading so alarmed Josiah, most vigorously condemns ambitious and unprincipled kings and rulers who would seek their own delight at the expense of the

* See Smith's *History of Greece*, Felton's edition, pp. 63-65; also Curtius (vol. 1, pp. 214-222), who does not view the matter in so dark a phase.

† See H. A. Harper, *The Bible and Modern Discoveries*, pp. 140, 141.

masses. In Hebrew annals there does not appear any such protracted and organized conflict as that between the plebeians and the patricians of the Roman republic. There was nothing to correspond with the servile wars which so disturbed the Latin races. If the tribune of the *plebs* had the sanction of his own convictions and of public sympathy to sustain his efforts in behalf of popular rights, the Hebrew prophet, as the messenger of Jehovah, dared to invade the inner portal of the palace and in the name of heaven denounce any act of injustice. Even the lion-hearted David quailed before Nathan as the unterrified seer portrayed the picture of a king seizing the inviolable goods of the poor. The insertion of such a parable in the literature of the people* made it morally impossible with impunity to ignore or fail to appreciate the rights of the humble or defenseless. The king's crime was enormously aggravated because it was committed against a foreigner who was loyal to his service. It has been said that the *patria potestas* of the Romans bears the image of a barbarous age.† It was exercised long after the benign principles of family life in Palestine had elevated youth, through various interesting stages, to the responsibilities of manhood. Edersheim‡ shows that there were not fewer than eight designations to tenderly mark the various periods in the life of a Jewish son. Rome, of course, had no such homogeneous population as that which formed the Hebrew State, and greater severity to the inferior classes may have been unavoidable. Nor was the enslavement of other races ever very extensive among the Israelites, for they were always restricted in their martial conquests and commercial relations. The former of these, indeed, would not

* Note, however, that the compiler of the Chronicles for some reason omits any account of this unflattering incident in David's history.

† John Lord, *The Old Roman World*, p. 237. Consult this work also for similar views on the evils of slavery and divorce, the severity of penal law, and other abuses. For an extensive description of the *patria postestas* and its relation to the State, see Maine, *Ancient Law*, pp. 130–165.

‡ *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. i, pp. 221, 226, 227. The terms are יֶלֶד, *yeledh*, a newborn babe, as in Isa. ix, 6; יוֹנֵק, *yôneq*, the suckling, Isa. xi, 8; עוֹלֵל, *'ôlel*, the nursling who teases for food, Lam. iv, 4; גָּמוּל, *gamûl*, the weaned child, Isa. xxviii, 9; טַף, *taph* ("toddler"), the child clinging to its mother, Jer. xl, 7; עֶלֶם, *'elem*, a child becoming firm, used of the lad with Jonathan, 1 Sam. xx, 22; נַעַר, *na'ar*, lad, one who shakes himself free, Isa. vii, 16; בָּחוּר, *bahur*, the (chosen) ripened one, Isa. lxii, 5.

have supplied an atmosphere favorable to an ethical code which recognized the universal kinship of the human race and protected the meanest individual in the exercise of his natural rights, as sacred to God who made him.

There is a difference of opinion in regard to the treatment of the lower classes by the Egyptians. Pressensé * quotes from a papyrus now in the Louvre and from the *Book of the Dead* to prove that the Egyptians were very kind and merciful, at least in theory. Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in his work on *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, quoted by A. H. Sayce,† has pointed out that "the Egyptians, alone of ancient nations, considered an act of humanity worthy of record in stone." Geikie,‡ however, represents the masters of the Nile as exceedingly oppressive in spirit. The people were treated as slaves by their kings and the higher castes. The construction of the pyramids and other public works necessitated a most degrading enslavement of multitudes. An inscription of the period says, "It is very hard to make the smooth road on which the colossus is to slide along; but how unspeakably harder to drag the huge mass, like beasts of burden." Slaves, at least, were driven with unremitting vigor; and if the sentiment of fraternity was entertained it was restricted in its practice to the ruling classes. The people were enfeoffed to the land and belonged to the Pharaohs. "There was, in fact, no 'people' in Egypt; only slaves." Ewald § is authority for the statement that the Egyptian culture must have ultimately repelled, rather than attracted, Moses. The Sinaitic legislation was designed to rebuke and counteract the system of religion and politics under which the children of Israel had suffered such injuries. This is proven in the issuance of the second commandment, as the deification of the brute creation had been carried to its extreme by the Egyptians. No doubt Moses was wiser from what he had learned in the midst of this greatest civilization then extant; but when he ordained a statute aimed toward the exercise of mercy he added that the law would commend itself to the people, as they remembered that they had been bondmen in Egypt. The recollection of that grievous

* *The Ancient World and Christianity*, pp. 81–84.
† *The Races of the Old Testament*, pp. 84, 85.
‡ *Hours with the Bible*, vol. ii, pp. 65, 66, 77–79.
§ *History of Israel*, vol. ii, p. 56.

servitude made it impossible for them ever to inflict similar hardships even on captives, much less on their brethren. Yet slaves have often been the hardest of masters.

The Old Testament code endowed the individual with hope, in vivid contrast with the despairing systems of India. Untold and indescribable miseries befall the children born near the Himalayas, so that the struggling millions are without heart, spirit, or ambition. No wonder that they have been so easily made subject to the British crown. Especially is the condition of the female sex unfortunate. The following prayer of a high caste woman who had spent her life from childhood as a "child-widow" is quoted in the *Encyclopædia of Missions:* *

> O, Father of the world, hast thou not created us? Or has, perchance, some other god made us? Dost thou only care for men? Hast thou no thought for us women? Why hast thou created us male and female? O, Almighty One, hast thou not power to make us other than we are, that we, too, may have some part in the comforts of life? The cry of the oppressed is heard even in the world. Then canst thou look upon our victim hosts and shut the doors of thy justice? O God almighty and unapproachable, think upon thy mercy, which is a vast sea, and remember us. O Lord, save us, for we cannot bear our hard lot.

In lands nominally Christian it is still difficult to enact a systematic course of legislation that will protect the poor and friendless. Demagogues needing suffrages may construct platforms and utter impassioned addresses which profess to aim at the alleviation of distress; but we all have learned to our disappointment that, when they are elected, they yield complete subservience to the money power. If the minister of the Gospel appeals to the Bible standard for the making of laws he is positively informed that his plans are visionary and impracticable; but there would not be so many anarchic disturbances in this modern civilization of ours, which claims to be advanced, if the spirit of the Mosaic institutions was treated with more deference.

Whence originated such a system of beneficent laws? It would be absurd to deny that there was a good degree of humanity in the natural man who lived in the midst of Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, or Roman influences. The

* Art. "Hinduism."

Chaldeans were not devoid of the milk of human kindness, as the brief sketches in Genesis prove. It is not derogatory to the credit of Moses that he learned from the patriarchs and from Egypt and Midian. The Bible says that he did. We are wont to say that the instructions of the *Torah* came from God; but it does not follow that the founder of the Hebrew State did not acquire some of his legislative wisdom from the study of past history and of the actual condition of the neighboring nations. God had endowed these also with some faculties for government. Knowledge may be divinely granted when received secondhand, as well as when delivered through a supernatural medium. Information acquired in the ordinary way may be as much a part of God's truth as if it had been revealed amid the portents of Sinai. While much has been evolved from the immanence of God in the human soul there is a very valuable quantum that can be secured only by intellectual effort. What of good it may have pleased the Lord to make known unto the heathen was not despised in the composition of the inspired books. It is somewhat of an answer to those who tell us that Moses could not have produced such a code as that attributed to him in the wilderness to suggest that he "was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."* As well might it be said that it was impossible for the framers of the American Constitution to produce that instrument, which is the embodiment of the best national jurisprudence collected up to date. It is stated in so many words that the great lawgiver did accept the counsel of his father-in-law, Jethro, in matters referring to the dispensing of justice in the congregation. We can well wish to know more about the code in use among the Midianites, or rather, as it is suggested by Ewald, the Kenites, who were ever afterward so friendly to their kinsmen. But the skill of an architect must reach beyond the character of the material that may be used in the building.

Wines† makes the claim "that the scholars of other countries lighted their torch in Zion." He attributes the superiority of the Sinaitic covenant to the fact that Jehovah communed with his people. They were imbued with a humane and be-

* Comp. Warburton, *Divine Legation of Moses*, vol. ii, pp. 316, 317.
† *Commentaries on the Laws of the Ancient Hebrews*, p. 334.

nevolent spirit because the Lord walked among them. If the Romans were gifted with the power of organization and the Greeks with that of philosophical analysis, the Hebrews inherited the religious feeling which is considerate of frailty and removes its cause. In the study of comparative religions we observe that worship is largely separated from morals. Some of the most exhaustive treatises on the subject omit any reference to the faith and life of the devotees in the description of the various systems called religions. There is no such separation in Mosaism. Jehovah requires beneficence as preliminary to worship. All national prosperity is the fruit of the divine blessing. The welfare of the community depends on the happiness of its individual members. To this the Lord is committed. War and adversity will be inflicted if the poor are oppressed. Injustice is to be punished in this world. Warburton and others have shown that the doctrine of future retribution was held in abeyance, though it was advocated by the Egyptians. As yet there was too much danger of tyranny and its related iniquities if the wicked were not at once to receive ample deserts so that others might be restrained from their crimes. Well was it said, "What nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law, which I set before you this day" (Deut. iv, 8). This thought was inbred into the life of the people, so that they fully believed that the divine sanction was the spur of all their social intercourse.

It may seem to be a serious objection to the Old Testament order that it was not uniformly carried into effect. Jeremiah attributes the cause of the Babylonish captivity to a disregard of the sabbatical year. Even the Sabbath of days was grossly violated, and the feast of tabernacles had suffered total desuetude (Neh. viii, 17). Doubtless many of the requirements of the calendar and ritual were exceedingly embarrassing, inconvenient, and sometimes disastrous. The first Book of Maccabees (chap. ii, 32-41) relates that some of the Jews lost their lives rather than fight on the Sabbath day; but the survivors resolved that their enemies should never be allowed again to take such an advantage. It is difficult, indeed, to conceive how the sabbatical year could be literally observed; but the enactment would, at least, serve as a reminder that the share of the

impoverished in the product of the real estate must be duly recognized. A compromise in the way of some equivalent return for the interest in the crops of the seventh year would most likely be proposed, if necessary, for it is not at all probable that the poor and weak would endure violence or the spoiling of their goods without a cry for relief, such as was made to Elisha by the widow whose sons were about to be seized by her creditors.

Laws that depend on a religious sanction carry with them an important disciplinary purpose, though they may not be fully observed. They offer an ideal standard by which to cultivate the disposition of the subject, so that he may at least strive toward the mark of perfection. Such commands, when in advance of public opinion, are not demoralizing, as civil enactments, which are to be enforced by temporal penalties, are asserted by some to become when not vigorously executed. Indeed, God's moral order, if disobeyed, is invariably attended with the threatened consequences, whether men are or are not prepared for the doctrine. We do not think of banishing or abrogating the New Testament because the great majority of professing Christians live confessedly far below its inculcations. A few vigorously and sincerely endeavor to maintain the Bible standard of holiness and perfection; but new obligations arise with further study and appropriation of the truth. Christ, in the Sermon on the Mount, read new lessons in the sixth and seventh commandments. It is in the province of our text-books on ethical science to widen the application of the law to every contingency; but we may expect that God's thoughts will anticipate all our philosophy. In spite of there being so many sorry caricatures of Christianity, the Gospel has educated society until many reforms have been accomplished, such as the abolition of slavery, the settlement of international disputes by arbitration, the extension of suffrage, the placing of restrictions on child labor, better protection for the debtor class, and a milder prison discipline. Such benevolent bodies as the Society of Friends have never been discouraged because their numbers were few or their material resources insignificant. Their little leaven permeates the whole lump. Though the poor were oppressed and otherwise mistreated by the powerful in Israel and Judah, yet the Jews are now distinguished for their tender

and considerate interest in behalf of their weaker brethren. Eleemosynary art has achieved a higher state of progress among them than among the Gentiles. To the chosen people the law is *Torah*—instruction—and the patriot seeks no higher distinction than to be a rabbi or a disciple. His chief aim is to delight in the law; for he is a child of God, and the divine command is thankfully received as infallible advice.

In regard to humane efforts for the amelioration of society the Mosaic law is to be regarded as a schoolmaster. To a people thus prepared by generations of peculiar instruction the ministry of Christ was addressed. The Son of the carpenter was an appropriate outgrowth and divine embodiment of the Father's unremitting care for his little ones. Jesus owned no real estate. He often was hungry and weary. In youth he was subject unto his parents, living in an obscure hillside town, which would naturally suggest limited, if not straitened, circumstances. The country at this time apparently teemed with lepers, widows, the poor, blind, lame, deaf, dumb, epileptic, and demented, who instinctively discovered in him a friend. When he entered on his work he called attention to the benign prophecy (Isa. lxi, 1–3) which he declared would be fulfilled in him. By the announcement of his gracious works he expected John to be convinced and satisfied. The words of the Saviour are explicit. He enunciates a valuable truth, which ought now to be kept in mind, that "the Sabbath was made for man," especially for that class who are less fortunate than their fellows. He emphatically reiterates, what had been almost forgotten, "I will have mercy." He quails not in his bitter malediction of the scribes and Pharisees who "devour widows' houses" and "are full of extortion." He encourages the indigent to believe that they can do good, and commends a widow who asserts her right in the temple privilege by giving two mites. In the parable of the Good Samaritan he teaches how far the beneficent provisions of the second table are to extend; and in the account of the rich man and Lazarus he reminds his hearers that neglect of the poor is an express violation of the divine order as revealed in Moses and the prophets, who furnish all adequate sanction for a life well pleasing to God.

When Christ ascended his followers accepted the legacy which he had bequeathed to them in the house of Simon the

leper, "Ye have the poor with you always;" and they began the work of almsgiving by attempting to establish a system for the community of goods. It was soon proven that such an arrangement was faulty and liable to grievous abuse; yet they never failed to inculcate the obligation which they had sought to discharge in this way. It was the business of that most heroic spirit, Stephen, to whose martyrdom Paul's conviction was due, to see that the Hellenist widows were not neglected in the daily ministration. James, in his preeminently Jewish epistle, warned the rich against their covetousness and extortion. A new dispensation has not changed the policy of the Lord of Sabaoth in behalf of the reapers whose cries have entered heaven (James v, 4). Pure religion consists still in visiting "the fatherless and widows in their affliction." In the first general council of the New Testament Church a specific canon was adopted and approved, that the more prosperous Gentile Christians should "remember the poor" (Gal. ii, 10); and Paul commended his apostolate in that he "also was forward to do" the same. On such an errand he visited Jerusalem, on which occasion he was arrested and afterward providentially conveyed to Rome. In his earlier epistles and in the Acts of the Apostles great prominence is given to this general and continued movement to assist the poor saints. In the last books of the New Testament the precedent is recognized as leading to a principle that was to be universal in its application (1 Tim. vi, 17–19). This Christian spirit is gracefully illustrated in the classic letter to Philemon, who is advised to receive his regenerated bondman Onesimus as a "brother beloved." The law of kindness was an integral element in the woof of original Christianity, and its present manifestation in so many various forms is but the interweaving of beautiful figures that form component parts of the entire fabric.

Modern statesmen and philanthropists will do well to develop the primary purpose of the Hebrew legislation, which seems to have anticipated the social reforms that now agitate the public mind. Many eleemosynary institutions have been properly relegated to support and control by the civil power, which, though nonsectarian in operation, should be religious in principle. No Christian would demur to bearing his share in the maintenance of insane hospitals and similar asylums. But the body politic is

too often administered under the direction of trusts, corporations, and millionaires, who give the poor man but little opportunity. The liquor saloon, an enemy of labor, home, and good feeling, is still the dominant power in politics, and but little effort is made to suppress it, on the wearisome pretense that laws of this kind cannot be executed. Thus, pauperism is propagated and capital is endangered, as class is arrayed against class through a disregard of the law of love. Materialism of the grossest kind is the basis of much of our social philosophy. The Malthusian theory of population is gaining in popularity, though there seems to be no immediate occasion to dread the awful consequences predicted. Among the Jews, who have ever been so tender toward the waifs of humanity, the national theology taught the truth that "a man's a man for a' that."

It may be customary to cry down anything Hebrew as narrow, offensive, and bigoted; but it yet remains that the votaries of Mosaism have thriven under adverse criticism and unremitting persecution. Christians have been furnished with one of the strongest arguments for the intrinsic value of their own faith in the continued existence and prosperity of the Jews. Once, it was thought that the laws enacted to teach men to love their neighbors as themselves were limited in their scope to a single nation that claimed to be holy and to a race who were content to be a peculiar people. But at the advent of Jesus a new era dawned, and by the preaching of the Gospel peace and good-will* were proclaimed to all mankind. Mosaism was a conservatory for the cultivation of young shoots and rare plants, that might afterward bloom and bear fruit throughout the whole earth.

* Some good authorities prefer the rendering of the Authorized to that of the Revised Version.

John Poucher

ART. IV.—THE CONFERENCE COURSE OF STUDY.

BY Conference Course of Study, as every Methodist preacher knows, is meant the course of study prescribed in the Discipline for traveling preachers and for local preachers applying for ordination. In the earlier days of Methodism, before the era of Methodist colleges and seminaries, this "course of study" was the only curriculum pursued by well-nigh all Methodist preachers; and even in this day, with all our vaunted educational facilities, large numbers of our ministers graduate at no other theological school. The day may come when no man will be sent out as pastor of a Methodist society who has not received a collegiate or seminary education, or both; but that day is not yet. Whether we like it or not, the fact remains that God still calls men to preach the Gospel who are neither college nor seminary graduates; and they come knocking at the doors of our Conferences and praying for admission on the grounds of that call. Some are young and can wait for college and seminary training. All who possibly can are urged to step aside for such special preparation. But some cannot turn aside for this purpose. Shall they all be denied admission? The Methodist Church has been in the habit of saying: "If they know they have been converted; if they know, and the Church believes, they have been called of God to preach the Gospel; if they are pure in life and sound in doctrine; if they have native ability and a good elementary English education as a mental foundation; if there is room for them and places that need them, admit them on trial. Let them begin to preach. Put them in the front of the fight, and let them drill afterward." That was what the Conference Course of Study was meant to be—a mental drill for a working Methodist preacher.

It is stating a truism, patent to every practical educator in the Church, to say that this course of study has not accomplished all that might reasonably be expected of it. Where shall the blame be laid? Is it because the course laid down in the Discipline is not the best possible for accomplishing the results desired? It seems hardly proper even to hint at such a thing, when this course has been selected by our honored board of bishops and comes with the seal of their approval fresh upon

it. Are the undergraduate ministers themselves to blame? In part; for if they mastered the books, in any true sense, the desired end would be attained. Yet many do not master the books. Why not? Is the fault with the committees on examination? In part; for committees have been known to pass candidates upon a very superficial examination.

Yet we must not lay all the blame on undergraduates and examiners. Has not indolence in examined and carelessness in examiner been encouraged, if not engendered, by an unwise method, or lack of method, in planning for examiners and examinations? There is danger in having any officer in Church or State who is not amenable to some higher power for his official conduct; and our Conference committees, as a rule, have been just such officers. Each examiner has been a law unto himself, a free lance, an Ishmaelite. Appointed, frequently, for no special qualification for such service; continued at the caprice of his presiding elder; dropped, at the end of his first, fifth, or tenth year, with or without cause, as might best suit the whims or plans of the power that appointed him; not required to conduct his work according to any system or plan; amenable to no man or set of men for the fidelity and wisdom with which he executed his work; with no praise offered for good work done, no censure for grossest negligence of his sacred trust; with no standard set before him as the ideal method of performing his delicate and important task; with no incentive for him to do his best, neither as appealing to his ambition by a hope of reward, nor yet to his fear of condemnation in case of failure—no wonder, with such a lawless, chaotic system (?) behind him, that an examiner should grow careless, neglect preparation for his examination, and then on facing his class should say, "Well, brethren, I guess you have all studied the books." "Yes, sir." "That is right. And I have no doubt you know just as much about them as I do. But it is my duty to ask you a few questions."

So a few meaningless questions are asked from a hurried glance at the "table of contents;" the examiner expresses his satisfaction at their evident proficiency; all the class pass with high marks, which mean nothing; and every intelligent student, as he leaves that room, hangs his head in shame at such a farce of an examination, which passes men indiscrimi-

nately, whether they have studied or not. His soul is shocked, his mind dazed, as he wanders off to himself to ponder this recent revelation: "And is the door to the ministry of the great Methodist Episcopal Church so carelessly guarded—the Church of my choice, the Church of my love, for whose ministry I have such high regard that I have laid aside all other prospects and ambitions and have devoted ten years of my youth and early manhood in preparation for its holy work—and yet is it of such little value that one need only know the silly schoolboy questions asked us by that popular minister in order to be admitted into the charmed circle? Surely, to be a minister of our Church means far less than I had supposed. The loosest examination I ever had in public or high school, in college or seminary, was strictness incarnate compared with that I have just passed. Does it really require less brains and culture to be a minister of the Gospel than to be a teacher in the public school or a freshman at college?"

The workings of the old system of appointing examiners and conducting examinations, as seen in an experience of several years in the Wilmington Conference as examined and examiner, suggest five objections to the method:

FIRST OBJECTION: CHANGING OF EXAMINERS.

If "practice makes perfect" in other things, why not in examinations? No man is as well prepared to examine at the first reading of a book as at the tenth reading. Nor is it possible for any examiner to tell beforehand just how a question will strike the mind of a student. A wise examiner strives to so frame a question that its meaning shall be perfectly plain. All ambiguity must be excluded. Yet, with the utmost care, a question that seems perfectly clear to the examiner may not prove univocal to the examined. One question given to a class last year, that to the examiner's mind could mean only one thing, was misunderstood by every member of the class. Hence we concluded that it was an unfair question and one not to be asked again in that form. Improvement in examinations can only take place by continuing one man on the same books. Colleges act wisely in this matter. By continuing a man year after year in one department he becomes a master of that department, better able both to teach and examine every time he

restudies his course. Who would care to attend a college where the professor changed departments every year—taught Latin this year, Greek next, mathematics the third, science the fourth, and then was dismissed and an entirely new man put in his place? Yet the latter has been our Conference method—constant changing, either by putting in new men outright or by moving forward the examiner with the class. No man has had a chance to examine two years in succession on the same book. This is most unwise, as anyone can see.

Remedy: A permanent board of examiners, who shall continue to examine in the same studies year after year. See Rule 1, below.

As a corollary to objection one, rather than as a separate objection, comes the unwisdom of having separate examining committees for each year's class. Changing examiners and separate committees for each year stand or fall together; the condemnation of the one is the death sentence of the other. Why should it be deemed necessary to have two men engaged in examining candidates on Harman's *Introduction* at the same time, because some candidates are in the second and some in the third year? Should not the very fact that they had faced an examiner in the second year on the first half of the book and learned his style of examination be the strongest argument in favor of their appearing in the third year before the same man for examination on the last half? Why should two examiners be necessary on United States history, or Methodist history, or grammar, or the Discipline, or on books on other subjects which are identical in the two courses, simply because in one the candidate is being examined as a traveling, in the other as a local, preacher? Are history, grammar, and the Discipline different because studied by men seeking these different relations? Does not wisdom say, "One examiner for both?" Is it not far wiser to have certain examiners for certain books and to let them examine all those who are to be examined on these books, whether traveling or local, whether first or second or third or fourth year preachers?

Remedy: Divide the entire courses of study for traveling and local preachers into departments. Place a wise, progressive educator in charge of each department and keep him there. See Rule 2.

SECOND OBJECTION: METHOD OF APPOINTING EXAMINERS.

The old method has been for the bishop to appoint the examiners, which means that the presiding elders practically appoint them. Perhaps no set of men in the Conference know so well, in a general way, the abilities and capabilities of the ministers of the whole Conference as do the presiding elders. Perhaps no committee that could be appointed by the chair or the Conference would be likely to nominate examiners so intelligently as the presiding elders. So, if the old system is to be continued, by all means let them be appointed as heretofore. But if we elect and organize a board of examiners, as contemplated in Rule 1, we have a body of men far better qualified to judge of the fitness of a man on the examining board than the presiding elders can possibly be. The presiding elder knows Brother M. N. as a college graduate and a fine preacher, thinks that of course he will make a good examiner, and appoints him on general principles. But because a brother has pulpit ability of a certain sort and writes A.B., A.M., or even D.D. after his name is not demonstrative evidence that he is a good examiner, that is, that he knows how to ask fair, clean-cut questions that mean something and has judgment enough to weigh the worth of an answer. Let that same M. N. meet with his fellow-examiners for a year. Let them read or hear the questions he gives, examine the answers received and the marks given, see how the class succeeds with him, and then they will be more competent than any outsider can possibly be to say whether he should be continued. For unwise nominations there is a

Remedy: Let the board of examiners nominate, and the Conference elect, all examiners. See Rules 1 and 2.

THIRD OBJECTION: METHOD OF CONDUCTING THE EXAMINATIONS.

Examinations are usually oral, written, or partly oral and partly written. As usually conducted, all three methods are unfair. Take the oral method. A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and J are ten students to be examined by K. K has carefully prepared one hundred questions, which will be ten for each man, and has decided to give a mark of one for each question correctly answered, ten being a perfect mark. He begins. Question 1 is asked of A, and, it being an easy question, A an-

swers promptly and correctly and one is set down to his credit. Question 2 is difficult, and B and C fail on it, while D answers it and gets a credit of one. Question 3 is easy, and E answers it; but 4 is difficult, and, F, G, H, and I missing it, J answers it, and receives his credit of one. So it goes until the hundred questions are exhausted. It is found each man has answered ten questions; and according to his plan K gives each man ten and congratulates himself on his skill and his fairness to all the men. Has he been fair? Not at all. A, B, C, E, F, G, H, and I have missed every difficult question, leaving them to be answered by D and J, while D and J have not had an easy question during the examination, but have been kept busy answering the difficult questions which the other eight could not answer. Is it fair to D and J, the two hard, faithful students of the class, to give them the same mark for answering ten difficult questions that the other eight receive for answering ten easy ones?

Let us take the written or the partly written and partly oral examinations. Again we have one hundred prepared questions, arranged in series of 1–10, 11–20, 21–30, etc.; and these being placed on the table the class is allowed to draw. Is this fair? No; it is even more unfair than the oral method given above. No matter whether the answers are all to be written, or five are to be written and five oral, the result is the same; it is unfair. A, E, and H draw 11–20, 51–60, and 71–80 respectively; and these being the most interesting parts of the book, as well as the easiest to remember, A, E, and H happen to know these parts and, although the poorest students in the class, get ten each. But D and J, the two brightest and best students in the class, happen to draw 21–30, and 61–70, the least interesting and least important sections in the book and, therefore, the most difficult to commit—in fact, such parts as a wise student would not try to commit; and they get six each. Is it fair that success in passing one's examination should depend, not so much upon careful study, as upon his "luck" in drawing the right slip?

Remedy: Let all examinations be in writing. Let the same identical questions be asked of every student. Let there be a large number of questions on isolated facts of importance scattered through the entire book, to test the memory and

prove that the entire book has been studied. Let there be a few general questions, broad in scope, to test the reasoning, analytic, and synthetic powers of the mind. Then the examination will be a real and fair test. See Rule 5.

FOURTH OBJECTION: THE ONE ANNUAL EXAMINATION.

Our objection to the one annual examination is on two grounds: 1. A Methodist preacher is too busy in the last three months of the Conference year, the preaching of two sermons every Sabbath—no small strain on a young man—the making of delayed pastoral visits, the correcting of pastoral and church records, the hunting up of the all-important benevolent collections leaving little time or energy for other work. To ask a man under such a burden of dissimilar duties to review the studies of a whole year and prepare for a strict examination on the whole year's study is outrageously unfair. No school or college in the country of which we have knowledge makes any such demands upon its students, although these have nothing else to do but study. 2. It prevents that intercourse between examiner and examined which is so much to be desired. Under the old system examiner and examined study independently, and neither has an idea of how the other sees a book until they meet in the examination room. Of course, the difference in mental bias makes the book quite unlike for the two men. Examiner has seen 7, 13, 16, 27, 33 as the principal truths and prepared his examination upon those points; but Examined has seen 4, 12, 16, 20, 28 as the principal truths and is prepared to pass a perfect examination from his view-point of the book. Ought not some plan to be devised so that the examined shall know the views of the examiner upon the book before he is compelled to face his list of questions?

Remedy: Let there be a mid-year meeting at some central place of all examiners and examined, at which a part of the course shall be completed and passed upon, and at which the examiner shall tell the class what he sees in the books of his department. See Rule 4.

FIFTH OBJECTION: THE PERSONAL EQUATION.

We are all wonderfully human and are more controlled by prejudice than we care to confess or are even aware of. This

weakness of humanity causes trouble in examinations, even among ministers. A is known as an especial pet of K's. He was converted during K's pastorate. He was licensed while K was presiding elder. Now K is on the examining committee, and A comes up for admission. K would not be human if, under such circumstances, he did not give A as high a mark as he consistently could; and A's examination being really first-class he gladly gives him a perfect mark, ten. But B is in that same class. He, too, is an old acquaintance of K's, but not on such friendly terms as A. B's father led the anti-K faction in the church at the same time that A's father led the K faction. A, hearing his father say so many good things of the pastor, was bound to him, then led to Christ; but B, hearing nothing but abuse of K, learned to hate him and was a great annoyance during K's entire pastorate. Now K will not be human if, under such circumstances, he gives B any more than he fully merits; and as his examination is very imperfect he feels he is fully justified in marking "three" after B's name. Will not some of B's friends now be tempted to say, "K is prejudiced and gives ten to A because he likes him, and three to poor B because he dislikes him?" How shall we get rid of this personal equation—the temptation to mark according to our feelings and the temptation to slander an honest man for doing his duty?

Remedy: Have all examinations signed in pseudonym and sent to the secretary of the board before going into the hands of the examiner. See Rule 6.

These are the five great objections to the old system, as we see it, and their remedies. Are not these suggestions practical? Only two objections have been offered to the proposed plan: 1. That the board of examiners may develop into a clique that will give trouble; 2. The cost of arranging for and attending this mid-year meeting. To the first of these we reply that the danger is only imaginary. The board only nominates; the Conference must elect. Then, too, twice as many nominees must be presented as there are vacancies to fill. See Rule 10. But even without this precaution is there any more danger that such board will form a clique to run the Conference than that the presiding elders will do the same thing? As to the second, that of cost, the question was solved for us of the Wilmington Conference by the trustees of our Conference Academy, at

Dover, Del., a beautiful town, centrally located, and permeated with Methodism. These trustees very kindly extended to us the broadest and most cordial invitation to hold our mid-year meeting as their guests and to stay as long as was necessary. This grants us, not only bed and board for all examiners and examined, but full use of their magnificent recitation rooms and assembly hall. We accepted the invitation and held our first meeting there in June last with great success. We pooled our traveling expenses, which averaged us just $1.28; and our five days' board saved at home fully paid this amount. Other Conferences having Church schools or colleges within their borders could doubtless make similar arrangements.

We of the Wilmington Conference believe these plans to be a step in the direction of progress. By a unanimous vote at its last session the rules which are given below were adopted. The board met and with equal unanimity adopted the scheme of studies hereto appended. It is not claimed that the plans here presented are the very best that can be evolved; but we are striving for an ideal plan. Until we are shown a "more excellent way" we will hold to our own, praying the great Head of the Church to use it to build up more symmetrical and better furnished workmen than those of us who entered under the old *régime*.

RULES FOR THE ELECTION, AND DUTIES, OF THE WILMINGTON CONFERENCE BOARD OF EXAMINERS.

1. The board of examiners shall consist of sixteen elders, who at the first shall be nominated by the presiding elders and elected by this Conference, and shall serve for a term of years as follows: four for one year, four for two years, four for three years, four for four years. After the election of the first board all nominations shall be by the board, and four members of the board shall be elected annually by this Conference to serve a term of four years, or until their successors have been elected. Vacancies occurring in the interim of the Conference shall be filled until Conference by the board.

2. Immediately after their election the board shall organize and elect a president and a secretary, and divide the entire course of study prescribed in the Discipline for traveling and local preachers into fifteen parts, and assign one department to each of their number except the secretary.

3. The secretary shall keep a record of all meetings of the board, a roster of all the undergraduate ministers belonging to the Conference, both traveling and local, be the means of communication between the examiners and the undergraduates, and keep a record of the examination of each student.

4. The board shall hold two stated meetings annually, namely, one in the month of June at the Wilmington Conference Academy, and the other on Monday and Tuesday preceding the session of the Conference at the seat of the Conference. The June meetings shall be in the nature of a ministerial retreat or summer school of theology, for instruction, for counsel, for meditation, and for the semiannual examinations. The annual meetings shall be for consultation, final work of examinations, such business as may be necessary, and outlining work for the coming year. The number of sessions at these stated meetings, with plans of work for each session, shall be arranged and published at least two weeks previous to such meeting, by a committee consisting of the president, secretary, and one appointed by the president at the previous stated meeting.

5. All examinations shall be in writing, both questions and answers. The examination on each book shall consist of not less than fifty, nor more than one hundred, questions of the catechetical order, requiring short, specific answers; and not less than five, nor more than ten, general questions, broad in their scope, so as to give an idea of the real learning of the student and his mental grasp. The examinations shall be marked on the scale of one hundred, the combined catechetical questions counting fifty, and the combined general questions counting fifty; and a mark of thirty in each set of questions and sixty on the whole examination shall be necessary to pass the candidate.

6. All answers to examination questions shall be forwarded to the secretary, signed with a pseudonym or number, accompanied by a sealed envelope containing the name and address of the student and marked on the outside with a number or pseudonym corresponding to that signed to the examination paper. The secretary shall promptly forward the paper containing the answers to the examiner in that department, who shall carefully examine the paper, mark plainly upon it the mark he judges it to merit on the scale given above, and return the

paper to the secretary for enrollment. The secretary shall then enter upon his register the mark given, and return the paper to the student. The examiner shall also keep a record of the mark given each paper.

7. The board of examiners shall have authority to make such subsidiary rules as may be necessary to carry out this order of the Conference, provided that such subsidiary rules shall not conflict with these nor with the Discipline of the Church.

8. The entire scheme of studies, with names of examiners, shall be published in the Minutes.

9. "Elementary English branches" shall be construed to embrace spelling, reading, English grammar, common school geography, and written arithmetic.

10. In nominating to fill vacancies twice as many names shall be presented to the Conference as there are vacancies to fill, the vote to elect being by ballot.

The Conference Courses of Study are divided into the following departments: 1. English. 2. History. 3. Belles Lettres. 4. Mental Science. 5. Apologetics. 6. Methodist Polity. 7. Methodist History. 8. Theological Encyclopedia. 9. Historical Theology. 10. Biblical Theology. 11. Exegetical Theology. 12. Systematic Theology. 13. Doctrinal Theology. 14. Homiletical Theology. 15. Practical Theology.

Vaughan S. Collins

ART. V.—PRESS, PULPIT, AND PEW.

RIGHTLY related, properly understood, and thoroughly consecrated, nothing could withstand this trinity of forces in regenerating the world. A discussion of such a theme is timely. With most important problems, involving the weal or woe of humanity, awaiting solution, never was there more need for "the arousements." With this mightiest triple agency at our command, God awaits a more complete application of right principles to all the varied relationships of life and demands such an answer to these vital questions of the day as shall mark a more rapid advancement toward the highest moral civilization. Without this application and verdict by the millions who are daily making momentous decisions and meeting new relations, there surely await us social convulsions and civil and religious strifes such as the world has never seen. An all but omnipotent power for good within our reach, yet with the possibilities of the greatest evil, brings a weight of responsibility that we will do well to consider and try to understand.

The propensity, evidently God-given, to put in permanent form life's history and its lessons, and to communicate thought for the benefit or interest of others by means of the written page, is significantly voiced by Job: "Oh that my words were now written! oh that they were printed in a book! that they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever!" and indicates a power for molding opinion, shaping character, quickening intellect, and penetrating life that cannot be overestimated. No doubt man began very early this register of his thought and history; but it has remained for the citizen of the nineteenth century to have past treasure and present wealth of heart and intellect laid at his feet by the printed page of book and periodical, even as the north wind blows thither the autumn leaves. Job's "iron pen and lead" have been modernized; and appealing, as they do, to common sense, higher instincts, varied interests, material and spiritual, or ministering to the depraved tastes, bad habits, and base passions of the vast multitude, no power of the present day is comparable with them.

The chief reading of our time is the newspaper, including in this term the periodical of every kind, and the novel. The

newspaper has become an absolute necessity. Men must have it, the busiest making time to read it, not only for the news, but for direction in thought and opinion. Edited minds are now quite common, the paper regularly read indicating their position on any living issue. The best writing is done for the periodical; and our foremost men in thought and intellect are found entertaining, instructing, narrating, reasoning in our broad sheets. Modern journalism, with its mechanical skill, keen enterprise, and intellectual ability, is something almost miraculous in its achievement. Thackeray compares it to "the great engine that never sleeps in bringing to every man some portion of the world in which he is most interested." Holland describes it as "raking the entire globe clean every day of incident, movement, and event; while no cost of toil or gold dismays it;" and Lamartine declares that soon "thought will not have time to accommodate itself to the form of a book; the only book possible will be a newspaper." Anyway, it stands as the historian of our daily life, while forming public opinion, influencing legislation, dictating politics, changing dominant parties, and, whether it be the daily, weekly, monthly, or quarterly issue, representing the institutions, philosophies, literatures, foibles, and habits of men the world over.

Scarcely less influential is the modern novel, defined as prose narrative fiction and produced in such vast and overwhelming quantities that it would be a hopeless task to make anything like a complete catalogue. A nation's literature should be rich in historical records, scientific data, philosophical research, and the choicest thoughts and principles of mighty souls; but it may properly clothe the ever-instructive story of life in the costume of fiction and thus minister to one of the noblest faculties of the human mind. We dare not write a wholesale condemnation of the novel. Its power to impart many of life's most important lessons cannot be questioned. The story-writer will never lack readers; and so long as the ideal world thus created reveals life just as men live it, warning us by impressive recitals and inspiring to noble purposes by lofty examples, we cannot deny it a high place in the general culture of humanity and in the uplifting of the world. But when this fictitious writing is, much of it, worldly, profane, frivolous, impure, sensual, pen cannot describe the awful results; and yet

for this kind there is an immense demand. To stand in the post office when the mail arrives, to spend an hour in a circulating library, to call at the retail counter of book and department stores, or to visit many a publishing house as the stream of "yellow-covered literature," to say nothing of the blue and gold, sheep and morocco, issues therefrom, would convince the most skeptical that the rage for such fiction is beyond all precedent. Designing, unworthy authors, realistic caterers to a morbid appetite, or ignorant scribblers of insipid, unmeaning, if not corrupting, novels are becoming the teachers of more than half the present generation. Acknowledging the vast influence of periodical and novel in effecting the world's weal, criticism cannot be too severe, invective too keen, or anxiety too intense in view of their perversion and moral delinquencies. A classification of these combined publications will present the evil of a demoralizing press more forcibly.

I. *The unwholesome and polluting.* In this class are grouped the following: 1. The obscene, sold on the sly and secretly read in schools, stores, shops, and homes, to leave a stain upon the soul that bitter tears cannot wash out or deepest repentance fully remove. 2. The infidel, openly avowed or, more often, dangerously disguised and coming in its worst form as a fascinating novel, an ably edited newspaper, or popular lecture. Written to undermine Christianity, frequently the product of cultivated intellect or, at least, of a certain smartness that is taking, and scattered broadcast in our cities and towns, especially in the mills, workshops, and factories, it is no wonder that spiritual indifference supervenes or that the heart loses what has been termed "its best jewel—faith in revealed religion." 3. The sensational illustrated, of large size, often printed on tinted paper, and giving in detail the grossest forms of crime, accompanied by pictures that ought never to meet the public eye, or presenting with coarse pictorial embellishments a fiction that must be suggestive of the foulest thoughts and that is destructive of every moral sensibility. An illustrated paper of the grade of *Harper's Weekly* is a most efficient agency in educating and molding the youthful mind; but these papers, exceeding in vileness all conception, flood our news-stands, and their indecent pictures are studied and their detestable trash read by young people all over the land, until

the moral turpitude of crime and immorality is entirely lost sight of and the dear ones of our homes are prepared to make a rapid descent of the broad path to ruin. This group would not be complete without including some of our best papers from the news standpoint, wherein, by sensational headings and startling, realistic descriptions, appeals are being constantly made to the prurient curiosity and baser passions of our being. Why should our great dailies become so largely "sewers of current filth," with every detail of wickedness so vividly reproduced that crime is exalted and increased by the very notoriety given? A morbid sympathy is created, criminals are flattered, the young are tempted to follow in their footsteps, and an irreparable injury is done to society by papers that, otherwise, inform, instruct, and entertain. Hugh Price Hughes, in one of his addresses while in this country, said, "I tell them in my church that, if they see a duke coming, they are to treat him with all due respect; but if they see a reporter, they must treat him with awed reverence"—a touch of sarcasm, perhaps, but wise enough advice from the proper standpoint. There are, however, conditions, far too common, which render it quite otherwise. The partisanship that will blacken and destroy the character of public men merely for political advantage, the unfeeling and often exaggerated descriptions of the sorrow, unhappiness, and shame of the erring and unfortunate, the banquets of butchery, blood, and scandal served up to create, in order that they may feed, a morbid appetite for sensational items should speedily change the "awed reverence" into that honest indignation which would demand the suppression of these carrion hunters and place the ban of society upon the journal that dares to publish and scatter broadcast such material. These publications, constantly going out among the masses, must necessarily compel to a process of education resulting in carnivals of sensuality and the utter demoralization of society. It is sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind.

II. *The latitudinarian.* This class, largely novels and romances, have not the open grossness, depravity, or sensationalism of the other; yet these qualities are not absent. Arrayed in the garb of decency, sugar-coated with polished periods and graceful imagery, they are, perhaps, all the more dangerous. It is the "charming, sentimental dallying with

sin," as Miss Muloch calls it, "which makes it appear so piteous, so interesting, and so beautiful," and which leads the reader into such close and dangerous sympathy with the most immoral characters. There is no censure of infidelity to home, of heart-adultery, of the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life, but, rather, such commendation as must obliterate all moral distinctions in the minds of those who read. If it is asked, "Are not these books and papers brilliant? do they not sparkle and delight?" Professor Porter gives the complete answer:

> Yes, brilliant, as a rotten log or a putrescent carcass, which shine because they are decayed, and are phosphorescent just in proportion as they are offensive; and sparkling, just as the will-o'-the-wisp, which is created of foul gases and leads the silly pursuer through brush and brier, till it lands him in some miry swamp or chokes him with the damps of death.

III. The third and largest class, if it cannot eliminate, distorts, ridicules, or ignores the religious element as the basis of national prosperity and individual nobleness of character. From hundreds of our influential journals you could scarce infer that there was any such a thing as Christianity. Human nature is exalted, and men are to be made moral and the world better irrespective of the great essential doctrines of the Gospel. We do not ask that literature be sermonized or books and periodicals filled with the terminology of religion. But as Christianity claims to be the great regenerating force of the world, appealing to its own principles and to what it has done for communities and individuals to substantiate the claim, and as it answers to the religious element implanted within us, becoming the motive to high-toned principle and nobility of life, why should authors and editors ridicule and ignore it? That noble men and women, writing books and articles in finest classical English, should fail to recognize, if they do not caricature, that which beyond all else stimulates the literary propensity, furnishes the loftiest ideals of character, and inspires to the most exalted virtues, is something which is beyond explanation or even comprehension.

Three standard and almost universally read authors will illustrate the point here made. For purity and loftiness of moral tone George Eliot's works are scarcely excelled; but how strangely silent and negative her pages are upon the relation of

religion to human life and character! If her characters are self-denying and self-sacrificing it is without the aid of the supernatural. Faith in the "unseen and eternal" plays no part in making them strong in temptation, noble in action, or patient in suffering; and Dr. Dewart's criticism is just, that "her aim is to make the flowers and fruits of purity, nobleness, and truth grow from the wintry soil of earth, without the quickening beams of the Sun of righteousness." The favorite creations of Dickens are villains. The noble man and the ideal woman are scarcely ever portrayed upon his pages. If they are, religion gets no credit for the development of such characters. Purity and love are more often personified in the ridiculous blunderer, and religion in the contemptible fool. His purpose, no doubt, was to write down and out the evils of the social and educational England of his day. Nevertheless, he missed the grand opportunity of adding, for the benefit of a world-wide reading public, "one character to that lofty rank where dwell the best of humanity, or creating one character so close to us, yet so much above us, that we can feel him a positive gain to humanity." The otherwise admirably drawn characters of Walter Scott have this defect, that the foibles and imperfections of human life appear necessary to happiness and success, while the master hand that has outlined the life and virtues of a Jeanie Deans seems to have entirely put aside, except occasionally for the purpose of distortion and ridicule, the sturdy religious characteristics of the national life of Scotland. The high morality and lofty principles which abound upon his pages are not traced to their true source. Why should our best novelists so often leave the reader to do this for them, knowing, as they must, that by the vast majority it will never be done? There can be no objection to the faithful portrayal and severe condemnation of hypocrisy, fanaticism, and narrow-minded sectarianism; but surely it is not incompatible with the highest province of fiction to carry the reader at the same time up to the true and essential, and to complete the picture by adding the bright-colored rays, that can only emanate from one source, as an offset to the dark and somber background. At any rate, our author seems to have had little moral or religious aim, thereby leading a Wilberforce to say, "I would rather go to render my account at the last day carrying up with me the *Shepherd of Salisbury Plain* than

bearing the load of all these volumes [the Waverley Novels], full as they are of genius."

I would not deprive our young people of the instruction and recreation that these and kindred authors afford. But it should not be an unwarned perusal, lest along with the entertainment they acquire the conviction that self-culture is sufficient for the attainment of our wishes, that true happiness does not depend upon religion, and that by overcoming obstacles to present success the future can be left to take care of itself. These three authors have been selected as representative of a mass of modern fiction, healthy and clean in itself and worthy of careful, but, in view of the objection noted, discriminating, study for style, diction, information, and pleasure. The value, power, and beneficence of the ideal newspaper and periodical have been acknowledged, while lamenting the tendency in certain quarters to mar that ideal by sending into our best homes journals with sensational headings and double-leaded columns filled with sensational and criminal details, under the plea that they are "news" and must be printed. With the honorable exceptions before mentioned, the classes described above constitute evil's mightiest agency; and Comstock's description is not too strong:

> Mingled with realism, sensationalism, licentiousness, and criminal details, are infidel lectures, scoffings at reformatory movements, caustic flings at religion, blasphemy of God's name, sarcastic assaults upon divine institutions, and exultations over the temptation and downfall of good men, . . . the printing press thus grinding the grist of hell for the tolls and rewards of the devil.

The battle is on, and it must be to the finish; for home and youthhood, State and liberty, Church and purity, heaven and immortal souls are in the balance. We do not need new weapons of warfare. Already there is available a force adequate to the overthrow of this giant evil.

1. Elevate the press itself to a higher moral standard. Wield it more effectually upon the side of righteousness. Use its mighty power to more thoroughly counteract the very evil it is now producing and perpetuating. True, there are many instances where the power is exercised for the noblest purposes, and where the manly tone, the pure sentiment, the fearlessness and ability employed in exposing and reproving the follies and

errors of modern society are all that can be desired. Still, it is none the less true that a large, if not the larger, portion of to-day's literature is not distinctly on the side of righteousness. How to elevate the standard of a periodical literature now furtively depreciating or coldly aloof, how to crowd out "dime novel" trash and supplant pernicious publications by a better sort at the same price, how to bring acceptable and at the same time wholesome and elevated reading within the reach of the masses, is yet to be fully wrought out. The popular mind has been accustomed to the dangerous romance or the too liberal periodical, and it is a mistake to offer thereto purely religious publications in the form of tracts, biographies, and doctrinal discussions. The influences for evil come from entertaining literature of a depraved kind. The counteractive must be in an entertaining literature, comprising the standard works of the very best authors, furnished as cheaply as the ten or twenty cent novel and the cheap periodical, discussing the engrossing topics of the day, comprehending every branch of knowledge, occupying every department of letters, and yet edited in a truly religious, God-fearing spirit.

This is a wonderful mine for the Church to work, and especially the great Methodist Episcopal Church, through her book concerns and agents and her resources of talent and wealth. There is no organization on the face of the earth better fitted by her polity to scatter, like the falling leaves, the best works of the day at the lowest price. If this be done there will dawn a new era of power, influence, and successful effort for God's glory. Her family of *Advocates* and other periodicals, already nobly serving an immense constituency, should have their readers multiplied tenfold by bringing their cost within the means of the humblest toiler and, at the same time, broadening the mission for rich and poor alike, by giving a weekly (why not daily?) epitome of information on every subject, and by discussing more fully the discoveries, inventions, philosophies, controversies, living issues of the day, as is done by the secular press and in social, business, and even political circles, but leavened throughout by the principles of Christian truth.

What a small proportion, after all, do Christian men and women furnish of the reading demanded by the masses! Arnold once said, "I never wanted articles on religious sub-

jects half so much as articles on common subjects written with a decidedly Christian tone." Sanctified intellect ought to be more productive along this line. Men and women of wealth ought to spend more money, and the Church itself ought to encourage and remunerate her editors, authors, and concerns, pushing to the widest extent possible their publications and supporting heartily their plans to instruct and entertain those who are so soon to take control of the world and all its interests. King or president is not comparable in honor with him who was the originator of the Chautauquan idea. Eternity alone can measure its wonderful power in elevating the people by developing a taste for good and solid reading. The educational advantages of the Epworth League should be more fully recognized, and unlimited means be used to bring its literary department to the highest excellence and usefulness.

In reference to the secular press there are hopeful signs. Already this article has hinted at the tendency to make vice and crime familiar, if not seductive, by lengthy details and ornate descriptions. It may be necessary to mention as items of news and as deserving of popular hatred villainies, divorce proceedings, and prize fights; but to make them chief features of a great daily, to the exclusion of a fuller presentation of social reforms, of eventful gatherings, and of that cause in which is bound up the happiness and prosperity of nations—in fact, of everything that is for the education and development of the nobler life—is a most alarming matter. Indications, however, point to better things. The "Editor's Study" of a late *Harper's* complains that popular assemblages celebrating some notable event, such, for instance, as the Bryant Centennial, were almost, if not entirely, overlooked by newspaper reporters, as if their readers could only be satisfied with daily repasts of sensationalism, if not sensuality:

> This is a grave, and not a trivial matter. It concerns the very life of the community. If the newspaper editor is in this case a good judge of what his readers desire to read his judgment is a terrible indictment of the intelligence and moral sympathies of the community. If he is mistaken he is doing what he can to fit the community to the character of the paper.

The cheering information is given that the matter is engaging the serious attention of the best newspapers, how to improve

the quality of reporting being the great journalistic inquiry, lest the circulation be seriously impaired by the dissatisfaction of thousands of readers whose good will is worth cultivating. Let the demand be so clear and convincing that authors, editors, and publishers shall be compelled to give more abundant recognition to all that pertains to the higher interests of the earth-life and a stronger championship to that which carries with it the brightest promise of the life that is to come.

2. The pulpit must maintain its old-time position, keeping in the front rank as a teacher of men and molder of opinion. A progressive age, a stationary or retrograde pulpit, is the favorite comparison. A writer in the *Westminster Review* states it clearly:

> So long as literature was an expensive luxury, and the great body of the people were either absolutely unable to read or had no taste and no time for reading, it was not remarkable that they should put up with a low standard of pulpit eloquence. . . . But in these days of half-penny papers and six-penny magazines the humblest churchgoer may, and often does, have a higher ideal of what a sermon should be than even well-to-do people had fifty years ago. For the masses not only have their judgment and taste cultivated by reading, but they attend the lecture room and the theater as well as the church, and, accustomed to hear accomplished actors and brilliant platform lecturers, they are coming to expect from the pulpit entertainment and instruction, as well as exhortations to "trust in God and do the right," which must always carry with them a certain platitudinarian sameness. Now, it is because the pulpit does not come up to the standard of excellence already attained by the press, the platform, and the stage, each after its own manner, that men stay at home and read on Sundays, go out and stroll while the morning service is being held, or go to some secular or semisecular lecture hall at night. . . . In influence for civilization and enlightenment the press, with all its faults, leaves the pulpit helplessly, hopelessly, ignominiously in the shade.

This is overdrawn; but there is no need of its even approaching the truth, with everything available for the sermon that makes a successful book or paper, the charm of voice, looks, and gesture being added; with a theme that touches every experience of our life, solves the deepest problems of our destiny, and awaits application to the stirring events that influence the public mind and the questions that agitate the human heart; with a mission to rightly develop the moral consciousness of our being, without which there cannot be true advancement; and with the authority to sway every power of the human soul and help it to the

mastery, drawing arguments and motives from that wonderful revelation which has furnished material for some of the magnificent productions in art and literature that have secured world-wide fame.

There is no reason aside from the preacher himself why the pulpit should not be to-day what it once was—the highest power in society. It cannot and it must not compete with the press in scientific disquisitions, philosophical speculations, literary ventures, political economics, social gossip, or as a chronicler of current news; but, standing as the oracle of God to hearts and consciences agonizing in spiritual struggles or blunted by the six days' contact with real world-life, to utter platitudes and commonplaces, to deal in a mere conventional theology, to forget the living issues and practical needs of the hour and the study of current thought and opinion in poring over the musty records of antiquity or discoursing on the myths of past ages, is simply to provoke scorn and contempt for incompetency, to deserve keenest criticism for "alienation of the masses" and "decay of the pulpit," and to warrant the advice that "the best thing the preacher can do is to gather up his robes, bow to the editor and author, and retire." It is difficult for thoughtful men, even though they may be religious and loyal to the church service, to pass from the reading of clever and pointed editorials or vigorous and convincing articles in the periodical to hearing sermons dull, prosy, scarcely above mediocrity, and often painfully below it. How much less can such efforts be expected to reach the careless and indifferent, arousing their lethargy and awakening their interest in that other-worldliness which is, after all, the greatest want of the soul.

A certain vigorous preacher has said that "Christianity needs her Columbus to discover the 'new world' that is around and awaiting our conquest." That "new world" is, indeed, not far off, awaiting its more complete discoverer—a baptized pulpit—to reveal its yet hidden wonders of love and mercy and subjugate its yet unconquered forces to the sway of Him who is Lord of all. Let the preacher, with a vivid apprehension from personal experience of the value of his message, bring the constraining motives, ruling passions, and varied circumstances of life to the test of the two great commandments; let him try the stirring events that awaken men's interest, the great movements

that absorb their energies, and the innumerable forms of present progress by the everlasting principles of the Gospel; let him ring out boldly and earnestly a warning voice to a selfish and material Church; as God's ambassador let him utter the yearning compassion and tender love of the infinite One to men who are waiting and expecting God to speak to them; as man's best friend and counselor let him plead, warn, exhort, and strive that he may be reconciled to God; let him help the doubting to settle those heart questions which no one can answer for them, the faltering to a stronger hold on the good and true, and the burdened to the great Burden-bearer; let him cultivate, not less intellect and learning (the very circumstances of the age demand these), but more heart and conscience, a veritable incarnation of the Christianity he preaches—and men will be attracted by the mighty truths he enunciates. It will not be said, "The periodical speaks to hundreds, while the preacher speaks to units;" for a crowded temple will await him, the press itself will sit at his feet to learn those basic truths which must underlie its highest usefulness and achievement, and the pulpit will be what it was intended—"the power of God" and, consequently, the master of the world.

3. The pew must more clearly distinguish between the good and bad in the literature, of whatever kind, it patronizes. Not to do this is to aid the bad in the most effectual way. In using the term "bad" there is meant, not so much the vile and polluting, as the latitudinarian, neutral, and non-Christian. Take away the profits accruing from the sale of such publications to Christian people, and it would materially affect their financial success. A little sum in arithmetic will show that thousands of dollars go from this source annually to sustain papers that, more or less openly, violate decency and scatter broadcast material that must corrupt both public and private morals. The gambler, libertine, or criminal could not personally enter these Christian homes as a guest; but they go there, nevertheless, and that, too, with an indorsement that gives them a dangerous foothold.

An earnest appeal should be made to the pew that, if there be in the home anything that would tend to the destruction of an immortal soul or endanger the integrity and character of the children, a fire should be kindled on the kitchen hearth and

allowed to burn until not a single paragraph remains. Harmless though it may appear, issuing from a respectable publishing house and ably editing the latest news and telegrams, no matter—away with it! Boycott it as effectually as you would the literature of crime and lust. Put a guard at the door of the Sunday school library and, by a rigid supervision, protect that life which is at the most impressionable age from the nondescript productions that abound everywhere, eager to gain an entrance, but that can only result in enfeebling the intellect, if not unfitting it for devotion and making the pleasures of the Christian life appear tasteless and dull. Fiction cannot be excluded; but let it come in such elegance of language, chaste imagery, manly spirit, and pure sentiment as shall prove a savor of life unto life and guide aright the precious souls of the rising generation.

There is no power better fitted than the pew to concentrate and give direction and force to the rising public sentiment for the enactment and, especially, the enforcement of wise laws for the suppression of all classes of vile literature. Let the pew be deeply impressed with the responsibility of spreading a pure literature to the ends of the earth, itself contributing articles of commanding interest and Christian feeling written under the inspiration of the life of religion; let it enthusiastically sustain a fresh, vigorous, earnest, baptized Pulpit, thereby promoting and extending the influence of Christianity in the world; let it exemplify, and so imbue society with, the spirit and regenerative principles of the blessed Master—and the products of an evil press must sink into utter oblivion. "No talent will keep a corrupt book alive in a pure age. The Byrons will not be tolerated a day in the millennium of holiness." The press, pulpit, and pew, if they will, can soon usher in the golden day.

ART. VI.—THE USE OF OUR FOUR GOSPELS BY JUSTIN MARTYR.

THE question whether Justin, the Christian philosopher and martyr, who flourished about the middle of the second century, makes use in his writings of any or all of our canonical gospels as authentic sources for the life and teachings of Christ, or whether he uses wholly or in part other sources, is a very important one. To determine this question with as much certainty as possible we have examined Justin's method of quoting the Greek version of the Old Testament, the Septuagint, and also compared carefully with our Greek gospels Justin's statement of his sources and his account of the life and teachings of Christ, as he gives them in his two undoubted works, his *First Apology* and his *Dialogue with Trypho*. The objection brought against Justin's having used our gospels is the fact that his quotations do not always correspond exactly with them. Let us, then, see whether he always quotes accurately the Septuagint. For if he does not, why should we think that he would always quote the gospels accurately?

In his *First Apology*, addressed to Antoninus Pius and others about A. D. 138 or 139, he says that Moses through divine inspiration predicted that "a ruler will not fail from the Jews until he shall come for whom the kingdom [or royal power, *βασίλειον*] is reserved" (§ 32). But the Septuagint which Justin used has, "A ruler shall not fail from Judah, nor a leader from his loins, until the things reserved for him shall come; and he is the expectation of the nations" (Gen. xlix, 10). Thus inaccurately does Justin quote this Messianic passage. Again, Justin quotes in § 54 the Messianic prophecy in Gen. xlix, 11, as follows: "Binding to the vine his colt, washing his robe in the blood of the grape." But the passage in the Septuagint is, "Binding to the vine his colt and to the tendril his ass's colt, he will wash in wine his robe, and in the blood of the grape his vesture." Justin's quotation is an abridgment of the passage. In § 60 Justin tells us that when the children of Israel had come out of Egypt and were in the desert venomous reptiles met them, both vipers and asps, and all kinds of serpents, which were killing the people, and that at the suggestion

of God Moses took brass and made it into the form of a cross and placed it upon the holy tabernacle, and said to the people, "If ye look at this figure and believe ye will be saved by it;" and when this was done, he (Moses) writes that the serpents died, but the people escaped death. With this statement let us compare the following account in the Septuagint:

> And the Lord sent among the people deadly serpents, and they were biting the people; and many people of the children of Israel died. And the people, having come to Moses, said, We have sinned because we have spoken against the Lord and against thee; pray, therefore, to the Lord, and let him take away from us the serpent. And Moses prayed to the Lord for the people. And the Lord said unto Moses, Make for thyself a serpent, and set it upon a standard; and it shall come to pass that, if a serpent shall bite a man, every one bitten when he looks at it shall live. And Moses made a brazen serpent and set it upon a standard. And it came to pass, when a serpent bit a man and he looked upon the brazen serpent, he also lived.

Justin gives various particulars not found in Numbers. Did he find these particulars in some apocryphal book, or did he draw on his imagination for them? Doubtless they were derived from a lively imagination.

We have not space for any more instances of Justin's inaccurate quotations, abridgments, and transpositions of Scripture, but shall now consider how Justin characterizes the documents which he uses as authorities for the life and teachings of Christ. In § 33 of his *First Apology*, in giving an account of the miraculous conception of Christ, he says, "As those who have related all things concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ taught [teach], whom we believe." That Justin's account is taken from Matthew and Luke is manifest from his language. He represents the angel of God as announcing to the Virgin: "Behold, thou shalt conceive by the Holy Spirit, and bear a Son; and he shall be called the Son of the Highest. And thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins." A little before giving this announcement Justin says, "The power of God, having come upon the Virgin, overshadowed her." In this indirect quotation Justin uses the words δύναμις, *power*, ἐπέρχομαι, *to come upon*, and ἐπισκιάζω, *to overshadow*, all found in Luke's gospel. Justin's direct quotation is manifestly made up from both Matthew and Luke. The first half is the exact language of Luke i, 31, 32; "by

the Holy Spirit" is added from the context in the gospel; and other parts of the verses are omitted. The last half of Justin's quotation consists of the very words—sixteen in number—found in Matt. i, 21, beginning with the phrase, "And thou shalt call," and in the very same order. Is this agreement accidental? In § 66 of the *First Apology* Justin thus says: "The apostles in the memoirs made by them, which are called gospels [*εὐαγγέλια*], thus have delivered, that Jesus commanded them, having taken bread and having given thanks, and said, 'This do in remembrance of me; this is my body.' And the cup likewise having taken and having given thanks, he said, 'This is my blood;' and he imparted [it] to them alone." Justin's first two participles are the same as Luke's, who alone uses *εὐχαριστέω*, *to give thanks*, after *λαμβάνω*, *to take*, in reference to the bread. "This do in remembrance of me" is the exact language of Luke xxii, 19, except that Justin puts *μοῦ* for *ἐμήν*. The second part of Justin's quotation, "And the cup likewise having taken," etc., is the language of Mark xiv, 23, 24, except that *ὁμοίως* is added for the *ὡσαύτως* of Luke. Justin does not quote the passages in full, for which he had no need. In § 67 Justin states: "On the [so] called day of the sun an assemblage is made of all [the Christians] who dwell in the different cities and country places, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time allows." The designation of gospels as *Ἀπομνημονεύματα*, *memoirs*, the name given to Xenophon's sketches of the life and teachings of Socrates, is very appropriate.

Let us next see how Justin, in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, designates his sources for Christ's life. In § 88 Justin states that "the apostles of this our Christ himself have written, that when he came up from the water the Holy Spirit as a dove flew upon him." In § 100 Justin states: "In the gospel it is written that he [Christ] said, 'All things have been delivered to me by the Father,' and 'No one knows the Father except the Son, nor the Son except the Father, and to whom the Son may reveal him.'" But the gospel of Matthew (xi, 27) reads: "And no one knows the Son except the Father, nor does anyone know the Father except the Son, and to whom the Son may wish to reveal [him]." Justin thus changes the order of the clauses as found in Matthew, and also in Luke. But he does

not stand alone in this. Irenæus (about A. D. 180–200) has the same order of the words (*Hær.*, lib. ii, cap. vi *) as Justin. Tertullian (*Adv. Marcion*, lib. iv, cap. xxv) also: "Nemo scit qui sit Pater, nisi Filius; et qui sit Filius, nisi Pater, et cuicumque Filius revelaverit." Epiphanius, a Greek writer (about A. D. 350–400), quotes the passage in nearly the same form as it stands in Matthew in the following places: *Hær.*, lib. liv, iv; lib. lxiv, ix; lib. lxv, vi; lib. lxxvi, vii. But in the following passages he has Justin's order: lib. lxxiv, iv; lib, lxxiv, x; lib. lxxvi, xxix, *confutatio.* Justin uses in the passage γινώσκω, *to know;* and in the *First Apology*, § 63, where he also quotes the passage twice, he has the second aorist of the same verb ἔγνω. Matthew has ἐπιγινώσκω; but Luke has γινώσκω, like Justin. Epiphanius, in most of the passages to which we have referred, uses οἶδε, *knows*, perfect of εἶδω. Matthew and Luke have "to whom he may wish to reveal [him]." Justin, on the contrary, omits "may wish," and has "may reveal him." In the same way Epiphanius, in every instance that we have found, quotes the passage like Justin.† In § 101 Justin, speaking of the ill treatment of Christ by the Jews, says: "They said in irony those things which also are written in the memoirs of his apostles." In § 103 Justin, speaking of the devil's approaching Christ after he had come up from the Jordan, and the words had been spoken to him, "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee," says: "It is written in the memoirs of the apostles, he [the devil] having come to him and tempting him so far as to say to him, 'Worship me,' that Christ answered him, 'Get thee behind me, Satan. Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.'" Justin, while professing to give his Jewish antagonist the language addressed to Christ at his baptism, has done nothing more than give him, in the same order, the exact words of Psalm ii, 7, which contains a part of what is in our gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Lactantius (A. D. 314) quotes the passage in the same form ‡ (*Div. Inst.*, lib. iv, cap. xv, 1) as Justin. "Worship me," as quoted by Justin, gives the substance of what the devil said. Christ's answer in Justin is the exact

* Also substantially the same in lib. iv, cap. vi.

† Justin has ἄν, while Epiphanius has ἐάν.

‡ The voice was heard from heaven, "'Filius meus es tu, ego hodie,'" etc.

language of Matt. iv, 10, and the words are in the same order. Justin omits, "For it is written." In this same section (103) he says: "For in those memoirs which I affirm were composed by his apostles and their companions [it is written] that sweat poured down like clots [of blood] while he was praying and saying, 'Let this cup pass away, if it is possible.'" Ἱδρὼς ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι, *sweat as clots* (of blood), are the exact words of Tischendorf's * text of Luke xxii, 44. Justin discriminates between the evangelists very accurately in this passage—"apostles [two] and their companions [two]."

In § 104 Justin, in speaking of Christ's sufferings as having been foretold, says: "It is written in the memoirs of his apostles that these things came to pass." In § 105 he says that when Christ gave up his spirit upon the cross he cried, "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit," the exact words and order found in Luke xxiii, 46. Justin adds: "As I have also learned this from the memoirs." Again, it is written in the "memoirs" that he said these things: "Except your righteousness shall exceed [the righteousness] of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven." Justin's Greek consists of nineteen words exactly, the same and in the same order as they are found in Matt. v, 20, in the text of Tischendorf; and we find that this text stands exactly the same as in the two oldest codices, *Vaticanus* and *Sinaiticus* (about A. D. 350). Can we doubt that Justin's words were taken from Matthew's gospel and that this gospel was one of his "memoirs?" In § 106 Justin speaks of the star that appeared at the birth of Christ, by means of which "the Magi from Arabia came and worshiped him [Christ], as it is written in the memoirs of his apostles"—a clear reference to the gospel of Matthew. In § 107 Justin says to Trypho, the Jew, "It is written in the memoirs that your countrymen, disputing with him [Christ], said to him, 'Show us a sign,' and he answered them, 'A wicked and adulterous generation seeks a sign, and a sign shall not be given to them, except the sign of Jonas.'" There are thus sixteen words in Christ's answer, and they are exactly alike and in the same order in the Greek of both Justin and of Matt. xii, 39, except that

* Irenæus evidently had the words in his text; for he says if Christ had not possessed a human nature, "not would he have sweat drops of blood" (οὐδ' ἂν ἱδρῶσε θρόμβους αἵματος). *Hær.*, lib. iii, cap. xxii (about A. D. 180).

Justin uses the plural "them" for the singular "it," as found in Matthew. Justin omits "the prophet" at the end.

We will next consider the passages manifestly taken from our gospels, though the source is not indicated. In the last part of § 14 of the *First Apology* Justin says, in reference to Christ's teachings: "The discourses [λόγοι] made by him were short and concise; for he was not a sophist, but his word was the power of God." * In § 15, he says: "Concerning chastity so far did he say, 'Whoever looks upon a woman to lust after her, has already committed adultery before God.'" Both Justin and the Greek text of Matt. v, 28, have πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἤδη ἐμοίχευσε τῇ καρδίᾳ, "for the lusting after has already committed adultery in [his] heart." Justin has "Whoever may look at a woman" (ἐμβλέπω, with the dative); Matthew has βλέπω, with an accusative. For the "whoever may" of Justin, Matthew has πᾶς ὁ, *everyone who*. On the insertion or omission of the pronoun *her* (αὐτήν) the oldest Greek manuscripts of Matthew differ. Justin, while he gives ἐμβλέπω in his quotation, afterward uses προσβλέπω to express the same thought, showing that he did not bind himself to the use of the same word. Why, then, should he have thought it necessary always to adhere to the very words of Matthew. He adds to his quotation from Matthew, "before God," to express the sense fully. Justin proceed sin his quotations: "And if thy right eye cause thee to offend, knock it out; for it is profitable for thee with one eye to enter into the kingdom of heaven, rather than with the two to be sent into the eternal fire." The first sentence of this quotation consists of nine words in Greek, which are exactly the same and in the same order as in Matt. v, 29. Justin abridges Matthew's "pluck it out and cast [it] from thee," and gives us "knock it out." "For it is profitable for thee" is the exact language of Matt. v, 29. The last part of Justin's quotation is based on Mark ix, 47, or Matt. xviii, 9: "With one eye [μονόφθαλμον, the same word as Justin's] to enter into the kingdom of God, rather than having two eyes to be cast into the gehenna." Instead of "the gehenna," Justin gives "the eternal fire," for the simple reason that the Roman emperor would not know the meaning of "gehenna." "And who marries [a woman] divorced from another husband com-

* With reference to Matt. vii, 28, 29.

mits adultery," as given by Justin, is based on Matt. v, 32, "Whoever shall marry a divorced [woman] commits adultery." Justin uses the same three verbs as Matthew. "And there are some who have been made eunuchs by men, and some who were born eunuchs, and there are some who have made themselves eunuchs on account of the kingdom of heaven. But not do all receive this." This passage follows Matt. xix, 11, 12, very closely. Εὐνοῦχος and Εὐνουχίζω are both used in Justin and in Matthew; γεννάω is common to both; and χωρέω is used by both in the rare sense of being capable of receiving. A few words of the passage Justin omits. Christ said thus, continues Justin: "I came not to call [the] just, but sinners to repentance"—the exact language of Luke v, 32, except that Justin has the second aorist ἦλθον, *I came*, instead of the perfect as used by the evangelist. But in the parallel passage in the gospels Justin's form of the verb is used.

"Concerning the loving of all men, these things he taught: 'If you love those who love you, what do you new? for also the fornicators do this. But I say unto you, Pray for your enemies [ἐχθροί], and love those who hate you, and bless those who curse you, and pray for those who threaten you." The first part of Justin's quotation is the exact language of Matt. v, 46, and Luke vi, 32. But the next part, "what do you new?" is not in the gospels; it is either "what reward have you?" as in Matthew, or "what thanks have you?" as in Luke. Justin gives the sense of the evangelists well when he adds, "For also the fornicators do this," instead of "the publicans" of Matthew and "the sinners" of Luke. "Pray for your enemies, and love those who hate you" is not the exact language of the gospels, but it is the substance of Christ's teaching. But Justin, in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, § 96, says that Christ taught, saying, "Love your enemies"—the exact language of Matt. v, 44, and Luke vi, 27. The last part of Justin's quotation, beginning with "Bless those that curse you," is the language of Luke vi, 28. Justin uses εὔχομαι for προσεύχομαι, *to pray*, for the first word is the classical one. Justin proceeds: "Respecting sharing with the needy and doing nothing for reputation, he said these things: 'Give to the one asking, and from the one wishing to borrow [from thee] do not turn away. For if you lend [to those] from whom ye hope to receive, what do you new [or

uncommon]? This also the publicans do. Do not lay up for yourselves treasures upon the earth, where moth and rust corrupt [destroy] and robbers break [dig] through. But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust corrupt.'" The first part of Justin's quotation follows quite closely Matt. v, 42. The next sentence, ending with "hope to receive," is the exact language of Luke vi, 34. "This also the publicans do" is substantially Matt. v, 46. The next verses of Justin, making twenty-eight words, are nearly the exact language of Matt. vi, 19, 20. The words *σής, moth, βρῶσις, rust,* and *ἀφανίζω, to corrupt* or *destroy,* outside of Matthew are nowhere found combined as they are in Justin. *Σής, moth,* with the exception of the passage in Matthew, is found only once in the New Testament. Justin omits the noun "treasures" after his verb *θησαυρίζω, to lay up.* "For what is a man profited, if he gain the whole world, but lose his own soul [life]? or what will he give in exchange for it?" This is manifestly taken from Matt. xvi, 26. Justin uses the present, instead of the future, of *ὠφελέω, to profit, ἀπόλλυμι* instead of *ζημιόω, to suffer loss,* omits "man," and puts "it" instead of "his soul [or life]." All the rest of the words are the same.

Justin continues: "And be ye kind and compassionate, as also your Father is kind and compassionate, and makes his sun rise upon sinners and just and wicked." This is based on Luke vi, 35, 36, and Matt. v, 45. In the first of these passages it is said: "And ye shall be the sons of the Highest; because he is kind to the ungrateful and wicked. Be ye compassionate, as your Father is compassionate." Matthew has: "He makes his sun rise upon wicked and good." "Be not anxious about what ye shall eat, or what ye shall put on." This is the language of Matt. vi, 25, some words being omitted by Justin. "Are ye not better than the fowls and the beasts? and God feeds them," is taken substantially from Luke xii, 24; but Justin adds, "and the beasts," not in Luke. "Do not be anxious therefore about what ye shall eat, or what ye shall put on; for your heavenly Father knows that ye have need of these things. But seek the kingdom of heaven, and all these things shall be added to you. For where the treasure is, there also is the mind [*νοῦς*] of the man. And do not these things to be beheld by men; otherwise ye have no reward from your Father who is in heaven." The

foregoing language of Justin, making sixty or seventy words, is for the most part the very words of Matt. vi, 1, 25, 32, 33. The last clause of Justin begins with the peculiar words *εἰ δὲ μήγε*, *otherwise*, just as in Matt. vi, 1, and has all the other words exactly as in Matthew, except "from" your Father, instead of "with" your Father.

In § 16 Justin states that respecting (our) being long-suffering and serviceable to all and free from anger, these are the things which he (Christ) said: "To the one smiting thy cheek offer also the other; and the one who is taking away thy coat or cloak do not forbid. Whoever is angry is liable to the fire; and to everyone who compels thee to go a mile follow him two; and let your good works shine forth before men, that they, seeing them, may worship your Father who is in heaven." The first two of these precepts is nearly the language of Luke vi, 29. All the verbs and nouns are the same. *Σιαγών*, *cheek*, occurs both in Luke and Justin; it is found elsewhere in the New Testament only in Matt. v, 39. It is the classic word for "jawbone." "Whoever is angry," etc., is an abridgment of Matt. v, 22. "And to everyone who compels thee," etc., is substantially Matt. v, 41. The rare word *ἀγγαρεύω*, *to compel to go*, occurs both in Justin and Matt. v, 41; elsewhere only in Matt. xxvii, 32, and Mark xv, 21. The precept, "Let your good works shine," etc., gives in an abridged form the sense of Matt. v, 16. "Concerning not swearing at all," says Justin, "he exhorted us always thus to speak the truth: 'Swear not at all; but let your yea [be] yea, and the nay, nay. What is more than these [is] of the evil.'" Here we have an undoubted quotation from Matt. v, 34, 37. The last line of Justin is the exact language of the second half of Matt. v, 37. *Ἐστίν* is omitted in Justin. Justin represents Christ as saying: "'The greatest commandment is, The Lord thy God thou shalt worship, and him only shalt thou serve, with all thy heart, and with all thy strength, the Lord God who made thee.' And one having come to him and said, 'Good Master,' he answered him, saying, 'No one is good except God alone, who made all things.'" The first of these passages is based on Mark xii, 28–30, and the second on Mark x, 17, 18, where it is found in the same language, except that Justin uses *μόνος* instead of *εἷς*. Justin in the first extract, after "God," adds "who made thee," and

after the second extract, "who made all things." This would indicate to the heathen emperor what God Christ referred to.

Justin, to show that Christianity requires acts, not simply words, says Christ thus taught: "Not everyone who says to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father, who is in heaven." This quotation consists of twenty-five words, exactly the same and in the same order as in Matt. vii, 21, only the emphatic οὐχί being substituted in Justin for οὐ. Is it possible to doubt that this passage was taken from our gospel of Matthew? Justin says (§ 17), in reference to the question of tribute, "Christ asked, 'Tell me whose image has the coin?' They said, 'Cæsar's.' Again he answered them, 'Render therefore the things of Cæsar to Cæsar, and the things of God to God.'" This answer of Christ is the exact words, in the same order, found in Matt. xxii, 21, except that Justin puts before the second "Cæsar" the article, wanting in Matthew. Justin says that Christ declared, "To whom God has given more, more also will be demanded of him," which is found substantially in Luke xii, 48. In § 19 Justin says: "We know that our teacher Jesus Christ said, 'The things impossible with men are possible with God.'" This is the substance of Matt. xix, 26. "And do not fear those who kill you, and after this are not able to do anything; but fear him who after death is able to cast both soul and body into gehenna." Justin then explains "gehenna." The passage is based upon Matt. x, 28, and Luke xii, 4, 5. But no stronger proof can be given of Justin's use of Matthew's gospel and its authority with him than the way in which he quotes the prophecy of Micah v, 2. Instead of following the Septuagint, he gives the exact form of the prophecy as contained in Matt. ii, 6: "And thou Bethlehem, land of Judah, art in no wise least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come forth a governor, who shall feed my people." Justin omits "Israel" at the end of the verse. There are twenty-two words in this quotation without the slightest deviation. In the Septuagint there are about a dozen words in the prophecy not found in Matthew and Justin. Again, Justin in quoting Zech. ix, 9, follows at first the Septuagint exactly: "Rejoice greatly, daughter of Zion; cry out, daughter of Jerusalem." But in quoting the rest of the verse, which is

the only part that Matthew quotes (xxi, 5), he leaves the Septuagint and follows the evangelist: "Behold, thy king comes to thee, meek, sitting upon an ass, and [even] a colt, the foal of an ass." Matthew has "and" before "sitting" and "upon" repeated before colt, wanting in Justin. The Septuagint has some different words, differently arranged.

We shall next consider the remaining passages concerning Christ's acts and teachings in Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, the Jew. Justin says (§ 17): "He [Christ] exclaimed among you, 'It is written, My house is a house of prayer; but you have made it a den of robbers.'" This is from Matt. xxi, 13, and is nearly accurate. Further: "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because ye tithe mint and rue, but the love of God and judgment you do not regard; whitewashed sepulchers, appearing beautiful without, but within full of dead men's bones." In the first of these clauses Justin combines portions of Matt. xxiii, 23, and Luke xi, 42. The second clause, "whitewashed sepulchers," etc., is taken from Matt. xxiii, 27. And still further: "Woe to you, scribes, because ye have the keys, and you yourselves do not enter in, and those entering in you prevent, blind guides." This passage is the substance of Luke xi, 52. Justin says (§ 35) that Christ declared: "Many false Christs and false apostles will arise and lead astray many of the faithful." This is based on Matt. xxiv, 5, 24; but Matthew does not mention false apostles. In § 49 Justin says that the forerunner of Christ, sitting at the river Jordan, cried out: "I baptize you with water unto repentance; but the stronger than I will come, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear. He will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire. Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly cleanse his threshing floor and gather the wheat into the garner; but the chaff he will burn up with unquenchable fire." There is overwhelming proof that this passage came from Matt. iii, 11, 12. In Justin the Greek consists of fifty-four words. The Greek of Matthew has fifty-seven words. There are only a few deviations from Matthew in Justin. He has "the stronger than I will come" instead of "the one who cometh after me is stronger than I." Justin has evidently abridged this. Justin has one *αὐτοῦ*, *his*, too many (Hebraistic?); lacks *αὐτοῦ*, *his*, with "wheat," where Matthew has it; and puts *συνάξει*, *will gather*, after the object

"wheat," instead of before it, as in Matthew. All the other words, about fifty in number, are precisely the same and in the same order in Justin and in Matthew. The improbability of all these words thus accidentally coinciding in both writers is as millions to one. We may say it is impossible.

In this same section (49) Justin remarks: "Our Christ said to those who were saying that Elias must come before Christ, 'Elias will come and restore all things; but I say unto you that Elias has already come, and they did not know him, but they did to him what they wished.'" "And it is written," says Justin, "that then the disciples understood that he spoke to them concerning John the Baptist." This is taken from Matt. xvii, 11–13. Here are thirty-three words in Greek, exactly the same and in the same order as the words in the Greek text of Matthew, except that Justin has the future, "will come," in reference to Elias, instead of the present, as in Matthew, and omits ἐν before the second "him," which is in Matthew. This quotation is from Matthew beyond all doubt, since it gives the evangelist's own remark upon what Christ said. In § 51 Justin represents Christ as saying, "The law and the prophets [were] until John the Baptist, since which the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force. And if ye will receive [it] he is the Elias who is to come. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." This is abridged from Matt. xi, 12–15. In § 76 Justin says that Christ taught, "They shall come from the east [and from the west] and sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into the outer darkness"—manifestly taken from Matt. viii, 11, 12, with slight change. Justin also states that Christ said that when he shall pronounce sentence upon the guilty he will say, "Go away into outer darkness, which the Father hath prepared for Satan and his angels." This is found substantially in Matt. xxv, 41. Justin continues: "He said, 'I give you power to trample upon serpents and scorpions and millipeds and upon all the power of the enemy.'" This is substantially the language of Luke x, 19, except that "millipeds" is wanting in Luke. Justin says that Christ cried out before he was crucified, "It is necessary that the Son of man suffer many things, and be rejected by the scribes, and be crucified and rise on the third day," which is found, partly

exact in phraseology and substantially correct in sense, in Luke ix, 22.

Justin says in § 81 that in reference to the resurrection and judgment Christ said, "They will neither marry nor be given in marriage, but will be like the angels [*ἰσάγγελοι*], the children of God [being the children] of the resurrection." The passage is an abridgment of Luke xx, 35, 36. The Greek word *ἰσάγγελοι, like the angels*, is found both in Luke and Justin, and apparently occurs nowhere else. In § 100 Justin says that, the Virgin Mary having received faith and grace, the angel Gabriel, announcing to her the good news that the Spirit of the Lord shall come upon her and the power of the Highest shall overshadow her, wherefore that holy thing which is to be born of her is the Son of God, she answered, 'Let it be to me according to thy word.'" This is the exact language found in Luke i, 35, 38, with the exception of the change of the second person *σύ, thou*, to *αὐτή, she*, and the substitution by Justin of "Spirit of the Lord" for "Holy Spirit," as in Luke. In § 125 Justin refers to the parable of the sower as follows: "My Lord said, 'The sower went forth to sow the seed; and some fell on the road, and some among thorns, some upon rocky places, and other upon the good ground.'" This seems based on Matt. xiii, 3–8. In § 78 Justin gives quite an extended account of the birth of Christ and the visit of the Magi, which is evidently taken from Matthew's gospel. In speaking of the Magi he says, "They worshiped the child and offered it gifts—gold, and frankincense, and myrrh." These three articles are those enumerated in Matt. ii, 11, and are in the same order.

Our examination of the passages in Justin giving Christ's history and teachings, and our comparison of them with those accounts which we have in the gospels of Matthew and Luke, prove beyond all possibility of doubt that these two gospels were, indeed, parts of the memoirs of the apostles and their companions which Justin so often quotes as his authorities for the life and teachings of Christ. Our attention has not yet been especially directed to Justin's use of Mark's gospel. This is in many respects so much like Matthew's that we cannot always discriminate the quotations, and Justin does not appear to have taken many passages from it, although we have seen that in some instances he appears to have quoted it. But we find clear

proof that Mark's gospel was a part of Justin's authentic sources for the life of Christ. In § 106 of his *Dialogue with Trypho* he says, "And the statement that he [Christ] changed the name of Peter, one of his apostles—it has also been written in the memoirs of him [Christ] that this also was done, besides his also having changed the names of two others, being brothers, sons of Zebedee, and given them the names of Boanerges, which is 'sons of thunder.'" Mark's gospel is the only one that states that Christ changed the names of the sons of Zebedee to "sons of thunder" (Mark iii, 17). This passage of Justin shows that Mark's gospel was a part of the "memoirs." The "memoirs of him" (or "his memoirs") named in the quotation from Justin can hardly be referred to as Peter's memoir of Christ, on the supposition that this apostle was the authority for Mark's gospel, but the reference must rather be to the memoirs of Christ, or the gospel history. Justin always quotes the gospels as a unit, and never singles out one of them.

Here the question arises, Did the gospel of John make a part of the memoirs which Justin says were composed by the apostles of Christ and their companions, and does Justin quote this fourth gospel? These are really two distinct questions. This gospel might have been a part of Justin's canon without being quoted, for he doubtless held other Christian scriptures as canonical besides those he quotes. Still, there is a probability that if the fourth gospel was a part of the memoirs he would quote it. That Justin does, in fact, quote John's gospel as an authority can be shown both from passages in his *First Apology* and from his *Dialogue with Trypho*, the Jew. In § 61 of the first of these works, in speaking of baptism and regeneration, Justin says, "For Christ said, 'Unless you are born again you cannot enter the kingdom of heaven,' because it is evident to all that it is impossible for those once born to enter the wombs of their mothers." This is manifestly taken from John iii, 3–5. John has γεννηθῇ ἄνωθεν, *be born again*, or *from above*, an adverb separate from the verb. Justin has an adverb with the verb, ἀναγεννηθῆτε, *be born again*. Christ repeats the statement in another form: "If anyone is not born of water and of spirit he is not able to enter into the kingdom of heaven." The last six words of the Greek are the same as Justin's, except that the verb is in a different mode. Justin's quotation is as exact as in some

other instances respecting which there can be no doubt. The reference to the impossibility of entering a second time into a mother's womb and being born, found both in Justin and in John, confirms the proof that the passage is a quotation from this evangelist. Justin, in § 32, calls Christ the *Logos*—the "Word." The *Logos*, says he, "is also the Son who, in a certain way being made flesh, has been born man." In § 21 Justin calls the *Logos* "the first begotten of God." These passages in Justin most naturally have their basis in John i, 1, 14, 18. Justin, in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (§ 88), represents John the Baptist replying to those who thought him the Messiah, "I am not the Christ," just as he says of himself in John i, 20 —language found nowhere else in the gospels. In his *First Apology* (§ 52) Justin quotes, as from Zechariah, respecting the Jewish people, "Then shall they look upon him whom they pierced." But this is not at all the rendering of Zech. xii, 10, in the Septuagint; but it is the language of John xix, 37—*Ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*. The Greek is exactly the same in John and in Justin. The passage in the Apocalypse (i, 7) is a different construction. Is there any reasonable doubt that Justin took the passage from John's gospel? In § 93 Justin states that "the *Logos* says, Whoever loves the Lord God with all his heart," etc. In § 23 of his *Dialogue with Trypho*, in speaking in depreciation of the Jewish Sabbath, he says, "Do you see that the elements are not idle, nor do they keep the Sabbath day?" This language appears to have been suggested to Justin by the words of Christ addressed to the Jews respecting his working miracles on the Sabbath: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work" (John v, 17). The gospel of John was not so well adapted as the others to Justin's purpose in presenting the claims of Christianity to a heathen emperor or in discussing the Messiahship of Christ with a Hebrew.

That our four gospels alone were Justin's authorities for the gospel history may be inferred from the fact that Tatian, an enthusiastic disciple of Justin, made (about A. D. 160 or 170) a harmony of our four gospels (*Diatessaron*), which has been recently discovered and published. Can we for a moment suppose that the gospels used by Justin (about A. D. 140–150), and which he states were written by the apostles and their companions and were read along with the writings of the prophets

every Sunday in the Christian assemblies throughout the Roman empire, were displaced by another set of gospels—our four—about twenty or thirty years later, without the slightest notice being taken of it, without any controversy upon the subject, and without the action of an ecumenical council? Do not men stick stubbornly to the old? It takes a long time to bring into general use a revised and improved translation of the Scriptures. How, then, could one set of gospels be quietly substituted for another set in so short a time, without leaving in history a vestige of such a change? The gospels of the last part of the second century were the same as those of the middle of the century; and those of the middle the same as those of the first part of the century. Old Christians of the last half of the second century knew what gospels they had had in the first half; those of the first half knew what gospels they had had in the last half of the first century. The gospel torch was transmitted without interruption from the last half of the first century to the last half of the second. And the very copies of the gospels made and read in the last part of the first century would be read in the churches in the second and third centuries.

But the question still remains to be considered, Did Justin use in addition to our canonical gospels some other gospels or histories or traditions of Christ? We can decide this only by an examination of the passages supposed to be extra-canonical found in his writings. The first of these which we shall consider is that found in § 47 of Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*. "Wherefore," says Justin, "our Lord Jesus Christ said: 'In what condition I find you, in this I will judge you.'" Justin had been speaking of God's mercy to the returning sinner and of his knowing a backsliding saint only as a sinner. He then asserts that Christ taught the same doctrine as had been set forth in Ezekiel. We cannot find Justin's words in our gospels; but the substance of them is certainly implied in all the teachings of Christ respecting the divine judgment. We see it in the case of the man who was not robed in a wedding garment. Not very different from Justin's manner of quoting, Paul says (Eph. v, 14): "Wherefore it [the Scripture] saith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." There is no such passage as this in the Old Testament; but it appears to be based upon Isa. lx, 1; xxix, 10.

We have found in Clement of Alexandria (about A. D. 191–202) a passage similar to the one in Justin: "For he says [that is, God, as the whole context shows] in whatever condition [or things] I find you, in this [or these] I will judge you."* Thus, it is possible that Justin made a mistake in thinking that Christ had used the language. And Justin certainly has blundered in matters of this kind. About thirty years ago one of the most eminent ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who had been president of one of our oldest colleges, said in a public discourse delivered in Baltimore, "Our blessed Saviour says that all that a man hath he will give for his life!" Did he quote an apocryphal gospel, or did he make a mistake?

In his *Dialogue with Trypho*, § 88, Justin says that when Christ was among men he performed the works of a carpenter, namely, "he made ploughs and yokes." There is no need of hunting up an apocryphal gospel for the foundation of this statement. The question asked in Mark vi, 3: "Is not this the carpenter?" furnished Justin with a sufficient basis for his statement. Justin's remark that Christ was born in a cave at Bethlehem† was most probably founded on a tradition, as he himself lived in Palestine. In § 88 of the *Dialogue with Trypho*, speaking of the baptism of Christ, he says, "When he had descended to the waters a fire was kindled in the Jordan." This is certainly not found in our gospels, nor has it a basis in them; and it is uncertain from what source it was taken. But why may not Justin have derived it from tradition? Born probably not more than seventy or eighty years after Christ's ministry and but a few years after the death of the apostle John, there must have been many traditions respecting Christ still fresh among the people of Palestine among whom Justin lived. And it is remarkable that he has given us apparently only two instances in which he has used tradition, so closely does he adhere to apostolic authority. But Justin discriminates the statement that "a fire was kindled in the Jordan" from the statements of the evangelists, for he adds, "And the apostles of this Christ of ours have written that the Holy Spirit as a dove lit upon him."

There remains one other passage to be considered, found in Justin's *First Apology* (§ 35): "For as the prophet said, 'Revil-

* *Liber Quis Dives Salvetur*, § 346. † *Dialogue with Trypho*, § 78.

ing him, they set [him] upon the judgment seat [*βῆμα*], and said, Judge for us.'" Professor Drummond suggested that Justin took the verb as transitive in the sentence, "And he [Pilate] sat [*ἐκάθισεν*] upon the judgment seat [*βῆμα*]," supposing it to mean, "And they set him [Jesus] upon the judgment seat." Professor Thayer holds this view, but thinks that Justin did nothing more than follow the same idea as found in the fragments of the recently discovered gospel of Peter: "And they set him [Christ] upon the seat of judgment, saying, Judge rightly, King of Israel." This gospel of Peter is mentioned by Serapion, Bishop of Antioch (about A. D. 190). It was used by some in the ecclesiastical district of Rhossus, not far from Antioch. He states that he obtained a copy of it from those who studied it, who were the successors of those followers of the heretical Marcianus "whom we call Docetæ."* This gospel, which certainly belongs to the Docetæ, may not be as old as Justin's *First Apology*, and it is very doubtful that Justin ever saw it. It is more likely that the author of the so-called gospel may have seen Justin's work. Westcott thinks that Justin had in mind Isa. lviii, 2, "They ask of me just judgment." Justin seems to have read John xix, 13, thus: "Pilate brought out Jesus, and set him on the judgment seat, and said, in mockery, Judge for us." For, of course, Christ was set upon the judgment seat for some purpose, which Justin's imagination could easily supply. He has given us excellent specimens of what he could do in this line in his additions and explanations respecting the brazen serpent in Numbers. Justin has the same words, *ἐπὶ βήματος*, *upon* (*the*) *bema*, or *judgment seat*, as John, while the gospel of Peter has two different words—*καθέδραν κρίσεως*, *seat of judgment*. The passage in Justin furnishes an additional probable proof of his use of John's gospel. The character of the fragments of the gospel of Peter shows one thing most clearly—that it could never have been one of Justin's authorities.

* Eusebius, *Hist. Ec.*, lib. vi, cap. xii.

Henry M. Harman

Art. VII.—DIVINE REVELATION.

The fact of a divine revelation we ought to be able to assume. We posit that when we postulate an Intelligence in this universe other than our own. For if the universe have a maker it cannot but be that he shall stand revealed in what he has made. The miracle, then, is not in the fact of revelation, for it would, indeed, be a miracle if there were none. If the heavens are the "work of his fingers," and if he has "ordained the moon and the stars," that is sufficient to "declare his glory," which in itself is a revelation. God is truly seen in what he does. There is no speech or language where that voice is not heard. The sage and the savage alike hear it, though, it may be, not equally. But God is not limited to revelation through his works. "He that formed the eye, shall he not see?" He that gave to man speech, shall he not speak? Mind infinite in contact with mind finite, the Spirit of God in communication with the spirit of man, is indeed a reasonable assumption. Without so much, at least, a moral government would be impossible. For the Being "not ourselves" could not make for righteousness if he could not write his law on the hearts and consciences of men. The moral nature of man demands such a law, and that in itself is the highest proof that the demand has been met. The want is normal, and the supply is natural; and the natural supply should never be put in the category of the miraculous.

The miracle should rather be in the fact that, the want once having been met, its supply should ever cease. In point of fact, it never has ceased, for God's revelation of himself is not confined to any one day or age. It does not mark an epoch. It is not limited to any speech or writing or book. Its gift or manifestation does not imply favoritism in one direction or neglect in another; neither does it imply activity on the part of God up to a certain moment, and ever after that a suspension of revelation. Revelation is not so much a consummation as it is a movement or process. God is infinite; therefore the last word concerning him can never be uttered. Whether we find the word of God in nature, in a book, or in a person, nature must be investigated, the book interpreted, and the person apprehended. Nature is yielding up her secrets, the book is

being better interpreted, and we are coming to know more of the Christ. Revelation is always conditioned by the limitations of the finite. It is never, therefore, so much a question as to what God has given as it is as to how much we have been able to receive. Men in a way are everywhere seeking after God if haply they may find him. The quest is the same; the difference is in the results. It is neither God's partiality nor his fault that all are not equally successful, for there is what may be called fortune even in the matter of seeking after God. The conditions are not always equally favorable, and the seekers are not alike earnest, honest, and successful.

The manifoldness of the *verbum Dei*, revealer of truth, and the universality of its manifestations are not sufficiently understood. It is not limited to one book, but is found in many books; it is not the utterance of a few prophets in some particular age, but of God's teachers in all the ages; it is not the exclusive possession of any one nation, but is in some measure the heritage of all nations; it is not the basis of any one religion alone to the exclusion of all others, for God hath not left himself without witnesses in any nation. God is in all the ages, among all the peoples, in all things, and manifesting himself every hour. Let us, if we may, avoid even the pantheism which is implied in Emerson's "over-soul;" but let us not fail to find glimpses of God and his truth everywhere and in all things —in all art and science, in all poetry and philosophy, in all history and in all religion, above all, through all, and in all—transcendent, yet immanent, and, therefore, a continuous, progressive revelation, manifold and universal.

By "universal" is not meant that God and truth have been equally known in all the ages, nor among all the nations, any more than they are equally known by all persons now in the same nation; nor by "manifold," that God is equally in all events or equally revealed in all books and persons. But they do mean that no nation or tribe has been overlooked or neglected; for fatherhood implies universal care. So long as the gods were simply national deities so long were the religions but ethnic; but when Jesus revealed God as Father and Lord of all the foundation was laid for a cosmopolitan religion. "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature" had a broad foundation on which to stand, nothing less, indeed,

than "all power . . . in heaven and in earth;" not readily perceived, of course, because of ignorance, narrowness, national prejudices, and indifference. That God was not the God of the Jews only, but of the Gentiles also, and "not a respecter of persons" were revelations of deep significance and difficult of comprehension—revelations not made earlier, doubtless, because the world was not "able to bear them." But facts they were before they were revealed; and the universal Father had cherished his children in all lands and during all the ages and had been revealing himself to them.

That the supreme revelation is to be found in one book and in one Person is no reason why fragments of truth should not be found in many books and in many persons and in all things and everywhere. We do not rob the infinite when we postulate the finite. Solon and Lycurgus do not disparage Jesus, or Socrates, Confucius, Zoroaster, or Buddha equal the Christ. God did not overlook the valleys of the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Ganges in his care for that of the Jordan; nor were Egypt, Persia, Mesopotamia, India, and China of less concern to him than Palestine. In no nation had he left himself without witnesses, and in all lands he had raised up "schoolmasters," of greater or less efficiency, to bring men unto Christ. The recent Parliament of Religions gave tremendous emphasis to the fact of "other sheep . . . not of this fold." And why not? If a man is "accepted according to that he hath," and if in "every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him," why should there not be a multitude whom no man can number out of every tribe and nation under heaven whom Jesus shall bring with him? But these men who have received a measure of God's revelation, these men who, nevertheless, are dissatisfied with what they have and what they are—how shall we best bring these "other sheep" to be with Jesus? Shall we deny their intelligence, repudiate their morality, and decry their religion wholesale, or shall we acknowledge that they also have been "taught of God," and then proceed to teach them the "way of God more perfectly?"

But this fact of a universal revelation, a revelation, to some extent, to people in all lands, carries with it a revelation throughout all time. The measure is never what God wants to give, what he unfolds to us, but always what we can receive,

what we can comprehend. The limitations are always on the side of the finite, and never on the side of the infinite. But the finite is moving up, is gaining in power to receive and comprehend. If men are increasing in knowledge it must be that they are increasing also in their knowledge of God. Nature contains for us a larger revelation to-day than it did in the times long gone by. "Lo, these are parts of his ways" is not true to the same extent now that it was in the days of Job, because we know far more of the universe than was known then—its extent, its laws, and what they teach. If the heavens declared the glory of God, and the firmament showed his handiwork in the days of the psalmist, they do much more than that now, for we are beginning to read into their declarations both fatherhood and love. For long ages men saw the lightnings flash and heard the thunders roar only to stand in awe in the presence of such malific power; now they bless the beneficence which is wrapped up in the fact that such omnific force can be harnessed into the service of man. Nature will reveal to us more and more of God, because we are to understand nature better and better. If we could comprehend just what God meant to say to us in nature, and what he will say to us some time, because some time we shall at least approximately understand him, I doubt if we should need much else except Jesus and the revelation contained in him. God is not misrepresented in nature; he was sincere in making the universe, and, therefore, it must contain for us a great revelation of himself. It is not necessary to disparage God in nature in order to exalt him in his written word. He is in all that he has done as well as in all that he has said. Action is speech; and it is even more so in God than it is in men. The entire universe is singing "The hand that made us is divine."

The revelation of God in nature and in the written word, as well as in the person of Jesus Christ, is for all men during all future time. And, like Jesus himself, this revelation must increase. We are just now learning that the book and the revelation contained in the book are not identical. The results, however, of critical investigation go to show, in this case as in others, that the treasure is in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be seen to be of God, and not of men. It is a distinct gain to know approximately what

elements in the Bible are human and what are divine, because the vehicle should bear the burden of the treasure, and not the treasure that of the vehicle. But it has not always been so. We have imputed to God the measure of a man. We have included him in our limitations and imputed to him our comprehensions, our mistranslations, our uncritical readings, and called it all the word of God. Denying, as we are bound to do, the infallibility and inerrancy of the Church, we yet have defended the infallibility and inerrancy of its decrees and the work of its councils. No wonder that intelligent men have protested! The same men to-day are saying, "Let the Lord our God speak unto us, and we will listen." God has spoken to us. His word is sure and cannot fail. Men trust in it and are not ashamed. The vehicle that brings to us the knowledge of Jesus is by that fact a revelation. Jesus not only embalms the history which contains him, but has become the center of nearly all history since his advent. The serious, almost malignant attempt that was made to reduce him to a myth has provoked the moral demonstration that, of all great personages in the past, Christ is the most historic. That he is the certainty of all certainties, the Alpha and the Omega, is shown in the fact that, whereas men once made the miracles prove Jesus, Jesus now proves the miracles. God is being revealed in him as never before. Knees are bowing, and tongues are confessing in increasing ratio that "Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

The better knowledge of nature, the better interpretation of the book, and the better comprehension of the Christ, all go to constitute a continuous, progressive revelation. This is much; but is there nothing more? Is there no longer any "open vision?" Is God now precluded by the "reign of law" from speaking to men? If so now, why not, then, always? The reign of law, whatever that may mean, was never less than it is now. We do but discredit the fact of revelation during all the past when we assign reasons against inspiration and revelation now which have always existed. God is not only the God of the living, but he is himself the living God; and this is *par excellence* the dispensation of his Holy Spirit. Passing strange it is that in such a dispensation the *dictum*, that its chief characteristic is the utter absence of spirit revelation, should gain such standing

that to contradict it should quite amount to heresy! We complain, and with good reason, when men by their theories shut God out of his universe; with still greater reason may we complain when he is denied contact with the human spirit, that he may illuminate and guide it. For how can God be immanent in history if he may not inspire the makers of history, not in respect to action simply, but in respect to thought and speech as well? Why should we hesitate to say, with Bishop Fowler, in his recent great speech in Chicago, that Washington and Lincoln were inspired by the Almighty for their work? But their work included speech and writing quite as much as action. If men of old, who were but "earthen vessels," and very earthen at that, could be and were inspired to write what God would reveal, why may not men now who are immeasurably their superiors as specimens of Christian manhood be also inspired to say and write what God would have us to hear and know? Even if the young man, Elihu, who had to "speak" in order that he might be "refreshed," did say it, "There is a spirit in man: and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding." And why should we hesitate to claim this? God is not dead; he has not abandoned his universe; he has not abdicated as a ruler or left us fatherless; he is still in communication with the human spirit. Preachers pray in all earnestness and sincerity that God will inspire them for their work. Do they mean it? Men say—often and often do they say of the preacher—"That man was truly inspired to-day." Do they believe that? Was the message to them an inspired message, and did it contain for them a revelation? If not, then language has no meaning. And yet many draw back, as though we make God dead in the past if we claim him to be alive now, and as though we disparage the inspiration of the prophets and apostles if we claim that men, even better men, are inspired to-day. The canon, whether rightly or wrongly, is closed, but let us devoutly thank God that the revelation continues. For there is nothing that this age needs more to know than that God "still lives," and lives to speak to men.

No age ever more needed the direct and immediate contact of God with men than this. It has problems to solve such as no other age ever had. That they may be truly and rightly solved there is urgent need that "additional light should break forth

from God's word" from and in all directions. Nothing more wholesome and inspiring to the Church could possibly happen than that it should become thoroughly impressed with the fact that a "burden" of the Lord, a real message from God, comes to it through the ministry of the word. Nor would its influence be less salutary on the ministry itself. The too frequent levity of the mere rhetor would be exchanged for the deep, serious spirit of the prophet; the defenses of creeds, councils, and polities would give place to a more thorough exhibition of the ethical and the spiritual; and the question, What have men taught and believed? would be superseded by the far more important one, What ought we to teach and believe now? We cannot live on the past any more than we can live without it. We cannot bolt it down without discrimination. A wise eclecticism will reject of it as well as receive from it; and progress will depend quite as much on what is rejected as on what is received. The world moves, but it moves on toward God, and not away from him. In moving toward God it also moves toward Jesus, the Christ, and is becoming Christocentric as well as theocentric, which shows that God and Christ are at least ethically one. Jesus to-day is the center of all progress. The one immaculate Person and the one inerrant Teacher the world, in its progress, is taking along with it. He is with us still, revealing God; for the better he is known the more plainly does it appear that he that hath seen Jesus hath seen the Father also. And since of the increase of his government and peace and manifestation there is to be no end, so also of his revelation there shall be no limit.

Art. VIII. THE PLACE OF THE BIBLE IN LUTHER'S TIME.

The century of the Reformation is, for the student, a most fascinating one. In many respects it is the most thrilling of all the Christian centuries. Great thoughts stirred in men's minds. Horizons of truth were vastly, though dimly, widening. Heroic achievements were keeping pace with these broadening visions. It was the era known as the *Renaissance*, when the intellect of Europe awoke, as it were, from a long sleep and, groping round, found within its reach the opulent treasures of the knowledge and philosophy of the classic East. This was one of the necessary preliminaries leading up to the great reform, and must always be considered when Luther's work is under discussion. Had it not been for the precedent enfranchisement of intellect there would have been no subsequent freedom of soul. The revival of learning was the John the Baptist of the Reformation, and prepared the way for the deeper spiritual work of the great monk. Roman and Greek literature became the passionate study of the scholars of the period. Diligent search was made for ancient manuscripts, and libraries were multiplied. Throngs of Greek scholars poured into Italy after the fall of Constantinople and brought with them the priceless treasures of ancient Greek literature, science, and art. They and their manuscripts were most cordially welcomed in the universities of Europe, and European intellect was greatly quickened. Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio led the way to this renewed interest in classical learning; and, though it developed in Italy a tendency to irreligion and epicureanism and even to immorality, it gave men the conviction that they had, at least, a right to think, untrammeled and unterrorized by a spiritual hierarchy. It opened the way to skepticism, but at the same time it broke the shackles of intellectual slavery and freed the thinkers of the day from bondage to the schoolmen. In Germany, however, it took a different course, and was permeated by a spirit of religion. Reuchlin, everywhere famous as a scholar and second only to Erasmus, considered his Hebrew grammar his greatest work. Erasmus was a veritable Corypheus of learning, and, with Colet and More

of England, quickened in a most marked degree the currents of thought which were flowing against the Roman hierarchy, though unfortunately for his future fame he was not of the stuff that heroes are made of. As Professor Fisher says, "His writings and the reception accorded to them show that the European mind had outgrown the existing ecclesiastical system and was ready to break loose from its control." It was the era of great universities, and more than sixty of these were attempted or established before the year 1500. They were attended, even singly, by thousands of students, and the light of knowledge was spread abroad.

The Crusades, also, whose primal object was to rescue an empty tomb from the hands of the Saracens, lent powerful assistance, though unthought of by their projectors, to the seething movements of European thought, in that they gave to intelligent men participating in them a knowledge of other lands, of other schools of thought, and of other modes of living, and thus made way for a hospitable reception to variant theories of truth and life. We must also remember that it was an age of geographical discovery, when the boundaries of the world were marvelously extended and a virgin continent, seat of future empires and noblest civilization, rose from the stormy billows of the Atlantic and gave to Columbus a deathless immortality. Vasco da Gama, John and Sebastian Cabot, and others rapidly enlarged men's knowledge of the earth; while in the year in which Columbus died Copernicus, emancipated from authority, attained the knowledge of the true theory of the solar system. The powerful aid which the new art of printing furnished the Reformation is not to be overlooked. This gave its leaders facilities for immensely multiplying their writings, and they were quick to utilize this medium of communication with the people. Great printing houses, which exist to this day, were founded, and before the year 1500 more than ten thousand editions of books and pamphlets had been published. Versions of the Bible were printed in most of the European languages in the early part of the sixteenth century, and these stimulated the great reform.

Other impelling forces cooperating with Luther in establishing the Reformation were (1) providential circumstances, such as changes in rulers, both political and ecclesiastical,

changes of tactics on the part of the papacy, and frictions of ambitious ecclesiastics; and (2) powerful associates, who, while frequently and seriously differing with him on doctrinal points, contributed on the whole, in a most marked degree, to the success of the movement. These were Melanchthon and Zwingli and Farel and Reuchlin, and, in a measure, Erasmus, Maximilian, Frederick of Saxony, Franz von Sickingen, Ulrich von Hutten, and others not necessary to mention. But Luther was the head and front of the whole movement, on whom fell the thunderbolts of papal wrath and without whom the movement would in all probability have failed, as did those of Huss in Bohemia and Wyclif in England. The spirit of the Reformation was incarnated in Luther. He was God's central messenger, charged with a sublime and world-influencing task. He was the Moses of the Christian Church, as was the lawgiver of the Israelitish Church, commissioned to lead God's people out of the slavery of ecclesiasticism and human dogmas imposed upon the world by an apostate hierarchy.

The place of the Bible in the movement which he so largely represented may be estimated in part from the place it occupied in his own experience. In the inner life of his own soul were the insuppressible fountains of reform. He, like others, was held in his earlier years under the bondage of salvation by works, and expresses himself in these touching words: "I had a broken spirit and was ever in sorrow. I wore out my body in vigils and fastings, and hoped thus to satisfy the law and deliver my conscience from the sting of guilt." He took upon himself monastic vows, that he might have the greater opportunity to placate with personal suffering and sacrifice the wrath of God, and declares that had not light come to him he could not have lived two years longer. But deliverance was not far away; and through an old monk's calling his attention to the phrase in the Apostles' Creed, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins," and still more by judicious counsel given him by John Staupitz and by the study of Tauler and Augustine, and most of all by a journey to Rome, the scales fell from his eyes. On his homeward journey as he pondered the words, "The just shall live by faith," their full meaning burst upon him. He says, "Through the Gospel that righteousness is revealed which avails before God, by which he, out of grace and mere compassion, justifies us

through faith. "Here I felt at once," he continues, "that I was wholly born again and that I had entered through open doors into paradise itself. That passage of Paul was truly to me the gate of paradise."

This new conception of salvation, as being not by the works of the law, but by the hearing of faith, was the Magna Charta of Luther's personal freedom. He entered into the liberty wherewith Christ makes free, independently of all ecclesiastical rites, ceremonies, and superstitions; and he found himself the possessor of spiritual emancipation without the intercession or intervention of pope, cardinal, bishop, or priest, and without fasting, flagellation, penance, or purgation. Here was the germinal seed of the Reformation; and this truth obtained from the Bible was destined to revolutionize the creed and character of Christendom. Luther glowed with zeal to unfold the truth of salvation and to declare it and impress it upon his young pupils and his congregation at Wittenberg. "The simple word of God," says the intrepid monk of Erfurt, "with its sublime evangelical truths, must be freed from the sophistries woven round it by man and be made accessible to all without distinction. To make the soul live and be good and free there is nothing else in heaven or on earth but the Holy Scriptures. In this word the soul has perfect joy, happiness, peace, light, and all good things in abundance." This apprehension of God's word made Luther a strong, virile, and powerful personality—heroic, well poised, clear-thoughted, and God-dependent.

He did not, however, at once see the logical content of his new experience. It was, indeed, difficult to quickly pass from midnight to midnoon. As in the natural world time must be allowed for great principles to work themselves out from seed to flower and from flower to fruit, so this vital principle which Luther had discovered lay for a while inchoate in his mind as to its broader application to ecclesiastical systems and customs. "I am one of those," he says, "who have gradually advanced by writing and teaching, not of those who at a single bound spring to perfection out of nothing." But circumstances and providential events were quickly ripening the reformatory thoughts of the age, and Luther, in his reflections on the trend of events and upon the actions of his opponents, compelling the examination of sources of authority, was forced by irresistible

logic and moral sequence to take the position which he finally did, that the Bible alone was the ultimate authority, and that all powers, whether of bishops, cardinals, councils, or popes, must be derivative from, and amenable to, the word of God.

This was the citadel of the Reformation, intrenched in which it fought its battle to the end. It is the central principle of Protestantism, and is well expressed by a celebrated English writer, Chillingworth: "The Bible, and the Bible alone, is the religion of Protestants." In every disputation, whether with Miltitz, or Eck, or Cajetan, in his direct appeals to pope and to people, and in his printed discussions of the questions at issue, Luther planted himself firmly and immovably on this fundamental principle. In that most dramatic, historic, and inspiring scene—paralleled only, if paralleled at all, by that of Moses at the court of Pharaoh—before the Diet of Worms, to which he was summoned by imperial rescript, and where he was surrounded by all the magnificence of both regal and ecclesiastical courts, he reaches an immortal climax of utterance and declares his unchangeable conclusion: "Unless, therefore, I am convinced by the testimony of Scripture or by the clearest reasoning, . . . I am persuaded by the passages I have quoted, and my conscience is bound by the word of God. I cannot and I will not retract, for it is unsafe for a Christian to speak against his conscience." And then follow those words which, like a bugle blast, thrilled all Germany and have living power in them still, "*Hier stehe ich; ich kann nicht anders. Gott helfe mir*"—"Here I stand; I can do no other. God help me!"

In recognition of this potential truth as it related itself to the accumulated rubbish and admitted corruption of the Roman Church, the pope and his vassals addressed themselves to the task of crushing both the man and the movement centering in him. The civil and military, as well as the ecclesiastical, authorities were invoked against him. The emperor, Charles V, issued an edict citing all persons, on pain of the ban of the empire, to refuse to harbor him, or to feed him, or to give him drink, or to furnish him succor in any way, secretly or publicly, but to seize him wherever he might be found and bring him to the imperial presence. He also ordered that his books should be confiscated and burned and that his adherents should be apprehended, confined, and their goods confiscated.

Such a decree filled the hierarchy with joy, and they anticipated a speedy deliverance of the Church from the troublesome monk and thought the end of the tragedy was near. But the movement was in the Church, in the people, and in the age, and, though Luther had perished on the scaffold or on the rack, the cause he represented, though possibly delayed, would have gone on to certain triumph.

All waves of human power dashed ineffectually against this rock-based man, and even in their seeming victory only afforded him, in his retirement at the Wartburg, an opportunity to secure a firmer hold upon the eternal rock by the translation of the Bible into the German vernacular, and then, by its dissemination, to defeat forever the possibility of again binding the Germanic people with hierarchical claims of priestly tradition or prelatical assumptions. An open Bible had now become the safeguard of spiritual freedom. The way into the holy of holies was again unincumbered, and every man, prince or peasant, wise or otherwise, could come with boldness direct to God. The multitudes gladly availed themselves of this reinforcement to their faith. Gieseler * tells us that as soon as Luther's version of the New Testament circulated in northern and middle Germany it caused a vast vibration in all ranks and orders of society. Even shoemakers and women read it with feverish eagerness, committed parts to memory, and carried the volume in their bosoms. Boys outstripped veteran theologians in their power to quote from it, and the common people were permeated with its power. Even the approved Catholic translations of the Bible are dependent on Luther's text.†

By this return to the Bible the pulpit was revitalized. Preaching during the Middle Ages had grown less and less frequent, and the quality of the sermons had become more and more insipid and unspiritual. Forms of worship had become stereotyped and were emptied of all spiritual energy or power. Instead of the great truths of Scripture being considered, the priests held up some manufactured saint or some founder of a monastic or mendicant order and thus fed the people on the husks of Church tradition and Church dignitaries. But the resurrected Bible changed all this, and warmth and life and

* *Compendium of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. v, p. 284, Latin footnote.
† See article in *Methodist Review* for May-June, 1885.

power characterized the preaching of the reformers. Multitudes flocked to hear them as they expounded the Scriptures. Having their own hearts aglow with the newly discovered and powerfully stimulating truth, they were filled with unction, and, without bell or book or candle, in free and direct address, they preached with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven. Their example retroacted upon the mother Church, and various orders of preaching friars, as the Theatines and Barnabites, were established by the Roman Catholic authorities. They sought, by the adoption of this method, to stem the tide that was sweeping toward Protestantism; and, in a measure, they were successful. In the preaching of the reformers Jesus Christ was exalted to his rightful place as the sole and only way of salvation. The Virgin Mary was dethroned from her false position as sharing with her Son the mediatorial throne. Saints who had been canonized and martyrs who had been exalted to the office of intercessors and thrust in between the worshiper and Christ were remanded back to their true place, as being, indeed, worthy of reverence, but none the less sinners saved by grace.

Not only did the pulpit take on new power, but the newly discovered Bible became the mother of a new religious literature. Commentaries, sermons, catechisms, Church histories, popular tracts, and treatises on vexed questions issued rapidly from the press and became sources of popular instruction and feeders of the awakened spiritual aspirations of men. These informed and strengthened the people in their convictions that religion was a personal matter, that no benefits accrued from another's superabundant goodness, and that none could be delivered from purgatory through vicarious values. A new hymnology, also, warm, spiritual, and vital, sprang out of this new faith, embodying in verse which was sung through Germany the simple doctrines of the word of God. As much, perhaps, as anything else, these glorious hymns carried the truth of God deep down into the convictions and hearts of men and supported them in their troubles. Even Luther himself contributed to this form of gospel propagation, and his magnificent metrical paraphrase of the forty-sixth Psalm, beginning "*Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*," is still the joy, and has become a religious classic, of the German people. At a

council of the Roman Catholic cardinals in opposition to Luther one of them said, "Luther by his songs has conquered us."

It would be exceeding the appointed limits of this article to develop the relation of the Bible to modern civilization, but that it holds a regnant position there none will deny. 1. It has certainly established the true ethical standard of human conduct, both for individuals and nations. 2. It has been the revealer of, and the inspiration to, the possession of individual liberty, until slavery, hounded to its death, hides its loathsome head in the depths of Africa. 3. It steadily tends to the removal of legal, political, and social inequalities of human relations; and ultimately the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, taught so clearly in its pages, will be the law of a common humanity. This imperial book can never lose its place in the van of all political, social, and religious movements looking to the amelioration of the ills of mankind and the establishment of righteous relations among the children of men. It is God's Magna Charta in the interests of moral and spiritual freedom, not wrung from a tyrannical ruler by the rough hands of armed barons in open and triumphant rebellion, but freely given by a sovereign Father, sealed and sanctified in the blood of a redeeming Saviour, and consecrated for evermore by the sufferings, sacrifices, and heroic martyrdoms of myriads who have marched with it to the flames, the rack, and to pitiless beasts of prey. Our inheritance is a noble one. We owe it to the ages to come to preserve the liberty of free perusal and individual interpretation till time shall be no more; to impersonate its character, absorb its spirit, express its purpose, be living object lessons of its power, and illustrate in our own lives that indeed "the law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes. . . . And in keeping of them there is great reward."

John D. Pickles

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

THE statement on page 950 of the last number of the *Review*, that, aside from Frederick Merrick, Joseph Cummings nearly doubles in years of educational work any president the colleges of our Church ever had, requires to be corrected. Dr. Herman A. Koch has been an educator thirty-six years, twenty-two years as president of Central Wesleyan College at Warrenton, Mo.; and Dr. William F. King, now president of Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Ia., an institution of great usefulness and wide influence, with five hundred and fifty students and twenty-eight in its faculty, became professor of ancient languages in Ohio Wesleyan University in 1857, acting president of Cornell College in 1862, and president in 1865, making thirty-seven years of educational service, thirty-two as president.

WHEN Emerson read that halcyon, flamboyant, and tipsy work of fiction, Abbott's *Napoleon Bonaparte*, his sarcastic comment was, "It seems that the chief object of Bonaparte's life was to establish Sunday schools throughout Europe." We are now in the midst of a literary and artistic *renaissance* of Napoleonism. The advertisement of one firm calls it, with unconscious propriety and precision, a "revival of the Napoleonic legend." Bookstores and picture-stores ring and blaze with Napoleon. D. Appleton & Company issue *Memoirs Illustrating the History of Napoleon I*, by Baron de Méneval, private secretary to Napoleon. G. P. Putnam's Sons offer a translation of Dumas' *Napoleon*, now first rendered into English. J. B. Lippincott Company publish Frederick Masson's books, *Napoleon at Home* and *Napoleon and the Women of his Court*, as also Thiers' *History of the Consulate and the Empire of France*. The Merriam Company print *Masson's Napoleon, Lover and Husband*. The *Century Magazine* and *McClure's Magazine* are running the life of Napoleon in serial. The *North American Review* announces twelve chapters on the later and lesser Napoleonism in "The Personal History of the Second Empire." The Werner Company advertise a pictorial

album containing hundreds of pictures illustrating the career of "Napoleon from Corsica to St. Helena." In addition, the theme is on the pages of many newspapers. And the epidemic is more widespread than there is here space to indicate. Fads and crazes are characteristic of human life, and this one is now having its "innings," alongside of the chrysanthemum. Both are showy and unfragrant; one of them is noxious.

This revival is not born of a Pentecost of wisdom or virtue, and is not a happy omen. If we need martial heroes to worship modern history is not so beggarly poor that Napoleon is its best. The English-speaking world can surely and easily do better. One hero there is who, by a distinct token, belongs to all mankind. His name was Gordon. When Bonaparte, the "man of destiny," died, after making Europe a slaughterhouse, his life going out in smoke and ashes like an untended watchfire on St. Helena, the anathemas of many nations gnashed and hissed behind him as he descended to meet the fierce welcome of a million men whom he had sent before him to hades, down the red and slippery slopes of battle. When Chinese Gordon's life was known to be in peril special prayers were offered in all lands that the boon of his safety might be granted by a merciful Heaven to the human race, from time immemorial sorely in need of such as he; fervent prayers were put up at many altars of the Greek Church, in churches Roman Catholic and Protestant in Europe and America, in the pagan temples of China; and, what was never done before or since for a Christian, official supplications for the same inestimable favor were presented at the most sacred shrine of Mecca by the whole Mohammedan world.

General Charles George Gordon, braver far than Bonaparte, was as pure and noble a human character as ever purified and perfumed the air of earth by breathing it or consecrated the soil by treading it. Yet he sometimes suffers disparagement, even in Christian circles, and is denominated a "crank." By worldly standards he was a crank, as was also Jesus Christ. When Gordon died—a hero, a saint, a martyr—at Khartoum, not a human being on earth but was in some way impoverished by the universal bereavement. Would it be an inordinate memorial to name a planet after him? Men will not do this; but they cannot, by withholding it, prevent him from shining forever in the heavens.

Fairness requires that this blast of orchestral trumpets around Napoleon's feet shall not last too long, for in the chill anteroom of history the shivering shades of Judas Iscariot, Nero, Torque-

mada, Genghis Khan, and a crowd of similar worthies are waiting each his turn to be called before the footlights to receive his own proper and logical ovation from the gaping galleries, full of the worshipers of strutting vanity, insanely inordinate ambition, domineering selfishness, conscienceless duplicity, and all manner of fraud and devilry in the theater of shams.

THE MERCENARY SPIRIT IN PUBLIC LIFE.

If ever the good citizen loses hope for his country it is when he is forced to confront the ravages made by the mercenaries of public life. All other evils and dangers are face to face with effective checks; ignorance is confronted with a growing system of public education; sectional differences are softened by increase of common interests and travel; capital and labor controversies cannot pass far beyond the lines where they menace labor with hunger and capital with deficits; religious animosities have passed out of the list of dangers through the growth of a truly Christian spirit. But to the rapacity of the political mercenary there is no known limit. Political divisions were once a check; the dishonest or extravagant party could be voted out; but "the cohesive power of public plunder" overweights the cohesiveness of party loyalty, and the plunder of the public is oftenest effected by a "combine" sitting astride of party fences.

Not the least of the perplexities created by the mercenary spirit is the nearly universal belief in its prevalence and the ready credence given to charges of corruption, and the appalling magnitude of the alleged crimes against the public's pocketbook. Out of the faith, if we may not say the credulity, of the people in this general reign of the public thief there has come the mercenary occupation of exposing mercenaries. The printing of a newspaper to unmask the financial debaucheries of public men is sometimes as profitable as public theft can possibly be; and so it happens that in the press and on the stump the paid assassin of character is sure of an applauding audience and of satisfactory compensation in money. Recklessness of assertion, indifference to any sacredness in veracity, the most astounding mendacity in dealing with statistical facts, and clamorous conscientiousness of a professional sort—these are some of the wearisome faults of the sleuthhound let loose upon the track of the mercenaries. It would be bad enough if these profitable hunts for fraud were confined to the illiterate or half-literate class of journals and

orators; but it is made nearly intolerable by the participation in it by organs of culture and by gentlemen of education.

The perplexity caused by mercenary attacks upon mercenaries, by the profitableness of the business of exposing other mercenaries, goes down to the very bottom of the evil; it creates a doubt, as a reaction from fevered positiveness, whether there be any public scoundrels, or it fills one with despair of the life of a nation so awfully corrupt, or it suggests the folly of seeking for guidance among those who offer to lead us. If a man gains money by rashly denouncing other men as thieves, will he not steal when his turn comes to handle public money? Of all professional forms of virtue that of honesty is the most indelicate and the least trusted; sobriety of experience warns us that the man who accuses all other men is probably himself unsafe; and when his accusatorial profession is profitable we are almost certain that he may be as expert in theft as he is in lying. In short, we have no fair chance to know the exact truth about public frauds, and we cannot trust the high priests of public purity—those who allege that they fill this high office. It would seem to follow that we can only sit idly by while public and private interests are recklessly gambled away or cunningly filched away, having neither sense, knowledge, nor trustworthy human instruments of punishment or of reformation. This despair is, however, not justified upon a survey of our whole case. To go back to the root of it, the mercenary spirit is itself a product, a growth out of our human soil; and this growth can be restrained, if not altogether checked, by the cultivation of a better spirit. In public and private life alike the moral temper and trend are subject to an effectual measure of control by education, by public opinion, and by the religious life of the people. If the mercenary spirit is largely developed it is because neither education nor public opinion nor religion have effectually resisted it. Indeed, we have hardly yet awakened in school room, press, and pulpit to the necessity of resisting the rank and poisonous growths of the mercenary spirit, and we have in all these organs of the American conscience tolerated some doctrines which of their own force must make public service mercenary. A change of front respecting these doctrines would mean a widespread array of resistance to the evil thing. It is quite possible to keep the nation sweet, or even to make it sweet, by plain and simple truths as old as Christianity, nay, as old as civilization. What these truths are we can best see through a survey of the moral heresies of our time.

1. We have as Americans tolerated, if we have not taught, the doctrine that for a public service a citizen should receive as much as private service would yield him, or more than it would yield him. Two great facts are in evidence. One is the common complaint of cultured journalism that we pay good judges pitifully small salaries; and in the same organs of opinion there is a kind of standing demand that public service of all sorts shall be more highly paid. By force of a curious moral obliquity the same organs are sworn enemies of the mercenaries who prey upon the people. The other great fact is that the eternal scramble for offices is plainly caused by the relatively higher rewards of public life. The office is a prize, it offers a distinct financial gain. And it seems never to have occurred to the enemies of "the spoils system" that the easy and, indeed, the only remedy is to abolish the spoils.

The brilliant day of old Greece was made for it, not by statesmen or poets, but by the wholesome spirit of its public games. The greater Greece which envelops even us, and even now, grew out of the spirit animating those contests. The struggle of this spirit was for the excellent, for the best, whether in athletics or in æsthetics; and the crowned runner, poet, or orator represented to the whole nation some pinnacle of human achievement toward which all Greek eyes were turned by the victory. And to this victor what spoil was given? A bundle of parsley, a few sprigs of pine or of wild olive! That was absolutely the whole material reward for a victory which made a whole kingdom or province proud of its champion, which lifted a family up into distinction, which set the noblest tasks for Greek art. At the very time when its noble life accepted a handful of leaves as a prize the whole people's public life was being assassinated by bands of mercenaries in political life. The analogy is easily seen. There has been an awful force at work in our American life to build into us the mercenary conception of reward—the force of the general and painful poverty of our people down to about 1840 or 1850. All social tracts have suffered and still suffer from the commercial estimate—all the way from the generic "It pays" to the interrogative "What does it pay you to preach?" But no one doubts that we have kept some clean spots, and that for nobler things than Greek athletic or æsthetic we have traditions and ideals of noble striving. High character, noble service, whether conspicuous or not, command a reward more highly prized than gold. Our very practical problem is to extend this

spirit of high service into public life; it is the problem of the political world whenever popular institutions offer the poor citizen a chance to plunder the rich citizen, or *vice versâ*. We have—and may we long keep!—a conspicuous success in our national Supreme Court. There, at least, the money reward is not even so much as a poor half of the compensation. We pay these men chiefly in honor—in that for which the crown of wild olives stood in Greek feeling. But why is there a perpetual scramble for positions, post offices, and city clerkships? Mainly because every such office means a prize quite unlike a bunch of parsley; because the money reward is in excess of that for like service in private relations or, at least, in excess of the wages the aspirants could earn in private service. This excess of money reward is, of course, freely denied; but the plain citizen knows only too well why men desire public office. And where the mercenary spirit is so systematically cultivated there is small wonder that the olive crown is little regarded and has a diminishing worth. We cannot hope for the best service, hardly for clean service, so long as the salary shuts out of view the honors of office.

2. Another heresy abundantly taught is that any species of public work should be paid for with money; and especially that to interest oneself in an election and to promote the success of a principle is to earn money—to be paid with a salaried office. And, therefore, whenever a devout citizen approaches the altars of his country to lay this kind of patriotic sacrifice upon them, he finds the altars hemmed in by mercenaries who wonder aloud, "What does this fellow want?" A certain suspicion attaches to all kinds of political effort, as though one must have a corrupt interest in any political action. We need to vindicate for those who value the olive crown the right to serve without pay and "to spend and be spent" in patriotic service. But even greater is the need of abolishing the prizes. If every public service were, like that of the Supreme Court, a sacrifice of money, rather than a gain of it, a great growth of disinterested service might be expected.

Two objections are urged. "Your plan shuts poor men out of public service." It does not; for a frugal life is not necessarily a thing to be abandoned when one is elected to office, since the election does not increase the breadth of a back to be clothed or the demands of a stomach to be fed. But what if a citizen had to live self-denyingly for years in order to lay in store for a period of public service? Would not this flavor of self-sacrifice impart itself to the bunch of parsley, to the honors of public service? The

other objection to small salaries is that the offices will thus go to small men. Measured by olive crown tests, the small men are already in many offices, and by the same test he is worse than a small man who seeks the salary rather than the service. We need the man who prizes the handful of leaves. He only can render us great service. We are not likely to get him so long as he must scramble with meaner men for meaner rewards.

3. The doctrine that the public ought to pay more for everything than private persons do—and that, therefore, a government contract ought to be a prize—is not so audaciously paraded, but it is as tenaciously held. It implies that the *patria* is something to be plundered. The common belief that a democracy must be expensive is a root out of which mercenary deeds grow, and it is a constant suggestion to the young that the country ought to be prodigal toward them. Uncle Sam is regarded as a sort of Santa Claus.

4. The decadence of the belief that "the office should seek the man" and the open-faced candor with which men seek office—office meaning money nine times in ten—show us a heresy crept into the royal seat of a true doctrine. In a civilization wherein men pick themselves out for lucrative offices and surround the office in such numbers that the people have no power to select the fit, the non-competing man—such a civilization can have small use for laurel and olive leaves of honor. We are rapidly losing the sense that the people choose their servants; and every whiff of fragrance from such service arises out of, not place sought, but honor conferred.

There lie about the roots of the mercenary growths in public life these and other beliefs, doctrines, maxims; and the school, the press, and the pulpit can and must check the mercenary in public affairs by teaching sound doctrine. It is not this or that "reform" which can lift our public life into the nobility of the olive crown; in fact, many schemes to redeem the nation from evil are only forms of the activity of the mercenary spirit. The thing yet unattained and as yet scarcely dreamed of, much less aspired to, is to give to public life the power, manliness, and far-reaching glory of the Greek games, made more glorious by Christian conceptions of the highest things in service. This disgraceful public life, made shameful by greed and plunder, is not to be externally molded into moral comeliness and refined into moral clearness by any trick of ballot boxes. The reform must be inward, searching, spiritual, divine. In bulk, public life is as

clean as the heart of the whole people. It will cease to be corrupted by the mercenary spirit when that spirit is cast out of American life. The highest civil function, the most patriotic duty, the divinest service of the dear motherland is to build a better manhood; and that will redeem us. Nothing less than that manhood deserves our confidence as a check to the mercenary savagery and barbarism of political life.

WHAT IS WORLDLINESS?

"In the world, but not of it," has long been recognized as a very fitting statement of the true Christian's proper position. But as to just what this embraces and how the maxim is to be practically applied people are not so generally agreed. Mistakes are constantly made in two ways. Some mingle overmuch with the world. Others mingle not enough. There is a right way and a wrong way of being in the world. A few distinctions seem to be necessary.

What is the "world" against conformity with which we are repeatedly warned, and whose friendship is represented as incompatible with the love of God? It is a convenient phrase to designate the great mass of the world's inhabitants, those who are content to live for the passing moment and the outward show, those who are absorbed in the things that are seen and walk in the ways of their own evil hearts. The worldling is one who follows the multitude, not presuming to differ in his manner of life from those that are most closely about him. Worldliness is the spirit that takes and keeps possession of the vast majority of people everywhere, the spirit whose chief mark is attachment to the external and the transitory, in distinction from the internal and eternal.

This world spirit has many forms of manifestation, just as the divine spirit has, differing widely in different ages, lands, and persons. In a rude, barbaric age the distinctive spirit of the world is brute force. In another land or time the leading element of worldliness would be idolatry and its accompanying licentiousness. With us, in these days of high civilization, when material comforts are so multiplied and society has such complex organization, the spirit of the world is chiefly greed of gain. Furthermore, in the same age and country what is preeminently the world to one man will not so fully represent it to another. The merchant has his world—a set of competitors with whom he

contends, a set of patrons for whom he caters, a set of ideas and maxims and customs by which he feels bound because they are those that rule in his immediate circle. But the minister has a very different world, with a very different set of maxims and customs and, hence, a very different set of temptations; while the world of the politician or the workingman would be of quite another sort. And for one in either of these classes to really live above the world it would be essential that he live above his world, not somebody else's. For lack of recognizing this it is very possible for a man to be very worldly without realizing it. He may take to himself much false credit because he feels no drawing toward a certain something which he has got accustomed to calling the world, but which is not at all the world to him, not by any means the antagonist with which he is called to fight. One will occasionally find the man of sixty congratulating himself that he has been lifted by grace above any desire for worldly amusements, meaning by that term certain things which have a fascination for the youth of twenty, while he is entirely oblivious to the firm grip which the world in the form of covetousness has upon him.

We know of no better way to define in general terms the temptation to worldliness than to call it the impulse to be as good as the average of those most immediately in contact with us, whether they be schoolmates, shopmates, tradesmen, church members, ministers, or what not. He only is unworldly who resolves to live alone, who dares to be better than his nearest and accidental associates, who keeps before him a standard which is not that of the average of his own set, but something higher. Loneliness and unworldliness go together. The Christian is one who stands apart, who dares to differ. Solitude stamps the saint. But it is of the utmost importance to remember that there is a wrong way and a right way of living alone. We can live alone after the hermit fashion, or we can live alone after the hero fashion. The hermit idea has had a wide following in the Church from very early days. Gnosticism, which crept in even before the apostle John died, taught the sinfulness of matter, fostered asceticism, and led men to imagine that there was merit in a rigorous austerity of life. Later on, the terrible corruptions of the age induced many to feel that they could not maintain their virtue without escaping from the heathen cities in which they dwelt, and even from the churches, which had become much demoralized, and fleeing to the deserts. Still later, the hermits, for better

discipline and protection, were gathered into companies and became monks. And finally were organized the great monastic orders, still prominently figuring in the Roman Catholic branch of the Christian Church.

The thought at the bottom of all this seems to have been that a specially religious life must differ very widely in all outward respects from the ordinary life of common society; that if one wanted to be particularly pious the less he resembled at any point those who were not so the better. External acts and forms and ceremonies and special exercises, rather than the inward spirit of the man, were made the main test of godliness. The hermit idea of getting away from the world, that is, away from much physical contact with those who are not godly, away from much resemblance of any kind to those who are living only for the present, still greatly prevails. Many people are apt to think there is something wicked in pretty nearly all things that mark a refined and highly civilized community, that the more they abandon the goods of this life the more spiritual they are likely to be, and that the less they have to make earth attractive the better fitted they will prove for the heavenly mansions. Which is all a very great mistake. There is certainly no special virtue in poverty, any more than in celibacy. Dirt is not godliness, nor is ignorance. However illiterate, uncouth, or unfamiliar with the spelling book and the bath tub a man may be, it does not particularly recommend him to the Most High.

Need there is of emphasizing the thought that it is not by withdrawing from the world or differing with it in any outward sense that we are to conquer it, but by living in the world, in most respects as the world, and from higher motives than the world knows. Few can be ignorant that it is the intention behind the act which determines whether the actor should have praise or blame. For the very same deed can be done from a principle of righteousness or from unprincipled selfishness. It will appear the same to careless eyes, which see only the outward; but in God's sight the two things are as wide apart as possible. Two men, for example, are making money; the one a Christian, the other a worldling. Is it not perfectly plain that in most of the steps they take for the enlargement of their trade and the increase of their profits they must do precisely the same things? Nine tenths of their transactions in outward aspect will be exactly alike. In what way, then, does the godly man stand alone? In the spirit and nature which are underneath the outward. He is working for God, instead of self.

He has consecrated his business abilities to the Lord just as conscientiously as the commentator has consecrated his scholarly abilities. He is gathering wealth for the good of the Church and the uplifting of humanity. He is an example of uprightness, truthfulness, honor, and genuine kindness in the driving marts of trade. And all who come in contact with him know him for a Christian merchant. Surely, that is every way better than creeping away to some obscure spot, there to bury his talents in the earth and spend his time writing pious, but useless, books or groaning over the evils of the age. The latter proceeding would be that of a fool and a coward. It would be a manifest running away from the post of danger and duty. It would be about like committing suicide, instead of bravely shouldering the burdens of existence, whatever they might be. It would be throwing away a life which might have been used to grand purpose.

Not the hermit fashion, but the hero fashion, of living alone is the true one. What is a hero? He is a man of courage and power, a strong man who can lead, not shirking pain or peril to carry forward a worthy cause. He is a man of great soul, who never strikes his flag to fear, who bears himself loftily and walks serenely after the counsel of his own bosom, careless of pleasing. He is not under bondage to received opinion, nor given to apologies and petty prudences. He is at open war with falsehood and wrong, ready at all times, taking in his hand both reputation and life, to defy the mob and dare the gibbet for that which is true and right. This is the attitude which we call heroic—the only attitude fit for a Christian. The Christian must be a hero, a man of martial spirit, who feels that he belongs to the Church militant and is called to fight, being a follower of Him who said, "I came not to send peace, but a sword." He who gets fully possessed of this thought will never think of slinking off because the combat is difficult. We are not to run away from the world for fear of getting contaminated with it—that is wholly unworthy of our high vocation; more power is needed. They who separate themselves so rigidly from those about them make plain confession that they are too weak to stand before the temptations which would assail them. It is a confession which neither honors them nor their Lord. He is well able to keep them and make them to stand if they will but trust him and manfully go forward.

Greater aggressiveness on the part of the Church is the chief demand of the hour. It is no wonder that it takes one hundred Christians a whole year to convert one sinner if they occupy all

the time guarding themselves against his approaches. The Church should take vigorous possession of all the things that are not intrinsically evil; should lay hold of all the innocent forms of modern life and fill them with holy influence. She should live so close to Jesus that she can go forth in his spirit and power and capture the positions of the enemy.

It will not do for her to say, for example, that politics is such a filthy pool that Christians cannot meddle with it. She must not leave the government of this country, which is God's country, to be managed by the lowest elements of the community. A bad citizen, one who does not do his rightful part in shaping the policy of the administration, cannot be a good Christian. If the church members of the land had the heroism to assert themselves as they should we should not see the pitiful spectacle of universal subserviency to the saloon as we do now.

A great many Christians are also shirking social duties because they do not feel strong enough to take them up. They are afraid, if they have anything to do with them, that they will be swept off their feet and carried into sin. Surely, this is pitiful! That Christians, after living ten, twenty, thirty years with Jesus, have got so little of his love in their hearts that they have to sit around and nurse it and spend all their time looking after it, instead of being at leisure from self and able to help other people, is positively disgraceful. Jesus went freely into society, mingling in marriages and other feasts, with the one purpose of doing good. So should we.

The religion that has to be handled with extreme tenderness, lest it get irretrievably smashed or smirched, is not of a very robust sort. How are we to get people saved unless we can take part with them in things that they are interested in, and show them in ways that they can understand that we have a spiritual power which they do not possess? Aggressiveness on the part of Christians is surely the crying need of the age—ability to do something more than hold the fort and fill up the vacancies made in the ranks by death. Separation from the world after the hero fashion, and not after the hermit fashion, is demanded. There must be a faith vigorous enough to overcome the world, not by beating a retreat before it, but by advancing upon it; a faith that brings God so near and makes eternity so real that the things of time and sense cease to mean much and lose their power. This faith is the stuff that heroes are made of; and heroic religion is the only kind that God has much use for in these days.

THE ARENA.

THE PECCABILITY OF JESUS.

In the "Arena" of the July *Review* one of your correspondents makes "A Point in Theology." He says, "I am a believer in the impeccability of Christ, and consider this position in harmony with the teaching of Scripture and fundamental in Methodist theology." As I see it, the Christ he presents to the world is of no value to me, because if his position is true his Christ never lived on the plane where I live and never met any of the foes that lie in wait along my pathway. If to believe in the perfect humanity of Jesus is to be in sympathy with Socinianism, to advocate his impeccability is to be in active cooperation with necessitarianism. If Jesus represents Adam before the law, his humanity must possess the same qualities and possibilities as the human nature it represents.

In the system of redemption, in order that God may be just and the justifier of all who believe, he must vindicate himself before the world. He must demonstrate to angels and men that his administration toward Adam was just. Before the divine administrator can justly punish Adam or any of his descendants he must demonstrate that Adam could, and therefore he ought to, have kept inviolate his Edenic state. There is but one way in which he could do that—by placing in the world a being with the same constituent qualities of manhood and the same susceptibilities and possibilities before the law, and to let him, without constraint, pass triumphantly where the other was surprised and fell. Therefore, if Jesus represents Adam before the law, everything that the humanity of Adam could do, enjoy, or suffer the human nature of Jesus could equally do, enjoy, or suffer.

If it be logically true that the greater always contains or implies the lesser, then, as certainly as physical death is the sequence of sin and the ultimate climax of the tragedy in Eden, and inasmuch as the Saviour's human body did suffer death upon the cross, all the minor sequences of sin were possible to him. And as certainly as that death was accomplished in him, that he absolutely died—was dead—then all the lesser events and incidents of humanity might have been executed or experienced by him. Jesus could not have been the High Priest of humanity, could not have been "touched with the feeling of our infirmities" and "in all points tempted like as we are," if he had not possessed the same tripartite humanity that we possess—soul and body and spirit; he could not have been the Saviour of the world if he had yielded to temptation, actuated the possibilities that existed in him, and so sinned; nor could he have demonstrated his fitness to die for man if he had not triumphantly passed where Adam was assaulted and defeated.

The humanity of Christ was not mongrel; it was pure, untainted humanity. He was "made of a woman, made under the law," and was therefore

capable of any act that pertains to humanity under law. The divine nature of Jesus was not degraded in the incarnation, and the human nature was not deified. He was not a demigod. The obligations of Jesus, the joys and sufferings of the Son of Mary, were all within the arena of human activities. The union of the two natures was hypostatic—they were not intermingled. It is not conceivable that Deity should suffer. In this hypostatic union, this incarnation of the Son of God, there is demonstrated the complete reconciliation of the alienated parties, there is revealed unto us the place where God and his erring children meet in perfect fellowship; and for thirty-three years these two natures dwelt together in the most perfect harmony.

The facts of Christ's life and death demonstrate (1) that sin is not a necessary adjunct of human nature, and (2) that it was not necessary for Christ to prove his ability to sin by sinning; for he shows himself stronger than any necessitated being. But it was necessary that his conflict with the enemy should be real and his victory complete, or there could be no significance in his sympathy with man nor any certainty of help in time of trial. But now Christ, having had a real conflict and having conquered everywhere, is able to succor them that are tempted, and humanity is triumphant whenever it really enters into Christ's victory. If by any means Christ is removed from the plane on which Adam was created he can be neither an example to humanity nor a redeemer of the race. If he is man's Redeemer his constituent manhood and his legal environments must be those of the humanity for which he suffered and died.

Therefore, we must either accept the moral agency of Jesus, or abandon the moral agency of humanity; for no necessitated being could be an example or redeemer for one who was separated from him by that bridgeless chasm which forever yawns between moral agents and necessitated beings. Since it does not jeopardize the salvation of man or impeach the divinity of Christ, in order to be consistent we must hold to the perfect and unmixed humanity of Jesus, and hence to his peccability, or forever abandon the doctrine of human accountability.

WILLIAM JONES.
Sedalia, Mo.

UNFAIRNESS TO LESSING.

PROFESSOR DAVIES's article on "Nathan the Wise," in the September number of the *Methodist Review*, purports to be a plea for fairness. In the name of fairness I plead against the plea. I would be reluctant to question the conclusions of so able a scholar as Professor Davies, were it not a matter of fact, evident on simple inspection of Lessing's great drama, that he has sadly misread the story of the three rings. I believe the following restatement of the story, containing certain vital points not stated by Professor Davies, will decide the matter one way or the other.

A man in the East owns a priceless ring, the gift of a friend. This ring has a magic power to make the owner beloved of God and man, on condition that he wear it in confidence of its so doing. The ring is passed from father to son through several generations, until it reaches a father of

three sons, any two of whom he is unwilling to grieve by singling out the third as the sole possessor of the ring. To avoid the difficulty he bestows a ring upon each son—upon two of them counterfeit rings, and upon the third the genuine ring—each son believing his own ring to be the true one. The sons quarrel about the matter and go to a judge to decide their claims. The judge reminds the envious brothers that the possessor of the true ring was to be an amiable man and, consequently, that the true ring is probably lost. He then advises them each to strive after uncorrupted, unbiased love, and summons their children to appear after a thousand years have passed and receive the judgment of a wiser judge.

This is the parable, the three rings standing for the Christian, Jewish, and Mohammedan religions. Is there anything unfair to Christianity in the parable? Professor Davies answers that Lessing's natural conclusion is "that there is no true religion, or if there be, that no one has the power to tell which it is." The *obiter dictum* of the judge—"You are all three deceived deceivers" ("so seit Ihr alle drei betrogene Betrüger")—seems to be warrant for the first alternative; but a reference to the earlier portion of the story makes it clear that the judge had fallen into the same mistake that he leads the professor into. Nathan had explicitly stated that only two of the three rings were false. Nor does Lessing say that the true religion is necessarily indistinguishable, but makes Nathan distinctly say that true religion can be distinguished by the loving character of the possessor. This is just what Christ himself says in John xiii, 35. Why, then, was the judge unable to make the distinction? Because the possessors of the rings had forgotten the condition on which its "hidden virtue" should reveal itself, namely, that it must be worn in confidence of its so doing. The professor seems to be misled here by Nathan's words,

> As indistinguishable as, with us,
> The true religion.

That is not intended, as it seems when quoted without context, to be a principle applicable to all time, but is the remark made by a Jew to a Mohammedan during the unholy period of the Crusades, when Christendom and Crescentdom were murdering each other without stint and both were making free booty of the hapless Jew; a time when, indeed, an impartial judge, applying the divine love test, might well have believed that neither of the three religions was true. From this we are not to conclude that the true faith is hopelessly indistinguishable, but that Saladin and Nathan and all other sincere adherents of opposing faiths cannot agree in making the distinction.

And least warrantable of all is the conclusion which Professor Davies expresses in the words of Professor Primer: "Lessing, through Nathan, makes it [love] the property of the Mohammedan, Jewish, and Christian religions, when it belongs to Christianity alone." Again, remember that only one ring was genuine, only one religion was to stand the love test. The only suggestion of such an inference as the two professors draw is

the fact that all religions are urged to better themselves by cultivating the character which originally belonged to only one. W. M. BALCH.

Mauston, Wis.

"PUL, JAREB, TIGLATH-PILESER."

THE article on "Pul, Jareb, Tiglath-pileser—A Chronologico-Historical Study," by Dr. Joseph Horner (*Methodist Review*, November–December, 1894, pp. 928, *ff.*), contains some mistakes which need correction. As they seem to be due to the use of the older books on Assyriology the corrections here set down are accompanied by references to more recent literature. In general it is to be said that the progress of Assyriology has been so rapid as to make the books of George Rawlinson and George Smith already antiquated. The discovery of new inscriptions and the better translations of old ones have set in fresh light many points which these older scholars misunderstood.

1. "The attempt to identify Pul with Porus has not as yet attained to a satisfactory result" (p. 928). On the contrary, this is now absolutely certain. The Ptolemaic Canon for the year 731 reads "Χίνζηρος καὶ Πώρου," and the Babylonian King-list A for 731 reads "Ukîn-zîr," and for 728 "Pu-lu" (Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 147, and Pinches, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1884, p. 193, *ff.*). It is perfectly plain from a comparison of these two lists that Porus and Pulu are one and the same person. All Assyriologists are agreed that such is the fact. (For a graphic representation of the agreement of the lists of Ptolemy and of the Babylonian King-list and Babylonian Chronicle see Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. ii, pp. 290, 291). It may be added that there is no doubt that Pulu and Tiglath-pileser III are the same person. He assumed the latter name when he ascended the throne of Assyria in B. C. 745; and when he became king of Babylon in 729 he was proclaimed under the name Pulu. This act finds parallels in later reigns; for Shalmaneser IV took the name Ululai as king of Babylon, and Ashurbanipal was known as Kandalanu in Babylonia (Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pilesers III*, Leipzig, 1893, vol. i, p. ix). That Tiglath-pileser III ascended the throne of Babylon at the same time as Pulu and was the same person was finally settled by the cross reference in Babylonian Chronicle B, 84, 2–11, 356, col. i, line 28, where the text reads, "Tukul-ti-apal-e-shar-ra ina Babilu ina Kussû ittasha-ab." (See Winckler, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ii, p. 148, *ff.*, and Pinches *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, 1887, xix, p. 655, *ff.* Also Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum A. T.*, Leipzig, 1892, p. 44.)

2. "Asshur-lush (Assur-nerari, Smith) eight years (ten years, Smith)" (p. 928). This ought to be Asshur-nirari III, B. C. 755–745. (See Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Leipzig, 1892, p. 207.)

3. "Asshur-dayan (Assur-dan Smith) III eighteen years" ought to be Asshur-dan III, B. C. 778–755 (*Ibid.*). It was in his reign in 763 that the eclipse took place which has done so much to fix Assyrian chronology.

4. Of Dr. Horner's main thesis I can only say that I am unable to find any evidence for it in the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia. I have, since reading his paper, again examined all the existing inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, the Babylonian King-lists and Chronicle, and the Eponymn Canon in the original texts, and I have seen no line which gives the least support to his hypothesis; but, on the contrary, all the evidence, direct and indirect, seems to me against it. I regret that this is the fact, for his paper is so interesting, his spirit so fine, and his biblical enthusiasm so generous that one can only regret the apparent failure of his hypothesis. One would be very glad of any assistance in solving the difficult problems of the chronology of the period of the kings which have been stirred up afresh by Assyrian discovery.

Madison, N. J. ROBERT W. ROGERS.

THE DIFFERENCES OF SCIENTISTS.

SCIENTISTS sometimes gleefully advert to the discrepancies of opinion among theologians as evidence of the uncertainty of human knowledge regarding things divine. It is quite as easy to point out divergencies among the scientists, who deal with matters supposed to be known. Take, for example, some recent opinions regarding the time the earth has been habitable.

Professor Simon Newcomb (*Popular Astronomy*, p. 531) concludes that our globe "has probably been revolving in its orbit ten millions of years; man has probably existed on it less than ten thousand years; civilization less than four thousand"—this, after long calculations as to the rate of the earth's cooling from the incandescent to the habitable state.

Frances Mahaffy (*Sunday School Times*, September 29, 1884, article "Books and Primitive Writing") certainly suggests a much higher antiquity for man. She tells us that to produce merely the "body" of a book, that is, its letters, print, and paper, as apart from its "spirit," has required "the most astonishing efforts of the human mind for certainly more than eight thousand years." She says: "There may now be seen at Oxford a tablet erected by King Sent, of Egypt, with an inscription in memory of his grandson, who died, probably, five thousand [years] before the birth of Christ; and the writing is such as to show that behind it lay a past of almost inconceivable remoteness." She quotes, without dissent, the Phœnician claim of "an antiquity of thirty thousand years;" although she says they "do not appear in history until a comparatively late time." Her frequent use of such terms as "enormously ancient," "after long years," "struggling for ages," and the like, produces the impression of an incalculable antiquity to be assigned to man.

Next comes Professor Drummond, in his new book *The Ascent of Man*, calling for still longer periods. The processes of the evolution of human beings, after the earth had "cooled" sufficiently to sustain life, required "thousands of years for their consummation" (p. 67). "The duration of this process, the profound antiquity . . . are inconceivable by the faculties

of man" (p. 68). It is "the labor and progress of incalculable ages" (p. 66). "For a few thousand years they [the animal forms] reigned supreme, furthered the universal evolution by a hairbreadth, and passed away" (p. 70). Job, Isaiah, and Plato are a "matter of yesterday" in comparison with the beginnings of the human mind (p. 146).

So we have Newcomb, the astronomer, with his ten thousand years, Mahaffy, the philologist, with thirty thousand, and Drummond, the evolutionist, with his periods of human existence absolutely incomputable and inconceivable by any finite intellect whatever. These be thy gods, O Science! Surely the scientists have quite as much need to learn modesty and to cease assuming infallibility as the theologians. J. C. JACKSON.

Jersey City, N. J.

REFORM IS NOT CONVERSION.

THE Saviour said to Nicodemus, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again." The expression "born of the flesh" all understand; but "born of the Spirit" is not well understood. All that a man can do for himself religiously is to reform; but he can convert his soul no more than he can change the color of his eyes. God only can convert the soul. Even in the cases of adults whose habits of life have been correct, and to whom, therefore, reform may not be needful, conversion is absolutely necessary for admission into the "kingdom of heaven." Nicodemus, Paul, Cornelius, and the "rich young man" needed conversion, if they did not need reform. The necessity for conversion is based alone upon total depravity. If there be no depravity there can be no conversion; if there be no total depravity there can be no complete conversion. JASON YOUNG.

St. Paris, O.

CONTINGENT EVENTS.

A WRITER for this department makes this statement: "God can only foreknow contingent events as contingent and uncertain." I fail to understand what is meant by this. If God foreknows an event he must foreknow it as coming to pass. Otherwise he would foreknow an event which might not come to pass, which is an absurdity. If the element of contingency entered into the question, to him it would prevent his foreknowledge. What is contingent to the human mind is not necessarily contingent to the divine mind. Contingency is not an attribute of the future events, but of our finite faculties. That God did foreknow events which to men were contingent is abundantly proved from Scripture. Many of the prophecies of the Old Testament, viewed from a human standpoint, were contingent. But they were literally fulfilled, and so minutely fulfilled that there can be no doubt about the absolute foreknowledge of God. If we deny this absolute foreknowledge we seriously undermine the foundation for the inspiration of the Bible.

North Lansing, N. Y. B. FRANKLIN.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

FIDELITY THE PREACHER'S TEST.

In the last number of the *Review* attention was called to opportunism in the ministry, in its good and in its bad sense. The subject of this paper is a cognate one and not less important. In the second verse of the fourth chapter of First Corinthians Paul says, "Moreover it is required in stewards, that a man be found faithful." Differences had arisen in the Corinthian church as to the merits of the most distinguished teachers of the Church, namely, Paul, Apollos, and Cephas. Factions had gathered around these several names, until these distinguished servants of Christ, without their approval and perhaps unknown to all of them, had become in popular estimation the chiefs of ecclesiastical parties. Against these divisions and the party spirit that prompted them the apostle writes with wonderful cogency in the early part of his letter. By disclaiming any desire that a party should gather around him he, by implication, disclaims it for the others: "Was Paul crucified for you? or were you baptized in the name of Paul?" "Why, then," Paul seems to say, "should a party gather around my name?" It has been noted as a remarkable fact that no Church organization has come down to us bearing these honored names, so effectually did Paul crush this first attempt. In presenting the aspect under which he would have the people regard their leaders he says, in the first verse of the same chapter, "Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God." He does not emphasize the loyalty of Peter to Hebrew usage, the rhetorical skill and eloquence of Apollos, much less his own rich endowments; but he designates all three as "ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God." They are merely the bearers of the sacred mysteries to the world. The requirement in a steward is fidelity, and this he considers as the great test by which their ministry is to be judged.

May it not be well for the young minister to inquire whether this lesson may not have its application to our own times? We may well inquire to what extent the test which Paul presents is the test of to-day. Does the Church regard fidelity as the supreme quality in a pastor? Perhaps it is safe to say that, other things being equal, there are few Churches that will not agree with Paul's view. Certainly no one would even remotely hint that unfaithfulness is not a most undesirable characteristic; but some might be found who would not make faithfulness the highest quality. They would disparage it by allowing substitutes for it. If one is remarkably eloquent and draws large congregations he is regarded with leniency, though he may be neglectful of some of the most important functions of the minister. If he is cultured and scholarly many will say, "We must overlook his failures to visit the needy, because he requires time to study." Paul was a scholar, and Apollos was an orator; and yet

neither scholarship nor eloquence was the supreme test. The one question to which he seeks an answer is whether they are found faithful. It is not a protest against learning or eloquence. Learning is important in order to study and understand the mysteries of God, eloquence is valuable in order to explain and apply them; but most of all fidelity is necessary, in order that everything may be truly said and every act may be faithfully performed.

There is danger lest this characteristic be overlooked by ourselves and by others. It is less dazzling than many other possessions. The faithful minister must do much of his work apart from the gaze and without the approval and support of others. The work of the more eloquent, though perhaps less faithful, pastor is greeted with applause; while that of the faithful one is often unnoticed, and the world says, and says truly, "He has only done his duty." And so he has; and if he is truly faithful he will work cheerfully until life shall close, without, it may be, a sign of recognition or praise. He seeks the approval of God, and with that he is content.

Fidelity is not only unrecognized and unrewarded often, but it is frequently unpopular. It will demand of the preacher that he shall speak the truth, whether men will hear or whether they will forbear. He will thus be compelled to pay the price of fidelity, namely, the disapproval of those whom the truth antagonizes. This, however, is one of the tests of his fidelity and one which he willingly endures.

There is further danger that the quality will not be properly appreciated, arising out of the fact that too many regard it as a vulgar and commonplace virtue and one that can be practiced without special training or unusual gifts. Grant that it is within the reach of everybody; it is thereby ennobled, not degraded. The rays of the sun and the gentle showers fall on everybody alike, but they are none the less necessary on that account. But it is not strictly correct to say that every person can be faithful. On the contrary, fidelity is a quality that inheres only in the highest order of men and women. It is only attainable by those who have great resources in themselves and rich assurance of the divine favor. In a sense, it may be said that only those who have a genius for truth and goodness are entirely faithful; but it is a genius acquired by effort, as well as received by heavenly communications.

This is not written to depreciate such other ministerial requisites as are either natural or are acquired by study, but to emphasize the fact that, as all other gifts, attainments, and graces are worthless without love, so in the ministry all other powers are destitute of real power for Christ without fidelity. This is the one element which Paul selects as distinguishing the early teachers of the Church, and it is equally desirable in the ministry of the present time.

EXEGETICAL—MATT. XIII, 13–16.

One of the most difficult problems for the student of the Bible is the precise meaning of many Old Testament passages when employed as

quotations by New Testament writers. Much as has been written on the subject, it is evident that much still remains to be done. An illustration of this will appear from a study of Matt. xiii, 13–15: "Therefore speak I to them in parables; because seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand. And unto them is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah, which saith, By hearing ye shall hear, and shall in no wise understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall in no wise perceive: for this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed; lest haply they should perceive with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and should turn again, and I should heal them."* This passage has proved an embarrassment to many good people. They have supposed it to mean that our Lord addressed the people in parables in order to prevent their reception of the truth and, consequently, their turning again and receiving healing at his hands. Such a meaning seems out of harmony with our conceptions of the earnest desire of the Saviour to bless mankind and with his constant efforts to remove their intellectual and spiritual blindness. It can only be justified to our thinking by the assumption that such hardening is the result of second causes, and not the direct act of God.

The interpretation put by many upon this passage, however, does not grow out of any necessary construction of the language employed. That Christ's object is to make the people know the mysteries of the kingdom, rather than to condemn them, is evident from the eleventh verse. He had just given them the parable of the sower. It seems a mode of instruction which he had not hitherto employed and was consequently new to them. "And the disciples came, and said unto him, Why speakest thou unto them in parables? And he answered and said unto them, Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given." He thus explains by saying that he could employ didactic methods with his disciples because they were familiar with the subject, while the others, who were ignorant of these mysteries and whose minds were blinded, required the employment of parables.

The passage is quoted, with slight variation, from Isa. vi, 9, 10: "And he said, Go, and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and turn again, and be healed." Without stopping to interpret this passage we pass to the consideration of its employment in the New Testament. In the fourteenth verse of the thirteenth chapter of Matthew the passage is introduced with these words: "And unto them is fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah, which saith," etc. Their condition is such that they do not understand. Their "heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed." The last clause shows that the closing of the eyes was their own act. The use of this passage by Matthew is to show that they have reached the deplorable position portrayed

* Revised Version.

so vividly by Isaiah; and, hence, they need the teaching by parables in order to enlighten their minds and to remove their dullness. Christ had said of them, in explanation of the parable of the sower: "Therefore speak I to them in parables; because seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand." It seems clear from the statement of the Saviour himself that their spiritual condition was so dark that they needed special illustration of the truth; and, hence, his employment of parables.

Trollope, in his comment on verse 11, takes this view: "It cannot be meant that our Lord spoke in parables that the Jews might not understand him; but that their perverseness rendered them incapable of appreciating his divine instructions." Similarly Bloomfield remarks on verse 13, "We are by no means to understand from this and verse 15 . . . that our Lord spake in parables in order to cause the blindness and obstinacy, and, therefore, occasion the final condemnation of the Jews." This passage is one of the quotations from the Old Testament in the New where the sacred writer employs the language of former times, not because it is applicable in all its details to the point in hand, but because its central idea expresses that which he wishes to convey.

METHODS OF MINISTERIAL SUCCESS.

For the purposes of this paper the work of the Church at home and of her missionaries abroad may be considered as one. The minister at home may get many lessons from the lives of those who have, in the order of Providence, founded and built up the modern missionary enterprise. Bishop John Coleridge Patteson, the apostle of New Zealand and a martyr for the Gospel, ranks among the foremost missionaries since the days of Paul. He was born near London, April 1, 1827, and carefully educated at Eton and Oxford, winning prizes and giving premonitions in many ways of a promising future in whatever calling he might select. He was profoundly stirred about the time of his graduation by a sermon of Bishop Selwyn. In 1853, joining in the welcome to this same bishop, on his return to England from his missionary labors in New Zealand, he was again deeply moved by his appeals, and going to his own room he sought relief in tears. Twelve years before the bishop had said to his mother, "Will you give me Coley?" His mother was now dead, and the bishop made the same request of his father, an earnest Christian and churchman. His father consented, and young Patteson accompanied Bishop Selwyn to New Zealand. We do not refer to this zealous missionary, who afterward was made a bishop, for the purpose of rehearsing his biography, but to speak of the sublimity of his character and his profound interest in his work. He was a discoverer of the best methods of missionary success. It did not take him long to ascertain that he must raise up a native ministry if he would be successful. He therefore brought his colored boys to the school at Auckland, where he had them trained, and subsequently he became the leader of the educational work and a thorough scholar and

instructor, as well as a hard-working missionary. His keen perception suggested to him that the chief thing in missions was the school. To train the youth and to prepare a native ministry is now recognized as the first requisite in all mission work. In Germany this has been done with great success; so, too, in India, China, Japan. Indeed, in all our mission fields this method is now the settled policy of the Church. The new building which is now in process of erection in Rome is the expression of this same idea, so clearly recognized by Bishop Patteson.

His delicacy and tact were illustrated in his habit of instructing the natives of his congregation apart from his English friends; not in the way of caste, but that he might have better access to them and instruct them more successfully. His personal work, too, was marvelous. He did everything. He thought a missionary ought to know a great deal. He greatly deplored his want of medical knowledge. He said: "I am now in a position to know just what to learn when once more in England—spend one day with old Fry (mason), one with John Venn (carpenter), and two every week at the Exeter hospital, and not to look on and see others. This is the mischief—do it yourself. Make a chair, a table, a box, a tub, everything. Do enough of every part to be able to do the whole. Every missionary should be a carpenter, a mason, a butcher, and a good deal of a cook." His idea of missionary preparation seemed to be extremely practical. Lest, however, one might suppose that these practicalities of everyday life were the only requisite which he demanded, it should be noted that the man who could do all these things, who performed for the poor black children the most menial services, taking them to his home, washing and combing them with his own hands, was at the same time an accomplished linguistic scholar, a well-read theologian, and a profound student in general literature. His early scholarship, which was of the first order, was not diminished, but augmented, in his missionary labors among very degraded people. Here we see at once the possibility of most devoted practical labors in connection with the most refined taste and earnest devotion to profound study.

Another trait of this wonderful missionary was his aversion to speaking of his own labors and sacrifices. This arose from pure modesty. He was indifferent to the praise of men; the satisfaction of his own conscience and the approval of God were enough for him. In like manner, he concealed those privations for the Master which would have stirred the world to sympathy had they known them. A grand missionary he was. He was not permitted to die in peace, but by the hands of murderers. Europeans had come into the field which he was taking for the Lord, and by their avarice and oppression of the natives aroused resentment and hostility. As a result he was killed at Nackapu, and as the inscription on his tomb says, "In vengeance for wrongs suffered at the hands of Europeans." Max Müller refers to Bishop Patteson as a specimen of the men by whose spirit and method heathen religions will be overcome and the Gospel of Christ will soon triumph in the world. The missionary successes of today are a confirmation of the opinions of this eminent scholar.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE HITTITES.

SHOULD the reader take a concordance of the Old Testament and examine all the passages referring to the Hittites he would be convinced at once, if he had no theory to maintain, that he was reading history, and not the exploits of some legendary people, the mere creation of some Oriental story-teller. The references are so explicit and numerous as to preclude the idea of a myth or interpolation. The descendants of Heth are first brought to our notice in that most ancient of all ethnological tables, the tenth chapter of Genesis. When Abraham, with his large following of Shemites, entered Canaan the Hittites of Hebron, from whom he bought Machpelah, were even at that early date a highly civilized people, polished and affable, shrewd and diplomatic, and accustomed to the laws of business, for they transferred their land by formal contracts, and handled silver and other precious metals "current with the merchant." This earliest money transaction, incidentally mentioned, is of great value, as it discloses to our view the advanced condition of this people as early, at least, as the time of Abraham.

But to return to the record. We are next informed that, while Jacob entered into matrimonial alliances with his own immediate relatives, Esau, on the other hand, to the great grief of his father and mother, married two Hittite wives. The Hittites are repeatedly mentioned during the exodus and the invasion of Canaan under Joshua, who, after the death of Moses, was commanded to take possession of all the territory "from the wilderness and this Lebanon even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites, and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun." Such is the similarity between the above passage, from the Book of Joshua, and the following, from a document of Tiglath-pileser, that we cannot refrain from reproducing the Assyrian inscription, which reads: "From the border of the distant mountains to the fords of the Euphrates, the land of the Hittites, and the upper sea of the setting sun." Now, the phrase "all the land of the Hittites" shows very conclusively that the sacred writer regarded them as very important and superior to the other nations or tribes named.

Joshua, faithful to his commission, subjected all the Canaanitish people. In the great battle near Lake Merom, where the children of Israel overthrew the united forces of the allied kings, including the Hittites, there were, we are incidentally told, both chariots and horses. Objections have been made to the genuineness of this passage, since, it is claimed, the semibarbarous tribes of Canaan could not have been acquainted with so advanced a mode of warfare at so early an age. Now, however, we know from the Egyptian monuments that the Hittites were famous for the use of war chariots. The epic of Pentaur describes at length the victory of

Rameses II, who lived before the exodus, over the Kheta, that is, the Hittites. The poet makes Rameses to say: "I had found twenty-five hundred chariots; I was in the midst of them; but they were dashed in pieces before my horses."

We again meet the Hittites in the time of the judges, when they appear to have regained their independence; for now we find them, not simply dwelling side by side with the Israelites, but even intermarrying with them. There is but little said of the Hittites during the monarchy. David had, however, at least two Hittite officers, Abimelech and Uriah. When Solomon ascended the throne the subjugation of these ancient enemies of Israel was complete. Bathsheba, the mother of the wise king, was probably a Hittite. Be that as it may, we know that Solomon, like Esau, married Hittite wives. Thus, all through the ages, from the time of Abraham to that of Ezra, we meet the Hittites; for even after the return of the Jews from captivity in Babylon we read that, to the sorrow of Ezra, the Hittites exerted a baneful influence over the Israelites.

Numerous and explicit as the above references are, they nevertheless but vaguely hint at the real greatness and power of the Hittites, who for many centuries successfully defied and triumphed over the armies of Egypt and Assyria. It is, therefore, manifest that the Hittites mentioned in the early books of the Old Testament were only a small part of a much larger nation, or a confederacy of nations, whose principal capital or capitals must have been outside of Palestine. We have, however, two, if not three, distinct references in the Bible to the Kheta of the Egyptian, or the Khattâ of the Assyrian, monuments. Solomon, it is said, had commercial intercourse with "all the kings of the Hittites." As these kings are named in immediate connection with the rulers of Egypt and Syria, it is evident that they were not the very same people as the Hittites mentioned in 1 Kings ix, 20, who were made tributary to the crown of Israel. We also read that, in the days of Jehoram, the son of Ahab, when Samaria was besieged by the Syrians, the army of Benhadad was thrown into a panic by a supernatural noise, which they regarded as the mighty noise of an advancing army. "Lo," they said, "the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites." The third reference is not quite so clear. We refer to 2 Sam. xxiv, 6. David is said to have ordered the enumeration of the people, and Joab went as far as the land of Tahtim-hodshi. This proper name has been a source of great trouble to the critics. It is now regarded as probably a corrupt reading for the Hittites of Kadesh.

The last three notices, though not as full and explicit as could be desired, yet read like genuine history and show clearly that the Hittites, mentioned, as they are, alongside of the kings of Egypt and Syria, were a people of commanding influence. It is, therefore, strange that, in the face of such evidence as we have and such circumstantial statements in so many places in the Old Testament where there could have been no motives for interpolations or the introduction of myths, there are learned men, like Francis William Newman, who boldly stamp the account of the

panic in the Syrian camp at Samaria as an extraordinary creation of the imagination. The story as told in the Bible, according to Newman, "does not exhibit the writer's acquaintance with the times in a very favorable light. Its unhistorical tone is too manifest to allow of our easy belief in it." And, as if these statements were not strong enough, the appends the following note: "No Hittite kings can have compared in power with the king of Judah, the real and near ally, who is not mentioned at all. . . . Nor is there a single mark of acquaintance with the contemporaneous history." Scholars like De Goeze and Merx insist that several references to the Hittites in the Old Testament are either interpolations or unhistorical.

Professor Cheyne is very loath to accept the biblical account of the Hittites, and, were it not for the more sure word of the Egyptian monuments and Assyrian tablets, he, like Newman, would make a short work of this troublesome people. Says the learned professor, in an article on the subject, "Some confusion has been caused in the treatment of the history of the Hittites by the uncritical use of the Old Testament." Cheyne, though forced to admit that the Hittites are repeatedly mentioned in the Bible, yet insists that the lists in which they and other pre-Israelitish populations are given cannot be strictly historical documents. To throw greater doubt upon the biblical records he assumes that they were all written centuries after the events described had taken place and, therefore, less worthy of credence than the monuments of Egypt and Assyria. As a specimen of his reasoning take the following: When Abraham needed aid in war he appealed to the Amorites; but when he wanted a grave in which to bury his beloved Sarah he turned to the more peaceful Hittites. The Hittites, he insists, were not peaceful, for the monuments make them very warlike; therefore the biblical account must be unhistorical. It will, however, puzzle the ordinary reader to understand how the sale of a piece of ground for a burying place should disprove the warlike nature of the Hittites. Abraham's turning to the Amorites, and not to the Hittites, for assistance in war may be explained on other grounds. We are next told that a branch of the Kheta (Hittites) may once have existed in Palestine; but in the same breath, as if afraid that he had made some uncritical statement, the professor adds, "Unfortunately there is no historical evidence that it did so." It is passing strange that Christian men in Christian schools should place more reliance upon the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria or the hieroglyphs of Egypt than they do upon the events recorded in the earlier books of the Old Testament.

The Hittites, though not referred to in the writings of the Greek and Roman historians, played a most important rôle among the great nations of antiquity. Though their chief power and territory were in countries north of Palestine, especially between Kadesh, one of their capitals, on the Orontes, and Carchemish, another capital, on the Euphrates, we know from the inscriptions that they, like the English in modern times, had led their victorious armies in all directions and left behind them garrisons, and afterward planted colonies, not only along the Mediterranean coast

from the mouth of the Orontes to that of the Nile, and then farther inland, but also along the two main lines of travel between northern Syria and the Ægean Sea. These are not groundless assertions, but well-attested historical facts—facts which, if known twenty-five years ago, would have prevented many a hostile attack upon the veracity of our Holy Scriptures. No archæologist of our times will deny that the once powerful Hittites existed, though some radical critics still maintain that the Kheta, Khita, or Khattâ of the monuments must not be identified with the Khittim of the Hebrews. Since 1872 Hittite monuments have been discovered, not only at Hamah, Aleppo, and Carchemish, but also in Cappadocia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, and even on the very shores of the Ægean, as at Karabel, not far from Smyrna and Ephesus.

There is a romance about the discovery of the first Hittite inscription. As long ago as 1812 Burckhardt, the great Oriental traveler, informed the world that there was a stone in the wall of a certain house in Hamah on which were carved figures and signs, that no one could decipher, differing from any inscriptions he had ever seen. What they were he could not tell, but certainly not Egyptian hieroglyphs. But little attention was paid to this important discovery, and more than half a century had passed, when two Americans, Dr. Jessup and Mr. Johnson, found the stone described by Burckhardt. Such, however, was the veneration in which the stone was held by the Mohammedans that they failed to get even a cast of it or anything more than a very imperfect copy, the work of a native painter. In November, 1872, Sir Kirby Green, the British Consul at Damascus, and Dr. William Wright were invited by the governor of Syria, a very liberal man, the "creator of the Constantinople Museum," to accompany him to Hamah in order to study and obtain perfect casts or squeezes of the Hamah stones. Notwithstanding the power of the governor and the strength of his guard, the Hamathites bitterly opposed any interference with these venerated stones. Finally, however, at great expense and still greater labor, two gypsum casts were made of each of the three stones, and the originals were sent to Constantinople.

This was the beginning of a new era; for, on comparison of the inscriptions discovered in various places in Syria, Armenia, and Asia Minor, as well as on seals found at Nineveh, it was established that the inscriptions and the art in general were of the same nature as those upon the stones of Hamah. These Hittite monuments, without appealing to the records of Egypt or Assyria or to the Tel el-Amarna tablets, prove not only the vastness of the Hittite empire, but that this people had their own system of writing. This fact is of great importance as showing that the knowledge of writing was not the property of one or two nations of antiquity, but very common. Mr. Evans's recent discoveries in Crete, where he found traces of two systems of writing, corroborate this view.

Though we know, with certainty, neither the language nor the origin of the Hittites, the time has passed when any scholar will relegate this ancient and powerful people to the realm of the mythical. How gloriously God's word vindicated by the ancient monuments of lost empires!

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

RELIGION AND POVERTY IN CHINA.

THERE met in the province of Shan-tung, China, November, 1893, a council of missionaries of several denominations and societies—Americans, Englishmen, and Canadians, Methodists, Baptists, and Congregationalists—and of the undenominational China Inland Mission. The forty-one delegates present represented nine missionary enterprises in Shan-tung and one in Ho-nan. The Conference grew out of the recommendation of the Committee on Union appointed at the Shanghai General Conference, in 1890, urging missionaries to unite in local Conferences to secure a better comprehension of the various methods of work and for mutual encouragement. The topics considered were of the usual type, with some marked exceptions. One of these was the poverty of the people and its causes. This subject might be of comparatively little interest were it limited to the single province of Shan-tung; but the missionaries distinctly say that, with the exception of the "burden" of the Yellow River, with its frequent floods and shifting channels which do not affect more than three per cent of the population, the conditions and causes which they set forth obtain generally in the other provinces of China, and very largely over the entire empire.

That bad roads or the lack of roads limits the exchange of commodities and that customs barriers at short distances aggravate trade obstructions need no accentuation. But it is the moral conditions obstructing the development of commerce and manufactures which are of special importance in the estimation of these men. They specify a general fear of trickery, swindling, insincerity, lying, and injustice as repressing commerce and, especially, investments and cooperative schemes. There is uncertainty in the filling of orders. Adulteration is practiced to a degree that vitiates industries as well as commerce. The tea trade, they say, is being destroyed through this latter vice. Then comes taxation under conditions which admit of "squeezing," amounting in known and specified instances and classes to sixty-seven per cent of the valuation; also, injustice in administration of laws and a total failure to recognize that public weal and private advantage are bound up together. There is, in fact, a reversal of all the moral axioms which underlie the dealings of Western nations. All this has served to kill public spirit, to destroy mutual confidence, and to render public plans for improved methods of commerce and manufacture impossible.

Underlying the moral causes of the lack of prosperity, these gentlemen make bold to declare, is a profounder cause—the religious beliefs of the people. Rev. A. G. Jones, an English Baptist missionary, said, "They lack the power of the hope of an everlasting life." "It is passing strange," he added, "that heavenly hope should make a richer people, but it is so.

Nothing stimulates more than a future. Their world has none but what is a dreary repetition of the past, its changes and its precedents." The doctrine of fate takes away from them, as it does from any people, the sense of responsibility. The vagueness and contradictions of their beliefs leave them destitute of moral courage. Right and truth have to give way to conventionalities and proprieties. Ancestral worship produces a desire for a numerous progeny, which leads to early marriages; and of these overpopulation and weakly population are the result. The custom, too, of having costly weddings sinks families hopelessly in debt. One might discredit this picture but that it is confirmed by those familiar with every part of China. The Rev. Mr. Cady draws just such a graphic picture of the distrust and dishonesty which reign in the far west of China. That there are exceptions and exceptional features may be readily conceded. Where the Chinese come in contact with foreigners on the coast they are shrewd enough to learn the basis of the foreigners' dealings; and we hear of most honorable conduct of Chinese firms which would command a premium in any center of Christian trade. But the trend in the nation at large, as these gentlemen point out, is to destroy the conditions of thrift and wealth.

There is little doubt but that this dishonesty, honeycombing public departments, has led to the present humiliation of the great "boneless giant" by the "nation of monkeys," as the Chinese designate the Japanese. Evidence is not far to seek that China's naval ships have been manned by dummies, coolies borrowed for the inspector's count, while he and the local commander divided as spoils the salaries of the nonexistent naval defenders of the country. Little wonder that China should be found unprepared for war when her navy has only masked forces on its vessels! A current story runs to the effect that when Viceroy Li Hung Chang inspected the "Northern Squadron," just before the breaking out of the war, the officials responsible in the premises hurriedly employed a gang of brickmakers to mold clay cannon balls to pass examination as ammunition. This story may not be true, but it corresponds with hundreds of others of similar import. The same lack of moral qualities has led to the decadence of her arsenals, as at Chi-nan-fu. There is no wealth possible to a people without conscience; and nothing can give China a conscience but the Gospel.

OUR JAPANESE POPULATION.

WHILE there have been some prejudice and antagonism to the Japanese immigration on our Pacific coast, it has been but trifling compared with that with which the Chinese have met. There are several patent reasons for this. The Japanese, for one thing, are not likely to come in such vast numbers as would the Chinese were the immigration of the latter unrestricted. They are more cleanly in their personal habits. They seek assimilation with occidental forms of civilization. They do not come in such competition with the labor classes, being for the most part students, artisans, sailors, and sometimes laborers. The increase in the proportion

of merchants, of late, is observable. Japanese shops and shopkeepers are found in nearly all Pacific coast cities, from San Diego to Victoria. This class will, at least for a long while, meet with less opposition than the cooly class. They are young men from fifteen to thirty years of age, less than three hundred women being among the seven thousand Japanese now in this country. Eight years ago the Japanese population in the United States numbered one thousand.

The Japanese over the sea are in their first fervor of enthusiasm, the enjoyment of which they do not propose losing because the Western world has passed beyond the age of jubilant experience and expression. This makes them, to the older nations of Europe in particular, seem impulsive and possibly unstable. But it makes them especially susceptible to a type of piety for examples of which, unfortunately for us, we are gradually being compelled to turn to the past. This fervor finds illustration in the Methodist revivals which, for five years, have swept over the Japanese population of the Pacific coast and brought one seventh of the whole to the altar as communicants of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This is not a sporadic movement, for it has gone steadily forward for more than half the duration of Japanese immigration. It has exhibited practical fruits, in most signal cases, of self-denial and self-sacrificing zeal, causing men to give up lucrative positions for meager and precarious support, that they might follow their brothers into mining camps, ranches, and deserts, far away to Alaska, over the seas to Hawaii, or back to the home-land in order to seek some kinsman to whom they felt impelled to tell the strange experience that had come to themselves, in the possession of the new ideals, the new joy, and the new love.

MISSION WORK IN AFRICA.

Missionary Walker, of Uganda, Central Africa, informs us that the people are exceedingly desirous to obtain good reading, but books are expensive. The worth of a manload of books in Uganda is fifty dollars, and a copy of the New Testament is worth one dollar and twenty-five cents, that is, a woman's wages for two months. Christians are known at sight by a bag they carry over the left shoulder, in which they transport their books from place to place. It is not uncommon for people to travel a three-days' journey to have something explained which they do not understand. One woman, who was too poor to buy a book for herself, borrowed a copy of the gospels and committed them to memory. The native Christians themselves established the rule that no polygamist should be admitted to baptism or to the Lord's Supper. The husband must give up all his wives but one. Since there is no surplus of females it is not difficult for these divorced wives to be married again. Walker says that the time has not arrived when European women should be sent to Uganda; but he says they may be sent to the east coast of Africa in order to become acquainted with African life and be ready to go to Uganda when the proper time arrives. Bishop Tucker writes from the capital that

on Christmas, 1892, he preached to five thousand people, including the king and all the chief captains; also that Bishop Hannington's remains were to be interred in the church on the 31st of December. He says: "The fourteen loads of books which I brought are to be sold to-morrow, and they will disappear like snow before the sun. There are eight thousand copies of the Holy Scriptures in the language of the country. The people are beside themselves with delight. Uganda seems to me to be the hope of Africa. To leave it to itself would be more than a mistake; it would be a crime."

THE LANGUAGE FACTOR IN MISSION TERRITORY.

It has been the policy of Great Britain to offer no restrictions to the introduction into her colonies of any language whatsoever. She restrains no Italian, Frenchman, Spaniard, German, Chinaman, or Hottentot from the free use of his native language. But the policy of France is the reverse of this. Recognizing the radical difference of French civilization from that which would be introduced through the medium of the English language, France has adopted, under the lead of the Jesuits in part at least, a language policy for her colonies in Africa which excludes all English-speaking missionaries. The *Sierra Leone Messenger* points out that this policy has imposed a new difficulty on the missionary work of Protestants in large parts of Africa. The Presbyterian Church was obliged to arrange with an evangelical missionary society of Paris to conduct the good work it had developed in the Gabun or else see it all go to pieces; and now the Rio Pongas mission of West Indian Africans to their brothers in Africa has been compelled to start new mission centers on the other side of the river, that they may retain their hold on that portion of their work lying within French delimitations. The policy of the French to exclude all schools from their African colonies unless they be conducted in the French language and on French lines practically debars Protestant missions from the vast sections of interior Africa falling within the French sphere. The latest instance of the inforcement of this policy of the French occurred at Benito, on the west coast, where the Presbyterian Church had one of its most flourishing stations. The French visited the place and insisted that the French language be used exclusively, not even permitting the use of the vernacular language. As it was impossible to comply with this order the school was closed. This hindrance was temporarily removed by the arrival, soon after, of a Spanish man of war, the commander of which declared that Benito belonged neither to France nor to Spain. He presented a Spanish flag to a native, directing him to raise it and to let the French take it down if they saw fit. On the east coast the missionaries have boldly pushed into the interior, with the result that England and Protestantism are intrenched therein; but on the west coast the Protestant missionaries have clung to the coast, and have thereby prospectively lost the whole "Hinterland" to Protestantism.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Paul Chapuis. Comparatively few are the leaders of theological thought among the French-speaking peoples, and such as can be classed as leaders among the French would scarcely deserve that honor among the Germans. Chapuis has received most of his leading ideas from German sources. Nevertheless, his eminence in French theology entitles him to mention here. For more than a decade the doctrine of the preexistence of Christ has been a bone of contention among French theologians. In fact, it is but recently that anyone in the modern Christian Church has ventured to deny it. But among theologians of the present day it is not an uncommon thing to dispute the correctness of the utterances of Paul and John on that subject and to explain them away as being not inspired, but drawn from ideas then current, but which did not correspond to reality. At the recent dedication of the new university buildings at Lausanne Chapuis delivered an address, on the change which is going on in modern theology in the department of Christology, before an immense audience of Swiss and other theologians, which was subsequently given to the general public in the *Revue de Lausanne* and afterward in book form under the title *La Transformation du Dogme Christologique au Sein de la Théologie moderne.* The deniers of the preexistence of necessity deny the doctrine of the kenosis, and this is one of the main features of the view of Chapuis. According to him, the earlier Christologies, even those of Paul and John, were influenced by old Greek ideas drawn from physical and metaphysical science. This must give way to a Christology founded upon the Gospel and whose distinctive characteristics shall be ethical-religious, as opposed to metaphysical. There can be no doubt that theology has insisted so strongly upon the metaphysical unity of Christ with the Father as to have obscured the ethical-religious unity, and that thereby it has been more faithful to Greek than to evangelical thought. But it is altogether another thing which is aimed at by Chapuis than to shift the center of gravity of Christological opinion. He and his coadjutors refuse to be content with the emphasis of the ethical-religious unity of Christ with the Father. They are determined to know nothing among us of any metaphysical unity whatever; and, hence, the denial of the truths of the doctrine of the kenosis and of the preexistence, which in some measure stand or fall together and which imply the hated metaphysical unity. If all parties would cease quarreling over the substance of the Father and the Son and preach Christ's character and saving merits the world would be the better for it.

Dr. Heinrich K. H. Delff. Appearing for the seventeenth time as an author, in a book of philosophy, he proposes to sum up his views on all

philosophical subjects. He holds that we cannot through the intellect know God as a living reality, but only in the heart, by means of religion. Nor do we have an immediate consciousness of God; but rather the search after God is the innermost nature of the heart, which cannot tolerate the pessimism arising from the ordinary philosophical and scientific study of nature. It is the result of a remnant of naturalism which leads Christian theologians, even in the present day, to see in nature a revelation of God. Rather is God revealed in our consciousness. But God must also be revealed in a human personality. Hence, in Jesus Christ God is revealed to us as the living power of the ideal. Forth from these postulates of religion all philosophy must proceed. Philosophy need not seek to discover God, but only to explain him. He then proceeds to establish the view that the heart is a true organ of knowledge, and then explains how God, who was the first will, came to personality. Having attained possession of his freedom and inner riches, he began to pour forth the stream of his love toward an object, which object was found in the eternal Son, who is also the eternal ideal-man. Delff attempts a philosophy of the heart. He really shows that philosophy ought to start with the concept of God as found in Christianity; and if all philosophy would accept this view there would be less confusion than there is. The world can only be understood when the God of revelation is postulated. It is folly for philosophy to imagine itself able to find out God from the world and by human speculation. But when he proposes to search for the inner condition and means of the life of God, and on the ground of the results to explain given, individual, and historical existence in its real character, inner causes, genesis, and development, he sets, even for his philosophy, an impossible task. There is nothing in religion which makes such a process possible. With such a process religion has nothing to do. If men will speculate upon these incomprehensible themes let them not drag religion into the maze, either by determining dogma by philosophical requirements or by making Christianity responsible for any particular philosophical speculation. Christianity has to do with God and what he is to the heart. All else is useless and dangerous.

Professor Dr. J. P. Valeton, Jr. For several years past his duties as professor in the department of the Old Testament in the University of Utrecht have led him to the investigations whose publication has given him a leading position among Dutch theologians. Following the Graf-Wellhausen theory, he gives to Amos and Hosea a leading place among the prophets of Israel. He compares the two somewhat as follows: The significance of the two prophets in the development of religion lies in their knowledge of God. The fundamental article in the Israelitish faith was, "Israel the people of Jehovah, and Jehovah the God of Israel." But what the people took for a self-evident and natural condition these prophets discerned as an expression of the divine love. And, while the people looked upon their relation to God as a source of blessing and a

reason for liturgical service, as well as a ground for the expectation of future prosperity, the prophets laid all the emphasis upon the ethical-spiritual obligations arising from this relation. Nevertheless, the two differed. For Amos Jehovah is the God of nature and history; by Hosea the first place was given to the thought of God's pity. Amos wanted to substitute for the prevalent sensuous liturgical service the ethical service of Jehovah; Hosea, spiritual reverence in love and royalty. Amos was one whom we to-day would call a moralist, that is, he placed the ethical element of religion in the foreground. Hosea, on the other hand, was a mystic, that is, one for whom in the last analysis the personal relation and communion of the soul with God was everything. According to Amos, true religion consisted in doing good and avoiding evil—to be religious meant to be good. According to Hosea, all would be well in personal, social, and civil life if the personal relation of the individual with God was right. Amos can be compared with James, Hosea with John. With Amos, as with James, the question was what one does; with Hosea, as with John, what one is. The former demanded righteousness, the latter love. Nevertheless, these two distinct views of religion do not conflict with each other, but mutually supplement each other. Further, neither of the prophets regards the individual Israelite as the subject of religion. With Hosea, Israel is personified, and Israel, not the individual, is to be pious. With Amos, the nation consisted of an aggregation of individuals. But each is regarded as a part of the whole. Valeton thinks that, side by side with Isaiah, prophets like Amos and Hosea have an eternal significance, and that our knowledge of God rests upon them.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Encyclopädie und Methodologie der Theologie (Encyclopedia and Methodology of Theology). By Professor Dr. Heinrich Kihn. Of necessity there is but little activity in theological production among Roman Catholics. It has been twenty years since a work on encyclopedia and methodology from the Romanist standpoint appeared in Germany, and it met with but little favor. Professor Kihn here breaks the long silence. He divides theology into formal and material. Under the formal he includes the determination of the nature of theology, a review of its history, and a statement of the fundamental principles of theological study, together with a discussion of the languages of the Bible, and hermeneutics and its application to biblical exegesis. But, while it might appear from this classification that the book would allow some freedom in criticism and in exegesis, such is not in reality the case. For the freedom of the exegete is always to be limited by the authority of the Church. The book adopts the theology of Thomas Aquinas as ideal and, in fact, regards the Middle Ages in the same light. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church in the time when it was most influenced by rationalism and Protestantism was in a state of deep degeneration. The author

thinks, however, that Romanism, in going back to the fathers, in a better appreciation of the scholastic theology, and in its union with the post-Tridentine scholasticism, especially the Jesuitical science, has struck its roots afresh into fruitful soil. It is interesting to notice the departments of theology which Romanists include and which Protestants ignore; for example, casuistry, which is regarded as of immense value, mysticism, which is defined as the doctrine of the unification of the soul with God by means of an extraordinary gift of contemplation, and asceticism, or the scientific doctrine of the principles, manifestations, hindrances, helps, and exercises of Christian virtue. More than is usual in Romanist work, the Protestant Church receives fair treatment. But for the fact that he dare not, Kihn would be true to his scholarly instincts and treat theology broadly and fearlessly. Although of minor utility, we believe that the study of casuistry in the light of Protestant evangelical principles would prove a blessing to the individual Christian; and there is much in mysticism and asceticism which we might and ought to utilize. The Protestant can learn much from Romanism which will benefit him in his private life and make him more useful to the world.

L'Église et l'État, ou les deux Puissances au XVIIIe Siècle (Church and State, or, The Two Powers in the Eighteenth Century). By P. de Crousaz-Crétet. Though written from the ultramontane standpoint, it is tolerably fair and excellently well written. Very vividly is depicted the incapacity of the clergy in their efforts against Rome, and the weak endeavors of the State to secure secular oversight of religious foundations and the right to reform the monasteries. The life of the Church was behind that of the preceding century. The fall of Jesuitism became a fixed certainty. A transformation was impossible. Clement XIII declared that the order should be as it was or it should not be at all. But in all these things the interests of Rome were advanced in the end. The author speaks of the Jansenists as a sect, regards the Jesuits as persecuted without cause, and the ideal condition that in which the laws of the Church are equally the laws of the State. Accordingly, he believes that the Church ought to be independent in spiritual matters, and the State in secular. Rightly defined, no Protestant could object to this. But as interpreted by Romanists it unfortunately gives the Church a power which the State alone can possess where religious liberty is guaranteed to all. The author confesses that the old *régime* can never be restored. But he finds a way out which shall not injure Rome. He censures the Gallican parliament because they would lord it over the consciences of men. The bishops, on the other hand, stood for freedom and conscience. But it is forgotten or ignored by him that they only claimed freedom from the secular power. To Rome every conscience was to be subject. Very well does the author understand that a compulsory faith is of but little account and that the French State will never again provide for it. Its wickedness and unchristian character he does not mention. Like all other well-instructed Romanists, he makes the best of an unfavorable situation. Rome knows

when it is beaten in any conflict, although it never gives up its purposes; and when it fails in one direction it tries another. In this country we may learn from history and save ourselves from papal machinations. To hear Romanists talk here, we would almost suppose that they were more American than Protestants themselves.

Die Willensfreiheit und ihre Gegner (The Freedom of the Will and its Deniers). By Dr. Constantin Gutberlet. To Arminians such a book seems almost unnecessary. Yet it must not be forgotten that much of the most recent philosophy denies, either in theory or in fact, the freedom of the will. Witness Schopenhauer's pessimism, Wundt's physiological psychology, Paulssen's almost atheistical ethics, and the Danish Höffding. Here we find answered objections to the freedom of the will arising from ethical statistics, anthropological considerations, physiological psychology, speculation, and the mechanical view of the universe. The principal proof of the freedom of the will he finds in the uniform and indestructible testimony of our own consciousness. Yet the book represents rather a middle position between extreme fatalism, on the one hand, and liberty, on the other. It recognizes that even in the spiritual world every act must have its sufficient ground; also that this is not found alone in the inner condition of the actor prior to the action, but, in part, in the external excitation to action and, in part, in the free operation of volition, which cannot be coerced by the most powerful and clearly conceived motives to the contrary. The book freely admits that we can only affect the will by means of representations, and that it is not a single representation, but often a combination of representations, which determines our motive; and, furthermore, that it is not dependent alone upon our choice what representations or combinations of them shall be present in our consciousness at any given juncture. It is also admitted that in almost all human decisions the outcome depends upon inherited character and upon education and external conditions, over all of which we have but little control. By the time all these facts are admitted there seems to be but little room left for the exercise of free will. Yet so strong is the consciousness of freedom that it must be accepted as a fact. Rightly viewed, it would appear that there is a sufficient freedom to make any person responsible for his own acts, yet enough restriction of our freedom by the facts above mentioned to mitigate the guilt of many an otherwise blameworthy act. The work is marred by several defects, a principal one being that, as a Roman Catholic, the author accepts the philosophy which underlies Romanist ethics. But on the whole it is a work which all will do well to read.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

How German Liberal Churchmen Regard the Bible. The very term "liberal" denotes that no fixed views of anything are held by the "liberals." Each one is at liberty to believe as he pleases. Yet there are

some prominent points of agreement between them, and it is not at all impossible to formulate at least their average belief concerning the Bible, which is about as follows: The old doctrine of inspiration is entirely discarded. The Bible is not an absolutely divine book, but one in the production of which men were active, at least to such a degree that man's work is perceptible. It is, therefore, to be subjected to criticism the same as any other human product. The Bible is, nevertheless, the best source from which to obtain a knowledge of original Christianity. No other documents, whether earlier or later than those of the New Testament, whether long known or recently discovered, are at all equal to the New Testament in this particular. This would remain true, even though it should be proved that books whose genuineness has never hitherto been doubted are not the productions of those to whom they are attributed. The New Testament is, therefore, not an authority which can compel belief, but the source of knowledge concerning Christ and his religion; that is, an historical authority, not an absolute one. It follows from this that the liberal churchman is not interested in the study of the Bible merely as a matter of science. His attitude toward it is different from his attitude toward the *Vedas* or the *Koran*. Regarding himself as a Christian, he desires to know what the earliest and best records represented Christianity to be. One to whom Jesus Christ has become comfort and power, light and life, as the liberal claims that Christ is to him, must desire to learn out of the best and most trustworthy sources whatever they have to say concerning the Redeemer. Nevertheless, the liberal insists that, as it was the relation of the individual to Jesus Christ, producing the conviction that he was receiving a revelation from God, upon which the Church was established, so it is with the individual of to-day. The faith of the individual is made possible by the Bible, since it conveys to men and maintains among them the knowledge of Christ and his redemption. But this faith is not produced by the Scripture, but through the revelation of God in Christ, of which the Scripture is the witness. Men become believers, not because they have the Scripture, but because in the Scripture they find that which makes itself felt in the inner man as revelation from God, and which, as a result, produces faith. The Bible is thus a means of grace, since it makes known to man the grace of God in Christ. It is a means of grace in this sense, because the revelation of God to man is so reflected therein as to be accessible to the human understanding. Since the Old Testament is absolutely essential to the understanding of the New, it must be retained. The revelation of God in nature, conscience, and history cannot lift man above himself. It cannot put man into harmony with himself, nor free him from the power of sensuality or selfishness, nor guarantee peace to a soul burdened with a consciousness of sin and striving to secure real communion with God. Hence, the Bible is said to contain the word of God. And, while it has varying worth in its various parts, it is all needful. In proportion, however, as any part approaches the true teachings of Christ or recedes from them is it valuable. The care of the reader of the Bible must be directed toward a con-

stantly increasing clearness and power of knowledge concerning the revelation of God in the Bible, which is the foundation of all purest Christian knowledge, the authority for all genuine Christian piety, the source of all most helpful Christian edification, for all time the most precious treasure of the Church, and the object of most earnest investigation. For the individual Christian and theologian there is no more sacred duty than to secure for himself the blessings of the revelation which is given to man in Christ for redemption; and this is to be done by a constantly deeper penetration into the Holy Scripture, both by scientific investigation and practical, religious employment of the same. Better than the piling up of Scripture citations and scriptural forms of speech is the real understanding of a single historically important and religiously significant passage. And more important than the most correct memorization of the catechism is the internal application of biblical ideas, on the basis of a sound comprehension and with a view to their rational use. From this review of the liberal position it is evident that in the last analysis it is essentially that of the orthodox party. The liberal does not accept the New Testament because of any authority it claims or because of any authority which is claimed for it, but because it appeals to him with all the force of a record of a revelation of God in Christ. He is convinced, not coerced. If we are not mistaken this is the case with most intelligent evangelical Christians to-day, though they may know it not. What the Bible teaches to such is, as with the liberal, a question of interpretation.

Children's Mission Bands in Switzerland. Five years ago the Swiss Conference had scarcely made a beginning in this important service for the children. The number of bands has now grown to 18, with 316 members. Their diligence is manifest in the fact that, out of 8,957 francs raised within the Swiss Conference for missions, 2,468 francs were from these mission bands; that is, 316 children raised almost $500 in a year. Their methods are essentially the same as those which prevail in this country. The band is presided over by a suitable adult. The children knit, sew, and crochet, and missionary intelligence is imparted. It is said that the children are so zealous that they beg their leaders to continue the meeting beyond the hour appointed for the purpose.

Evangelical Christianity in Spain. According to reports issued by Pastor Fliedner, the evangelical Church in Spain has seventy congregations, with twelve thousand communicants and eight thousand children in the parish schools. Among the means employed for the spread of evangelical truth the translation of German hymns into Spanish has proved very effective. Three orphanages, two hospitals, and two publishing houses are, also, exceedingly helpful in spreading Protestantism in Spain, which, as scarcely any other country on the face of the earth, is under the yoke of the papacy.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

WHAT consequences will follow the Chino-Japanese war, for civilization, morals, religion? The whole world is concerned and watches in anxious spectatorship the strife of the swarthy soldiers upon the soil of Cathay. To prophesy the full results is something that so discriminating a judge as Sir Thomas Wade hesitates to undertake, notwithstanding his forty years' residence in China and his twelve years' official service as the resident minister of his government at Peking. Such temperate predictions, however, as he ventures to make form the basis of a most instructive article in the November *Contemporary*, under the title of "The Chino-Japanese Conflict, and After." In the science of warfare the Japanese "have allowed their armies to be trained and disciplined by European officers." Should they gain the conquest of China their victory may mean "a portentous explosion which may shake the whole world." Russia and France, Germany and England, all may aim for acquisition in the partition of the conquered territory; and America itself would not be indifferent, as of late "her interests in the Pacific have been steadily increasing." The fourth article of the periodical, on "The New Syriac Gospels," describes some of the characteristics of this lately discovered manuscript. Few are better fitted than Professor J. Rendel Harris, the author of the paper, to pass judgment upon this newly found text. Without professing to "exhaust the critical side of the question, nor to enter upon its more distinctly theological issues," he has aimed to prove "the existence of a bifurcation in the primitive text of the New Testament from the remarkable evidence which has recently come to light, and to show which of the two branches has the greater claim to be considered the primitive text." Of the territory known as "The Eastern Hindu-Kush" Colonel A. G. Durand writes: "For five years I have lived in it in peace and war; the fascination of its desolate grandeur is still upon me; the memories of solitary days spent in the heart of its glorious mountains can never fade, nor can the kindly feelings toward the cheery and manly inhabitants of its sequestered valleys." The two closing articles are by Frederic Harrison, on "The Amalgamation of London," and by C. Laurence Gomme, on "The Future Government of London." The first of the two papers describes the report of the royal commission on the amalgamation of the city and county of London as "masterly;" the second calls the recommendations of the commission "comprehensive and capable of meeting the problem to be solved." If the trend of the two articles be any index, amalgamation is already well on the way.

THE opening article in the *North American Review* for December is from the pen of Monsignor Satolli, and sets forth in elaborate description the excellences of "The Catholic School System in Rome." That the paper is

a prejudiced statement of facts is confirmed to us by a resident of the great Italian city whose facilities and fitness for observation make his testimony of value. This is at least the seventh issue of this monthly, out of the twelve numbers for 1894, which has discussed and commended some phase of Romanism. We would modestly submit that fair play calls for the kind notice of the creeds and benevolent work of the different branches of the Protestant Church—for instance, of Episcopalianism, Presbyterianism, or the Baptist Church. Why not, if the *North American*, as an impartial chronicler of facts, wishes to lead its readers into all truth? The paper which follows, by the Hon. Wade Hampton, discusses "Brigandage on our Railroads." Assuming that the epidemic of train robbery is spreading over the whole country, it suggests the employment of such drastic measures for its extinction as inner doors of iron grating in express cars, repeating shotguns, and foxhounds to track the fleeing robbers. Under the title of "Two Great Authors" Senator Henry Cabot Lodge writes entertainingly of Holmes and Froude. Professor C. A. Briggs, in a succeeding article, reviews the work of "The Salvation Army," and judges that by its fruits it has vindicated "its great importance in the religious development of our century." The need of changed methods in governmental representation abroad is vigorously shown by Henry White, ex-secretary of the embassy at London, in "Consular Reforms." Dr. Louis Robinson follows with his second paper on "Wild Traits in Tame Animals;" Adjutant General Ruggles shows the necessity for "The Proposed Increase of the Army;" and Sergius Stepniak, in a paper on "How the Czar's Death Affects Europe," declares that "autocracy has outlived its age," inquires as to the personality of the new czar, and shows that Russia must follow a policy of peace. The concluding article is on "The Meaning of the Elections;" its writers are Representative Joseph W. Babcock and Senator Charles J. Faulkner, chairmen of the Republican and Democratic Congressional Committees. The difference in their interpretation of recent events is striking.

THE clearing away of some of the mists that have lately obscured the vision of the American Church seems the purpose of Dr. A. T. Pierson in his article on "The Parliament of Religions," in the December number of the *Missionary Review of the World*. According to his vigorous showing, the spectacular association of Christianity with the faiths of heathendom at Chicago was unwise. When, more than a year since, the Parliament of Religions "took its place in history" the writer "felt compelled to testify against the whole scheme, convinced that, at the very basis of it, there lay a blunder, and that, without impugning the motives of its originators and abettors, its final outcome must be evil rather than good." Fortifying his belief by the testimony of others, Dr. Pierson now affirms that the Parliament was a mistake: (1) In its "inadequate presentation and representation of Christianity;" (2) In the "false impressions left on hundreds" of attendants; (3) In the establishment of "a bad prece-

dent;" (4) In the exaltation of some individuals "into an undue, undeserved prominence," and in helping to "propagate false faiths;" (5) In the substitution of "laxity for liberality;" (6) In implying that "salvation is not in Christ alone." Among the other papers of this periodical are one on "Babism—Its Doctrines and Relation to Mission Work," by J. H. Shedd, D.D., one on "The Evangelization of the Jew," by J. E. Mathieson, and one on "The Ministry of Women," by A. J. Gordon, D.D. Nothing seems to be overlooked by this vigilant magazine.

THE *Methodist Review* of the Church South contains: 1. "The Historical Situation in the First Epistle of John," by Gross Alexander, S.T.D.; 2. "A Constitutional History of American Episcopal Methodism," by the Rev. G. B. Winton; 3. "The Virginia Woman of To-day," by Mrs. Mary Stuart Smith; 4. "The Art of Sacred Reading—A Study in Vocal Exegesis," by the Rev. J. T. Docking, Ph.D.; 5. "Physiological Psychology," by Professor A. C. Wightman, Ph.D.; 6. "Korea, Past and Present," by W. R. Lambuth, D.D.; 7. "Coeducation of the Sexes," by the late Dr. C. F. Deems; 8. "British South Africa," by E. R. Norton; 9. "Evolution as a Method of Creation," by M. B. Chapman, D.D.; 10. "Voltaire —A Character Study," by J. M. Wright, D.D.; 11. "A Theistic Argument Restated," by the editor. The writer of the first article maintains that the epistle of John "was written in view of the heresy of the gnostics, with its doctrinal, ethical, and practical abuses." The second article is complimentary of the recent volume of the editor of the review; the third, on Virginia women, is written by one of them, and is debonair and congratulatory. In the sixth article Korea is likened to Florida, hanging "pendent from the shore of a great continent." Sick and needing "treatment," she must be "led, rather than coerced, into a policy which shall foster a new life, the germs of which have already been so successfully transplanted by the missionaries of the cross." In the seventh paper Dr. Deems commends the scheme of coeducation. The ninth article is favorable to evolution as a method of creation, and believes that, whatever the outcome may be, "the Bible has nothing to fear." In the last article Dr. Tigert himself writes on "a single attribute of the Deity—his universal causal efficiency." The bimonthly, as a whole, is taking on increased breadth, vigor, and attractiveness under the new management.

AMONG the entertaining articles in the *Fortnightly Review* for November is the description of some quaint Oriental customs, by A. Henry Savage-Landor, in "Burning Questions of Japan." By his showing, this emulative people have not yet fully learned to imitate the Western nations without grotesque results. But, as the years go on, they will "adapt Western civilization to themselves, instead of adapting themselves to Western civilization." In the following article A. W. Rücker writes an attractive biographical notice of "Herman Von Helmholtz," and exalts to a high place this late German physicist. In "Women's Newspapers" Miss Evelyn March-Phillipps indulges in good-natured ridicule of the attempts

of modern English papers to provide for the wants of women and calls for publications that shall minister to their higher needs. Of such an ideal newspaper she says: "It would not print so much about dress, but what it did include would be excellent of its kind and not merely put in to fill up space. The ultra-frivolous might avoid it, but it would appeal to many who never look at the ordinary fashion paper. Such a paper would aim at occupying a leading status in the world of women; it would be something more than a mere colorless catalogue of feminine doings and dresses." But, whatever the English press may be, have we not already such women's papers this side of the Atlantic? In an article on "The Possibility of Life in Other Worlds" Sir Robert Ball discusses a question which never loses its charm. The drift of modern research, he claims, "has been in favor of the supposition that there may be life on some of the other globes," though at present "we cannot conjecture what the organism must be which would be adapted for a residence in Venus or Mars."

THE *New World* for December has: 1. "Some Questions in Religion now Pressing," by D. N. Beach; 2. "A Unitarian's Gospel," by C. E. St. John; 3. "Athanasianism," by L. L. Paine; 4. "Science a Natural Ally of Religion," by E. B. Andrews; 5. "'One Lord and His Name One,'" by S. R. Calthrop; 6. "The Gospel according to Peter," by J. A. Robinson; 7. "John Addington Symonds," by Frank Sewall; 8. "Modern Jesuitism," by C. G. Starbuck; 9. "The Mimicry of Heredity," by George Batchelor. The "four primary questions" discussed in the first article are: "Is God in the Church, and not equally, also, in the world?" "Is forgiveness the key word?" "What of Trinity?" and "What of immortality?" The fourth article, by the president of Brown University, declares that "to do aught against real science is to shut a prophet's mouth, to stifle a voice from on high." In his article on "John Addington Symonds" the author writes a captivating notice of the late *littérateur*. "With Browning and Ruskin," he says, "Symonds has formed a third in a triad of writers who have filled a unique place in English letters, that of interpreters to the Anglo-Saxon mind of the life, the art, and the literature of Italy." The closing article ably argues that "all our beliefs about heredity must be revised."

THE *American Catholic Quarterly* for October has eleven papers in its table of contents. Among them are "The Newest Darwinism," by St. George Mivart; "Testimony of the Greek Church to Roman Supremacy," by A. F. Hewit, D.D.; "Criticism of Recent Pantheistic Evolution," by Rev. J. J. Ming; "Introductory Remarks to the Pope's Encyclical," by Cardinal Gibbons; "To the Rulers and Nations of the World," by Pope Leo XIII; "The Supernatural and its Limitations," by A. F. Marshall. The encyclical of the pope, which makes up the seventh article, is a choice piece of reading. Its tenor is in the following extract: "We hold upon this earth the place of God Almighty."

THE *Gospel in All Lands* for December opens with an article on the "Country and People of Thibet." Some of the following papers are on "The Eskimos," by Bishop W. D. Reeve, of Mackenzie River, and "The Situation in Japan," by the Rev. Julius Soper. The reader also finds the able paper of Dr. A. S. Hunt on the "Origin and Growth of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church," delivered in November at the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Society; and this is succeeded by a synopsis of the late session of the General Missionary Committee. This number of the periodical is of much value to readers.——The *Review of Reviews* for December, like all of its predecessors, is rich in its summaries. The earth's doings for a month are here put in a nutshell. Every man who would keep in touch with the great world should read it and its successors.——The *Homiletic Review* for December has among its articles: "Richard Hooker, the Elizabethan Ecclesiastic," by Professor T. W. Hunt, of Princeton, N. J.; "Light on Scriptural Texts from Recent Discoveries—The Rivers of Paradise," by Dr. W. H. Ward, of New York city; a sermon on "Prayer as a Factor in Public Affairs," by J. E. Rankin, D.D., of Washington, D. C.; and a sermon on "The Lesson of the Transitory," by J. D. Wells, D.D., of Brooklyn, N. Y. The various departments of the issue are well filled.——*Christian Literature* for November opens with a paper on "The Ideal in Church Unity," by R. De Witt Mallary. Some of its following articles are on "The Alleged Sojourn of Christ in India," by Max Müller; "Religious Reserve on the Subject of Heaven," by Prebendary Whitefoord; "The Law of Moses," by A. B. Bruce, D.D.; "The Hardness of the Christian Life," by Dr. R. W. Dale; "Professor W. Robertson Smith's Doctrine of Scripture," by T. M. Lindsay, D.D.; and "A Century of German Theology," by James Stalker, D.D. Not the least noticeable among the papers is the curious correspondence between Cardinal Gibbons and the Rev. G. W. King on Christian union.——The *Methodist Magazine* for December has matter so readable along the lines of travel and Christian experience as to make it an eminently worthy visitor to the Canadian fireside.——The *Church at Home and Abroad* is published monthly by order of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. Its December issue has as contributed articles: "Observance of the Lord's Day in Venice," by Alexander Robertson, D.D.; "Indians of Arizona," by Rev. C. H. Cook; and "Threatened Uprising of the Neglected Classes," by Rev. W. P. Chalfant. Its illustrations and notes on home and foreign missions combine with its subject-matter to make it valuable as a denominational monthly.——The *Treasury* for December is crowded with good things. In "Leading Sermonic Thoughts" is an extract from Dr. Lyman Abbott. The fourth of the series of biographical notices of the presidents of Yale describes Noah Porter, D.D., LL.D. Its writer is Dr. Burdett Hart. Dr. T. L. Cuyler gives his third paper on "Some Elements of Pulpit Power," and Professor G. H. Schodde writes on "Finds in Early Christian Literature." An article on "Tarsus," by the Rev. H. S. Jenanyan, is also accompanied by a recent picture of that historic place.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Assyrian Echoes of the Word. By REV. THOMAS LAURIE, D.D. With Illustrations. 8vo, pp. 380. New York: American Tract Society. Price, cloth, $2.

Genesis and Semitic Tradition. By JOHN D. DAVIS, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Philology and Old Testament History in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. 8vo, pp. 150. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.50.

History, Prophecy, and the Monuments. By JAMES FREDERICK MCCURDY, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in University College, Toronto. Volume I: To the Downfall of Samaria. 8vo, pp. 425. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, $3.

It is surprising that the interest in the relations between the Assyrians and the Hebrews shows no sign of diminishing. It was to be expected that great popular interest should be aroused by the stirring discoveries of Rawlinson, Smith, and their contemporaries; but those discoveries were long since worked over by scholars and set into popular form. But that the interest should survive, nay, increase, is surprising and suggestive. It is another proof, not of the undying interest of antiquity, but of the amazing hold of the Bible on the minds not only of the common people, but also of the people who read books. These are always thirsting for some new or fresh word illustrative of their dearest book. And the writers and makers of books are always seeking to supply their recognized demand. But in spite of the fact that so many books have been written on this subject it must be confessed that none are exactly suitable. Some of them are valuable in one way and some in another. But there is no single book yet that covers accurately and interestingly the whole field. Three new candidates for popular favor are here grouped together for a surveying and a testing of their merits and defects. The researches of Assyriologists have been especially useful to Old Testament study in two departments—in lexicography and in history. The greatest leaders in the world in these two departments are Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, of Breslau, and Professor Eberhard Schrader, of Berlin—the former in lexicography, the latter in history. They have both written monumental works illustrating the Old Testament by means of the Assyrian inscriptions. But these works are primarily written for scholars, and are not well adapted for the ordinary reader or the average intelligent student of the Bible. There was and is a pressing need for the presentation in popular form of the chief results of these and other independent and original investigators. Does any one of these three books supply the whole or any part of this need? The first of them was written by a man born in the East, whose interest in these questions is as old as his conscious touch with the world's life. That is a distinct gain to his portrayal of the light that comes upon an oriental book from the inscriptions of an oriental people. The book is arranged topically, the topics are placed in alphabetical order, and the subjects are so treated as to require but little cross refer-

ence. A few of its subjects will give an idea of the scope of the book: "Abednego;" "Abraham;" "Adrammelech;" "Ahab;" "Alphabet;" "Altar;" "Angel, Destroying;" "Anointing;" "Apparel, Royal;" "Appiryon." In this way every word in the Bible which can be illustrated by the Assyrian inscriptions is put down in alphabetical order and followed by a short statement of its illustration by those inscriptions. It is wonderful how many passages, how many customs, how many words, how many historical episodes are here admirably illustrated from the Assyrian inscriptions. It may be regarded as a sort of supplementary volume to the usual Bible dictionaries which find place upon the shelves of biblical students. The book shows a good acquaintance with the literature of Assyriology in English, and gives references to a few of the more notable German works; but it must be said that the author seems to be unacquainted with by far the largest part of the best German and French books on the subject, and in so far his book is behind the times and, therefore, not thoroughly reliable. The method of transliteration employed in representing Assyrian words is not scientific. It follows the older English Assyriologists, and not the more generally adopted system of the present. Some of the translations, also, need revision to bring them up with the present state of Assyrian work. The work is, on the whole, so well done that it seems almost ungracious to find fault with it; but the reader ought to be guarded against a too ready acceptance of its conclusions without further testing. For example, the passages quoted under "Monotheism" really only prove that henotheism, quite a different thing, may possibly be found in some early Assyrian texts. In the article on "Pul" use should have been made of Rost's admirable new edition of Tiglath-pileser III, and under "Months" Arnolt's papers ought to have been cited. There is no Scripture index, a most unfortunate lack, so that one cannot quickly determine whether the book has comments on a passage or not, for sometimes the illustration stands under quite a different word or phrase from that found in the text. It is a useful, but not an ideal book. Of the second book named above we must regretfully say that it is a disappointment. As the title indicates, it deals only with the illustrations of the Book of Genesis from the Assyrian inscriptions. Now, the Assyrian inscriptions which cast light upon Genesis are chiefly religious texts, and these are proverbially very difficult to translate and interpret. When Dr. Davis essayed this task he undertook the most difficult task which can come to an Assyriologist's hand. It seems to us that he was not equal to so difficult a piece of work. The book is unequal. The chapter on "The Deluge" is by far the best in the book; it shows a very careful study of the fragmentary and difficult flood texts, and is especially valuable in its sifting of the translations of others. We do not find much that is original in it; but Haupt, Jensen, and Hommel have been studied thoroughly and used critically. This chapter is the best discussion of its subject that we have in English. On the other hand, the chapters on the "Creation of the Universe" and on the site of the "Garden of Eden" are not such good specimens, and betray some of the author's limitations. In the latter chapter we do not

regard the criticism of Delitzsch as successful. The "conclusion of the whole matter" concerning Eden seems to verge strongly on Haupt's view;* but we suppose that Dr. Davis had not seen his curious paper. As Haupt has now partially changed his view, though he previously considered the matter as "certain," perhaps Davis has not missed much through his inability to read that learned but unsatisfactory hypothesis. We are glad that Davis thinks the writer of Genesis knew some geography and honestly seeks to find out what he meant, and not to pick flaws as Haupt has done. It seems to us that no view yet published is equal to that advocated with such learning and reasonableness by Delitzsch. The spirit of the book is thoroughly good. The treatment of the sacred book is reverent and straightforward, and there seems to be an honest seeking for the truth. We must say, however, that the flippant reference to Professor Sayce, in a footnote on page 109, is ungrateful and misleading. No man who dares to write of Assyrian religious texts can be anything but a great debtor to Sayce, who led the way in the study of them. Has Dr. Davis read Jensen so much that he has imbibed some of his stupid hatred of "the Englishman?" The third book in our list is easily the first in rank and importance. We are as much surprised at its worth as we are disappointed in the work of Dr. Davis. Dr. McCurdy is a well-trained man, a graduate, we believe, of Princeton College, as well as of the Seminary. After that he studied with Franz Delitzsch at Leipzig, where he did good work and left pleasant memories and high hopes for his success. There was, therefore, much disappointment when he published in 1881 his *Aryo-Semitic Speech*—a discussion of the supposed relations between the Indo-European and Semitic languages. That book was very good of its kind, a much better book than the elder Delitzsch's *Jeshurun* on the same subject; but it was philological heresy, nevertheless, and made McCurdy's friends fear that he had departed from sound methods of research and was going a-hunting for theories rather than for facts. The present book is a complete refutation of that slanderous fear. It is a solid and sound contribution to a very important subject. The former books were intended to illustrate texts of Scripture; this is primarily intended to shed light on the movement of Old Testament history. "Its aim is to help those into whose hands it may fall to apprehend in its true relations the history of that ancient people through whom the world has gained most of its heritage of moral and spiritual light and power;" so says the Preface. And further on it is written: "The present work seeks to tell as simply as possible the story of the ancient Semitic peoples, including as the dominating theme the fortunes of Israel. If the recital turns out to be virtually a history of a well-defined portion of Western Asia in the olden times the circumstance will, I trust, be found to be more than a coincidence." These are brave words, but there is a good basis of justification for them in the first volume, which lies before us. We think that we know of abler books on the history of Babylonia and Assyria, or on the history of Phœnicia or of Israel separately considered;

* Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, vol. xvi, p. cliii.

but we know of no book so able and interesting in which the histories of all these and of still other peoples are treated together in their mutual relations and with special reference to the varying fortunes of Israel. There are certain matters in which we cannot agree with McCurdy, but they are chiefly matters of detail and not of great importance. But what reason is there for his new transcriptions of well-known oriental names? Here, for example, we find "Sinacherib" for our well known "Sennacherib," and "Hettites" for "Hittites." It seems to us that this savors of pedantry, for absolutely nothing of consequence is gained in either case. "Sinacherib" does, indeed, represent the Assyrian just a shade better than the ordinary English form, but the gain is so slight that it surely does not justify the departure from usage in a word so thoroughly anglicized. In the case of the Hittites it is still worse; for we are absolutely ignorant of the name which this people possessed in their own language, and to change to "Hettites" is only representing the Hebrew form of their name a little more perfectly. It will be time enough to change the word "Hittites" when we are able to read their own inscriptions. Is not Jensen now proposing to call their inscriptions Hattite or Cilician? Let us retain all forms of words which are thoroughly anglicized, unless there is great gain in making a change. The first chapter of the book, entitled "The Semites in History," contains some good material, well presented. It was plainly written by a believer in the divine origin of Christianity and of Judaism, and that is a distinct gain in these days. Witness, for example, these words: "Incontestably the best thoughts and principles—the most profound, the most propulsive, the most potential—that men have ever cherished have been conceived and elaborated in Semitic minds. Nay, more, the world has not yet fathomed the depths of these thoughts nor fully tested the applicability of these principles to the social and personal needs of any generation of men." There is more of the same sort all through the book. It is reverent but progressive, learned but interesting, accurate in detail but bold and picturesque in the whole. We shall await the second volume with impatience and hopefulness. The present volume contains: "Book I, The Northern Semites; Book II, The Babylonians; Book III, Canaanites, Egyptians, and Hettites; Book IV, Assyrians and Babylonians; Book V, Hebrews, Canaanites, and Aramæans; Book VI, Hebrews, Aramæans, and Assyrians." The second volume will contain: "Book VII, Hebrews, Egyptians, and Assyrians; Book VIII, Hebrews and Chaldeans; Book IX, Hebrews and Persians."

Christianity and the Christ. A Study of Christian Evidences. By BRADFORD PAUL RAYMOND, D.D., President of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 12mo, pp. 250. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, 85 cents.

This book would do credit to any college president. Its purpose is "to show that the Christian faith is reasonable. The whole subject is made to revolve around the Christ." "It is the convergence of all lines in Christ that makes faith reasonable." "Our religious ideals are rational, and must, therefore, be met. The only alternative is blank skepticism." "If Christ continues to satisfy these ideals the race will continue to

believe in him and to recite its creed, 'I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth; and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord.'" That this notice may represent the book as it is and give our readers such an idea of its value as shall most surely make them its purchasers and readers we transcribe the outline of its twelve chapters, packed solid with coherent truth: I. "CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. Christianity revolves around the Christ—Christianity a spiritual life—Related to the whole man." II. "CHRIST AND THE REVISED VERSION. The Revised Version and the Gospel of the second century—The outcome of scholarly work in this field—Another witness [Paul]—Variations in the manuscript." III. "CHRIST AND THE PROPHETS. The Prophets—The starting point and the goal—The historic movement—Progress in ideals—Predictive prophecies—The suffering servant of Jehovah." IV. "CHRIST AND THE SUPERNATURAL. Miracles denied—General considerations—Miracles and their context—The matchless character." V. "CHRIST'S SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS. The assumptions he makes." VI. "CHRIST AND THE RESURRECTION. Various naturalistic theories—Renan's theory." VII. "CHRIST AND THE APOSTLE PAUL. Paul's conversion and life—Renan's account—The great change." VIII. "CHRIST AND THE SINNER. Sin—Christ's answer to the question." IX. "CHRIST AND THE BELIEVER. Our experience—The great facts of experience — This life, how sustained — The meaning of our religious ideals." X. "CHRIST AND HISTORY. Christ's theory of man and its relation to slavery—The period of the Reformation—The Wesleyan revival." XI. "CHRIST AND HUMANITY. The claim of Christianity and its reasons—Heathenism." XII. "CHRIST AND IMMORTALITY. The question of the ages—Revelation needed." We have here Christian apologetics in marching and fighting trim, with full necessary militant equipment, but carrying no superfluous and dispensable luggage. The book is the work of a thinker of philosophic insight and grasp, who is able to reach the law behind facts and the principles underlying laws; who has read widely and thoroughly in the literature related to his theme and, by numerous references, points his readers to the large fields from which he has gleaned; who is not only acquainted with all materials, but master of them, and whose work upon materials has been not agglutination, but assimilation, by processes of mental and spiritual digestion eliminating and excreting the irrelevant and unsuitable, while absorbing into his circulation and vitalizing all affinitive and nutritive substances; who is familiar with the freshest thought and the results of modern critical study and speaks the dialect which is intelligible to his intellectual contemporaries, producing a book which has the manners, dress, and speech that will make it acceptable and at home in the twentieth century; who understands the hesitations, bewilderments, difficulties, and denials of to-day and addresses them with precision and incision; who has a skilled educator's art of simplified and stimulating statement; who knows the way of approach to and advance through the mind and heart of young manhood, the gates and streets of the city of Mansoul; whose reasoning is

incandescent with an evangelic glow, radiating light and heat; who shows a poetic sensibility to every embodiment and manifestation of the beautiful, the true, and the good. President Raymond's book delivers, as in one swift and solid blow, the overwhelming force of the Christian argument. Its literary style is marked by conciseness, simplicity, purity, and beauty. It needs not our praise; it shines by its own light. We only point to it and say that we do not know where else so much value can be had for eighty-five cents.

The Johannine Theology. A Study of the Doctrinal Contents of the Gospel and Epistles of the Apostle John. By GEORGE B. STEVENS, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in Yale University. Crown 8vo, pp. 387. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.

This volume belongs to that small class of books which are a real acquisition to any minister's library, and which, indeed, he can hardly do without. It belongs to that growing department of modern study called biblical theology. It is vital on every page with the true spirit of modern scholarship. The careful study of the human element in Scripture increasingly commends itself to nearly all thinkers of the present day. That there is a very large "subjective element in the fourth Gospel," that "the apostle has given us this teaching in his own words and in the shape and color which it had assumed through long reflection upon its contents and meaning," seems evident to Professor Stevens. The author labors under a considerable disadvantage which he did not meet in the preparation of the companion volume, issued two years ago, on *The Pauline Theology;* for, as he well says on the last page of the book, "We can hardly speak of a Johannine *system* at all, and we are left to correlate as best we can the *disjecta membra* of doctrine which John has left us in his writings." The difficult task is well done. The salient features of the special type of teaching found in the epistle and gospel known as John's are clearly and adequately set forth under such headings as "The Doctrine of Love," "The Doctrine of Sin," "The Doctrine of Prayer," "The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit," "The Idea of God in the Writings of John," "The Johannine Eschatology." The first chapter, "The Peculiarities of John's Theology," and the last chapter, "The Theology of John and of Paul Compared," are especially valuable. Since nearly all the verses, all which contain doctrine, in the gospel and first epistle are discussed under one head or another, the volume serves as the very best sort of a commentary on these two important books. It affords, in fact, a well-digested synopsis of all the opinions that have been given by the best writers on the many disputed points that occur in the interpretation of John. The author holds the balance even, and exhibits most excellent judgment in the decisions he makes—decisions which in almost every case easily carry the assent of the reader. No one will regret intrusting himself to this guide as he endeavors to find his way through the theological thickets of the New Testament. Honest, straightforward, discriminative, judicious, impartial, clear, and comprehensive, the author's conclusions will not readily be reversed. He has laid the public under much obligation by this pub-

lication. We add the comment of another reviewer upon Professor Stevens's book: "The only critical, systematic exposition of John's theology worth mention in English or in recent German theological literature. Weiss is hardly an exception. Recognizing the differences between the types of the Johannine and the Pauline theology and the far greater effect of the latter on the dogmatic development of the Church, Professor Stevens is able in his admirable analysis and comparison to reduce this difference to one of type or form rather than of substantial contradiction. The work is masterly and stands alone."

Inspiration. Eight Lectures on the Early History and Origin of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration, being the Bampton Lectures for 1893. By W. SANDAY, M.A., D.D., LL.D., Professor of Exegesis, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Second edition. 8vo, pp. 464. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $4.

These lectures appropriately and naturally follow the author's previous volume on *The Nature and Extent of Biblical Inspiration.* Their aim is to furnish a general view which shall cover as far as possible the data, at once new and old, which go to determine the conception which thoughtful men would form of the Bible. To everybody who is confident of the outcome it is a thrilling thing to see the intellect and learning of the world focused upon the Bible. That is the spectacle on which the twentieth century will look when it arrives, and it will perceive no pallor of fear, no trace of timidity, on the faces of the friends of Jesus Christ. Professor Sanday's spirit and position may be inferred from some of his introductory statements. "It is becoming almost a commonplace to say that our conception of what the Bible is should be drawn, in the first instance, from what the biblical writers say of themselves." "The writer is conscious of having criticised most freely some of those for whom he has the highest respect. This applies particularly to some of the German scholars whose names deservedly carry the greatest weight in England. There are none to whom he is himself more indebted; but he does not wish them to impose upon his countrymen, by the weight of authority, views which do not seem to be borne out by the evidence." "In view of the body of Old Testament criticism, the writer's own position is tentative and provisional. He does not think that the great revolution which seems to be expected in some quarters, from the Tell-el-Amarna tablets or otherwise, is probable; at the same time his impression is that the criticism of the near future is likely to be more conservative in its tendency than it has been, or, at least, to do fuller justice to the positive data than it has done. In regard to the New Testament he has tried to state the case as objectively as possible. He has thus been led rather to understate than to overstate the results which seem to him to have been attained so far. But he believes that there is much still to be done; and he hopes most from the spirit which is not impatient for 'results,' which does not suppress or slur over difficulties in the critical view, any more than in the traditional, which lays its plans broadly, and is determined to make good the lesser steps before it attempts the greater." The book has a good index and a full synopsis of the contents of each lecture.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Wealth against Commonwealth. By HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD. 8vo, pp. 563. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

The author undertakes to prove that the "cornerers," syndicates, trusts, and combinations are "holding back the riches of earth, sea, and sky from their fellows who famish and freeze in the dark," and "assert the right, for their private profit, to regulate the consumption by the people of the necessaries of life and to control production, not by the needs of humanity, but by the desires of a few for dividends." This book might have been a very valuable one if it had been written with more discrimination. It is an effort to show that all wealth is gradually passing under the control of a few persons. There might be a candid and exact book having that object in view. We do not mean that the thesis could be proved, but the real arguments could be compactly arranged. The intelligent reader may learn much from Mr. Lloyd; but he will have to pick it out carefully and to do his work under the glare of a flamboyant rhetoric. This reader is liable to a serious mistake—that of supposing he has read and heard it all many times before, in periodicals and orations advocating socialism. But, though there is nothing new in the volume, the orderly arrangement of the matter and the fullness of the treatment make the work a useful one to a properly qualified reader. To the other kind of reader the book is sure to be as misleading as it is intemperate; it may give him an attack of its rabies. The author undertakes to describe trusts and monopolies by quotation from legislative reports. He ought to know that such reports have no sure value. They are in nearly every case partisan documents, designed to influence the next election. They contain evidence, but not all the evidence; and the conclusions are such as the majority of a committee may choose to draw out of their own consciousness. It is not a pleasant thing to say, but this reviewer cannot recall a single legislative report having a political aspect which has been trustworthy. The sources of our author's "facts" are, therefore, under suspicion. Bad as it is, even a whisky trust may be slandered. Quotations from judges are given as is other testimony, and these are good as far as they go. But a legal decision cannot be condensed into a few sentences, and single sentences exactly transcribed may be modified by other sentences not transcribed by our author. As an example of a legislative report, that of the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1871 is quoted from on page 17; but more than half the evils named on that page have ceased to exist or are found very rarely in 1894. A confusing thing in the author's quotations is, by the way, the ranging over two or three decades. The idea of progress in our accumulation of wealth requires proof that the trust is a worse thing in this year than it was in 1870. The truth is that all the bad side of the corporation was more fully displayed a quarter of a century ago. In some ways they are more useful, less burdensome, and less obnoxious than in 1870. The multiplication of corporations has maintained a large measure of competition among them. The real evil

is that, as at competing points on railways, the competition is disastrous; it destroys profits, and so impairs service and cuts into wages; and, looking at it broadly, the poverty of American railroad corporations is notorious and disproves some of the author's theories. Referring the qualified reader to the book itself for the author's special views, we hope to serve our public by a few suggestions respecting its subject-matter. 1. A corporation cannot raise prices at pleasure. The rise reduces demand, even for fire and light. 2. Corporations almost invariably reduce the cost of any service, and the public gets a part of this gain in the form of a lowered price. 3. Reducing the output may be to the general advantage; reducing it, we mean, by agreement. The object of such a reduction is usually to maintain prices, not to enhance them. The well-being of the workmen is concerned; and the public could only suffer from piling up a million tons of bar iron for which the country has no use. Regulation of the amount of a given product may be a blessing. 4. The corporation, the aggregation of capital, is civilization on the economic side. It does interfere with the individual. His stage line, his telegraph line, his oil mill, his coal mine, nay, even his wheat field, suffer from the entrance of a power which works at less cost and sells at a lower price. This suffering is compensated for the greater number by other gains. 5. But here and there a man is economically destroyed. He must practically give up his small coal mine or oil mill to the corporation. If he produces at a noncompeting point on a railroad he may be butchered by unequal freight rates. The big Dakota grain field may drive him out of the wheat business. Whether these individuals can be relieved is an interesting question. It is not so clear as it might be that we ought to fret over the matter. The stage driver may find other employment, and so of the rest. The real grievance along the whole line is that the corporation can serve the public more cheaply and still make larger profits. The trouble of the agitator in this field is often the simple fact that anyone but himself should make money or that some have made more than he. 6. There is a large body of just complaints against corporate bodies; but they are specific, local, and isolated. No man's grievance can be alleged unless civilization is to be arraigned, after the manner of the thoroughbred socialist. The greater part of this book is devoted to exposing the history of the Standard Oil Trust. It is not a history, but a virulent attack carried on by collecting all the testimony against it. And in all these "exposures" of organized wealth it may be noted that, if a witness does not say what he is asked to say, the committee reports that "the witness hesitated" or that he was evidently unwilling to tell the truth. There is another side of this "terrible monopoly." On that side are these facts: (1) Refined oil costs the consumer much less; (2) the trust is notable for the high wages it pays and the high grade of its servants; (3) the high Christian character of most of the men in the trust creates a presumption that most of the charges against them are false. No doubt such inventions as the pipe line have yielded an enormous bounty. We have looked very carefully through this book for some hint of a

remedy and have found none. In the last sentence we have one, perhaps: "In the hope of tapping some reserve of their powers of self-help this story is told to the people." The "story" in this one-sided form has been told often before, and we think the people have decided against the story-tellers; and the substance of their verdict is, "We do not believe you." If the story is true and is believed by the people, then there is no reserve of moral powers to tap. The *ex parte* character of the trial, testimony, and judgment is now known to the people, and therefore the people are going quietly about their business, trying to obtain the benefits of organized wealth with as few of the evils of unorganized wealth as possible. The workman knows that the "despotic master" is usually the employer of only one or two men, not the corporation employing ten thousand men. And, after all, the large interest of the people is not in the one man who wants to run a small mill at our expense, but in the ten thousand workmen who want the good temper and the good wages of the large corporations. A very interesting book, by the way, might be made by some one familiar with the tricks, greed, and despotism of the individual producer. The agitators seem to have forgotten all about him. Some good testimony about his meannesses may be found in the Bible.

Chapters from Some Unwritten Memoirs. By ANNA THACKERAY RITCHIE. 8vo, pp. 205. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, gilt top, $2.

These breezy and vivacious reminiscences of interesting and famous persons and places seem equally entertaining with the *Records of Tennyson, Ruskin, Browning*, which this daughter of Thackeray gave us in a previous volume. The first chapter is on "My Poet." His name was Jasmin, born at Agen, in the south of France, "of a humpback father and a halting mother, in the corner of an old street, in a crowded dwelling peopled by many rats." Longfellow translated some of his works. "My Musician" is Chopin. "My Triumphal Arch" is the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, around which Thackeray's daughter played in her childhood, under which strange processions have marched, and in sight of which surprising successions of events have made marvelous history. "My Professor of History" is a poor little, old, short, stumpy woman, who taught history to little girls and loved Paris so that, when the Prussians came, she gave all the money she had to help the city defend itself. "My Witches' Caldron" is a chapter of reminiscent odds and ends about Charlotte Brontë, Carlyle, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Palmerston, Gladstone, Samuel Rogers, Mademoiselle Sontag, and others. And the remainder of the book is like unto what we have noticed.

Riverby. By JOHN BURROUGHS. 16mo, pp. 319. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.25.

John Burroughs comes nearer to being the priest of nature than any American now living. Perhaps we should say prophet, for he speaks for and expounds nature. He has not lived so much like a wild man as Thoreau, and is not so eccentric and bizarre to the ordinary mortal; but he has as deep a love for the non-human world, as exquisite a sensi-

bility to all its charms, and a finer gift for rich and bright, as well as minute, description. The author's pathetic intimation that this is probably his "last collection of out-of-door papers" lends a tender interest to these eighteen chapters. Burroughs is not a mere poetic devotee romancing about nature; he is a lifelong student of her ways and has scientific knowledge. His fascinating books instruct as much as they delight. "The Heart of the Southern Catskills," "Notes from the Prairie," "A Taste of Kentucky Blue Grass," "Bird Courtship," "Bird Life in an Apple Tree," "The Chipmunk," "A Young Marsh Hawk"—such are some of the things written about in these nature notes by the author of *Fresh Fields*, *Birds and Poets*, *Locusts and Wild Honey*, *Wake Robin*, and *Winter Sunshine*. This book is named *Riverby* because most of it was written beside that great and beautiful river which flows past John Burroughs's home—the Hudson of which Gilder writes:

O silver river flowing to the sea,
Strong, calm, and solemn as thy mountains be!
Poets have sung thy ever-living power,
Thy wintry day, and summer sunset hour;
Have told how rich thou art, how broad, how deep;
What commerce thine, how many myriads reap
The harvest of thy waters. They have sung

. . . . .

The waving outline of thy wooded mountains,
Thy populous towns that stretch from forest fountains,
On either side, far to the salty main,
Like golden coins alternate on a chain.
Thou pathway of the empire of the north,
Thy praises through the earth have traveled forth!

The Select Works of Benjamin Franklin, including his Autobiography. Edited, with Notes and a Memoir, by EPES SARGENT. 12mo, pp. 502. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

The editor of this volume has rendered his countrymen a great service by placing Franklin within reach of everyone. This volume contains all the purely literary work of the one American who must always rank next to Washington. He was, indeed, a broader man than the general and president. He was illustrious before the Revolution as a man of science and letters. Twenty years before, Kent called him "the Prometheus of modern times," and Bancroft says, "He was the true father of the American Union." We do not always realize that he was seventy years old in 1776, and that through the previous decade he had been shaping the mind of the colonies, or that hew on distinction as a diplomatist after that ripe age, entering that career as the representative of a people not yet admitted to the family of nations. Two circumstances have doubtless contributed to delay his entrance into the fullest honor. One is that he had the gift of wit; and for some strange reason that impairs a philosopher's fame. The other is the "freedom" of his supposed religious beliefs. He was, in fact, a Unitarian; but his enemies called him an infidel, and the accu-

sation stuck to his earlier posthumous fame. Every young American ought to be familiar with Franklin's works, and a revival of his fame may be expected to follow the wide circulation of Mr. Sargent's book. Franklin is, in the estimation of some, the most interesting man this country has produced, and he has put this interesting himself into his writings.

The Meeting-Place of Geology and History. By Sir J. William Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S., Author of *The Earth and Man*, etc. 12mo, pp. 223. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Orthodoxy and liberality go hand in hand in the present treatise. By no means does the author seek to disparage the attainments of science, but, on the contrary, holds a generous attitude toward its claims. For revelation, however, he shows such a reverential regard as is almost unusual in these days of Pentateuchal criticism and the frequent exaltation of geology above the Scriptures. In summary his conclusions are as follows: 1. There is "no link of derivation connecting man with the lower animals which preceded him." He is "a new departure in creation." 2. He has "a lower (psychical) intelligence, similar to that of the inferior animals," and "a spiritual nature allying him with higher intelligences, and with God himself." 3. While man, as to his body, is an animal and earthly, he is "the sole species of his genus and of his family, or order." The "missing links" have not been found. 4. There is no fact of science "more certainly established than the recency of man in geological time." 5. Man's first appearance "cannot, perhaps, be fixed within a few years or centuries, either by human chronology or by the science of the earth." 6. There is "but one species of man, though many races and varieties." 7. It is probable that the precise locality of man's origin was in a temperate region. 8. The "diluvial interlude gives a double origin of man." 9. The historical deluge may be correlated with "the great geographical changes which closed the palanthropic age." From this outline the scope of the volume will be seen. Mr. Dawson's treatment is characteristically able.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

George William Curtis. By Edward Cary. 12mo, pp. 343. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, with portrait, $1.25.

This is the thirteenth of the biographies of "American Men of Letters" edited by Charles Dudley Warner. In it the history of the ideal life of a "knightly gentleman and a great citizen" is given with delicate discrimination. Never had sculptor or biographer a finer manliness to model statue or story from than that which adorned, enriched, ennobled, educated, and immensely assisted the world in the person of George William Curtis. In him, as in many, his youth was the fair prophecy of his manhood. From eighteen to twenty he was a boarder at West Roxbury, a sort of associate member of that motley community of semi-industrious idealists at Brook Farm who illuminated the potato

patch with Attic wit, talked Greek philosophy in the cornfield, and "scratched weeds out of the ground to the music of Tennyson or Browning;" of which classic-bucolic settlement Emerson wrote, more rhetorically than correctly, "It was a French Revolution in small, an Age of Reason in a patty-pan." A lady remembers approaching a Brook Farm gate which was politely held open by a handsome young fellow named Charles A. Dana; and near him she saw two young men who, as she remembers them, looked like young Greek gods, with long hair falling to the shoulders in irregular curls. They were the Curtis brothers, Burrill, the elder, and George, the younger. Though the agricultural picnic at Brook Farm was regarded by the outside world as a colony of very queer people, if not lunatics, Curtis got nothing there but good. It was an inspiration to all that was noble in him, and did not make him so visionary as to prevert his subsequent life from being, in its fullness, powerfully practical. Those early years gave him associations with Emerson, Hawthorne, Channing, Thoreau, Alcott, Margaret Fuller. He caught the passion for high intellectual ideals and a literary spirit which, with travel-years added, made him the author of *Nile Notes of a Howadji*, *The Howadji in Syria*, *The Potiphar Papers*, *Prue and I*, and *Lotus Eating*, and for long years the editor of *Harper's Weekly* and the occupant of the matchless "Easy Chair" in the *Monthly*. To many of us Curtis on the lecture platform is a vivid and charming memory of the great days when Chapin, Emerson, Henry Giles, Beecher, Gough, Starr King, Phillips, and Sumner were flooding the land with splendid eloquence. We recognize the accuracy of this portrait: "His charm was felt the moment he arose. His form was manly, powerfully built, and exquisitely graceful. His head was of noble cast and bearing; his features strongly marked, finely chiseled, and, in his later years, almost rugged; forehead square, broad, and of vigorous lines; eyes blue-gray, large, and deep-set under prominent and slightly shaggy brows, lighting the shadow with flame, now gentle and glancing, now profound and burning. His voice was a most fortunate organ, deep, musical, yielding without effort the happy inflections suited to the thought, clear and bright in the lighter passages, alternately tender and flutelike, ringing like a bugle or vibrating in solemn organ tones that hushed the intense emotion it had aroused. His gestures were few and simple; nothing of the 'action' that the trained orator studies so carefully; no effort to sustain the attention of an audience, as Everett did, with a skill an actor might envy; none of the restless and irrepressible movement which in Beecher accompanied the rush and torrent of his eloquence. The speaker, unheeding the eyes, seemed to be seeking the judgment and the heart of his auditors." Not for twenty years did he spend a winter at home, but was on the road lecturing; at first, for an object which recalls the labors of Sir Walter Scott in his old age, for which object he sometimes earned $2,000 in a two-months' lecture tour; and, later, for the sake of the nation in its peril. A letter to him from a facetious friend describes him as one who whirls over the land, "nightly vomits fire and ribbons for the satis-

faction of gaping multitudes, rushes into small fishing towns to fascinate the alewives, and illuminates little villages whereunto gas had never previously been brought." A responsive gayety of spirit rings merrily in his own letter from Milwaukee, in December, 1853: "My dear deluded Eastern: Why do you stay in that dried-up, old-fogyish East? A man is nothing if not a squatter upon the prairies; for . . . I have seen a prairie, I have darted all day across a prairie, I have been near the Mississippi, I have been invited to Iowa, which lies somewhere over the western horizon. I feel as all the people feel in novels—I confess the West. Great it is and greatly to be praised." Curtis was deeply and highly religious. He sometimes conducted the service in the church he attended. His faith declared itself in a private letter, thus: "I believe in God, who is love; that all men are brothers; and that the only essential duty of every man is to be honest, by which I understand his absolute following of his conscience when duly enlightened. I do not believe that God is anxious for men to believe this or that theory of the Godhead or of the Divine Government, but that they should live purely, justly, and lovingly." The life of Curtis, as Mr. Cary portrays it, is a powerful and impressive lesson in patriotism. His sympathy was with liberty everywhere. Looking across the sea in 1860 from his home on Staten Island, where Garibaldi once lived, he wrote: "How grandly Garibaldi stalks through that magnificent, moribund Italy, each step giving her life and hope. When I speak of liberty on the Fourth I shall not forget the soap-boiler of Staten Island." But his love for his own country was an intense and mighty passion. Whenever danger threatened her from outward foe or inward corruption, his action was as if he had heard the advice of Sir Philip Sidney to a younger brother, "Whenever you hear of a good war, go to it." George William Curtis was for twenty-five years as superb and valiant a citizen as Charles H. Parkhurst is now, and the imperial State and city to which he gave the noblest labors of a noble life need to have his spotless fame statued in some public place in whitest marble, to offset the shame of vulgar vanity and virulent partisanship memorialized in brass. Curtis's loyalty merged the lesser in the larger, individual in party, party in country, nation in mankind, mankind in God. He showed us the scholar, the gentleman, the idealist, the moralist in practical politics, working decade after decade, like a day laborer, at the roughest drudgery of citizenship, in the sturdy determination to put conscience, honor, and independence, as well as brains, into public life and to drive venality, vulgarity, and brutality out. He was not moved by self-seeking. A nation proud of him, and wishing both to avail itself of his splendid abilities and to exhibit the flower of American manhood to the European world, tempted him in vain with the offer of an appointment to any foreign mission he would select. He wrote, modestly, "I think no man ever had so much favor for so small desert." Curtis calls Lincoln "the greatest of modern Americans." He counted Alexander Hamilton "one of the greatest of our great men, as Jefferson was the least of the truly great. Hamilton was generous and sincere. Was Jefferson either?"

Curtis often repeated, as a model of eloquence and an expression of lofty sentiment, the peroration of Emerson's Dartmouth address: "Gentlemen, I have ventured to offer you these considerations upon the scholar's place and hope, because I thought that, standing, as many of you now do, on the threshold of this college, girt and ready to go and assume tasks, public and private, in your country, you would not be sorry to be admonished of those primary duties of the intellect whereof you will seldom hear from the lips of your new companions. You will hear every day the maxims of a low prudence. You will hear that the first duty is to get land and money, place and name. 'What is this truth you seek? what is this beauty?' men will ask with derision. If, nevertheless, God have called any of you to explore truth and beauty, be bold, be firm, be true. When you shall say, 'As others do, so will I; I renounce, I am sorry for it, my early visions; I must eat the good of the land and let romantic expectations go until a more convenient season,' then dies the man in you; then once more perish the buds of art and poetry and science, as they have died already in a thousand thousand men. The hour of that choice is the crisis of your history; and see that you hold yourself fast by the intellect." Truly it is said of Curtis that, from his address on "The Duty of the American Scholar to Politics and the Times," at Wesleyan University in 1856, when he was thirty-two years old, to his memorial oration on James Russell Lowell at New York in 1892, the last year of his life, there was not a lecture or address of his that was not intended to set forth a high ideal, to apply to some duty actually pressing, and to stir and strengthen human hearts for the duty imposed. The proof of this may be found in the three volumes of his *Orations and Addresses*, published by the Harpers last year. They are a treasury of noble eloquence. Put them with this volume, just issued by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., and we have the measure and the meaning of a magnificent manhood dedicated to great purposes. Worthy to be cherished in every crisis by men of all sections and all parties are the wise words of Curtis in his brief speech at the dinner of the New England Society of New York, at the height of the excitement when Congress was trying to decide whether Tilden or Hayes had been lawfully elected President. His subject was "The Puritan Principle: Liberty under the Law," and he said: "The Puritan principle in its essence is simply individual freedom. From that spring religious liberty and political equality. The free State, the free Church, the free school—these are the triple armor of American nationality, of American security. But the Pilgrims, while they have stood above all men for this idea of liberty, have always asserted liberty under law, and never separated it from law. . . . I stand here as a son of New England. In every fiber of my being I am a child of the Pilgrim." And then he added that the message of New England to the Congress of the nation in that crisis was "a message like that which Patrick Henry sent from Virginia to Massachusetts when he heard of Concord and Lexington: 'I am not a Virginian; I am an American.' And so, gentlemen, at this hour we are

not Republicans, we are not Democrats, we are Americans." If George William Curtis had been one of the knights of the Round Table, the *Idylls of the King* would have told us that the blameless Arthur was never left without one worthy mate, and that the angels had two brothers at Arthur's court. Cary's life of Curtis is a book to be put in as collateral reading to every college course and to be placed in every library that youth has access to, for it will ennoble the character of every young man that reads it.

A Primer of Assyriology. By A. H. SAYCE, LL.D., Professor of Assyriology, Oxford. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, 40 cents.

From one point of view, it is surprising how long a time is required to secure for popular use an accurate statement of scientific achievements. From another point of view, it is not surprising, but perfectly natural, for the simple reason that the only men who are competent to write accurate statements of scientific achievements are original investigators themselves, and they are too much absorbed in advancing knowledge to be able to give energy to its popularizing. Of all the sciences which claim and deserve modern attention scarcely one has been so badly presented in popular form as Assyriology. There have been numerous treatises on the results of Assyriology in their bearing on the Old Testament, most of them bad; but in English there has been no comprehensive, accurate, interesting, and popular review of the whole field of that science. At last there appears a primer which meets every one of these requirements. It is written by a master of the science, for Professor Sayce has himself made large and important contributions to the development of Assyriology. But, great as his services have been in original investigation, they have not blinded his eyes to any portion of the field. He knows what has been done by all other workers and is properly appreciative of the smallest contributions of his humblest colleague. No more bountifully equipped man could have been found in the world for this task. This little primer is comprehensive; no important branch of Assyrian research is left wholly untouched, and none is mentioned without being illuminated. The table of contents shows how wide is its field, and we transcribe it here in full: "The Country and its People;" "The Discovery and Decipherment of the Inscriptions;" "Babylonian and Assyrian History;" "Religion;" "Babylonian and Assyrian Literature;" and "Social Life." After these there is an Appendix, with valuable tables of chronology. The book is disappointingly brief, for the subject is too vast for such narrow limits, and there was room in our literature for a book of about the same size as Kaulen's popular *Assyrien und Babylonien* in German. But within the compass no book in any language on this subject is its equal. We have no hesitation in commending it, without reserve, to all who would know the outlines of this thrillingly interesting science.

Bishop Lightfoot. Reprinted from the *Quarterly Review*, with a Prefatory Note by BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Durham. 8vo, pp. 139. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

When Joseph Barber Lightfoot left Cambridge to go away to Durham as the bishop of a great diocese there were not a few in Cambridge and

elsewhere who thought that a great waste was about to be made. He was then the greatest patristic scholar in the world. He had already written several of his projected commentaries on the Pauline epistles, and common critical judgment had received them as among the finest specimens of New Testament exegesis. His lecture room was filled with enthusiastic students, and his influence upon the whole university was profound and quickening. Why should such a man be taken away from his books and his desk to bear the sore burdens and anxieties of an Anglican bishop in the north country? So we thought and so we said. But the man who, perhaps, knew him best now writes in the Preface to this choice little book, "I can well believe that, while Dr. Lightfoot loved his college and his university with perfect devotion, the busy episcopate, full of great designs and great achievements, was his happiest time." That is very good news; for, as the loss to Cambridge was so great, we are glad to have this witness that there was a compensation at Durham. There is many another testimony to good and inspiring and cheerful things in this little book. There is to be no biography of Bishop Lightfoot, and there is, therefore, a special need for some brief memoir of his noble life. The paper printed in the *Quarterly Review*, by an unknown writer who evidently stood very near to the bishop at Auckland Castle, is here reprinted with an admirable and thoroughly characteristic portrait. It is introduced by some warm and eloquent words from the pen of the great New Testament scholar who was his friend at Cambridge, his successor at Durham, and is currently reputed to be the author of that noble inscription upon the great bishop's tomb which, for its stately form, its true testimony to greatness, and its comprehensive summary of his life, may well serve as a model: "+ IN MEMORIAM JOSEPHI BARBER LIGHTFOOT S. T. P. EPISCOPI DUNELMENSIS NATUS A. D. MDCCCXXVIII. OBIIT A. D. MDCCCLXXXIX. QUALIS FUERIT ANTIQUITATIS INVESTIGATOR EVANGELII INTERPRES ECCLESIÆ RECTOR TESTANTUR OPERA UT ÆQUALIBUS ITA POSTERIS PROFUTURA + AD MAJORĒ DEI GLORIĀ. AM. PON. CUR. +" This dainty little volume may be unqualifiedly commended to the "gentle reader" who loves good company in his books.

In Old New York. By THOMAS A. JANVIER, Author of *The Aztec Treasure House, The Uncle of an Angel*, etc. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 285. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.75.

The growth of a great city is a matter of more than local interest; and the Harper Brothers recognized this when they included within the pages of their widely circulated magazine the articles which now form this exquisite volume. The book itself it would be difficult to praise too highly. In mechanical appearance it is about as near perfection as any book could well attain. Paper, type, and binding all enhance the intrinsic value of the text and illustrations. The author's style has all the typical French characteristics incorporated in a thoroughly American book. It is clear, direct, and sprightly, with delightful touches of delicate and kindly humor. The author evidently writes *con amore*, and we cannot imagine one of his readers spending a single dull moment over his pages.

The first chapter, of eighty-three pages, is entitled "The Evolution of New York." Here we have an historical and topographical summary of the city's progress up to the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825. Another chapter, "Greenwich Village," describes one of the author's favorite haunts. This village lay on the west side of the present city below the present Christopher Street ferry; but it is now a down-town portion of solidly built-up New York, and the very name has disappeared from the knowledge of most New Yorkers except in connection with a street or two and one or two banking and other institutions. To show how the city has advanced in the last eighty years we quote from the book the following advertisement of a hotel, which appeared in the *Columbian*, September 18, 1811: "A few gentlemen may be accommodated with board and lodging at this pleasant and healthy situation, a few doors from the State Prison [then at the foot of West Tenth Street]. The Greenwich stage passes from this to the Federal Hall and returns five times a day." The book describes many quaint localities and ancient houses now remaining, and contains much curious and valuable information as to old neighborhoods and old manners of life which will be of interest to others besides New Yorkers. The illustrations are excellent, and prove how much essential beauty an artistic eye may find in what, to most of us, appears in the reality only as the commonplace, the squalid, or the positively ugly.

Providential Epochs. By FRANK M. BRISTOL, D.D. 12mo, pp. 269. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.25.

In a modest preface the author informs us that the contents of this book were at first a series of lectures to Christian young people, intended to stimulate and direct them in courses of historical reading. He hopes that the studies to which his book is an incentive may "promote a belief in the Providence of history, a confidence in the world's perpetual advancement, and a growth of pure and lofty patriotism in the hearts of our American youth." All that he thus hopes for Dr. Bristol's book is itself capable of doing, even without the reinforcement of further reading. For the producing of such results a book like this, setting in array the central, salient, and significant events and laying the great lessons clearly down before us, is more immediate, certain, and effective than many-volumed histories. It hives the sweetness from a hundred fields and gives it to us, honey in the comb; a whole summer's labor offered up in one munificent moment. The brief table of contents simply names the epochal great subjects, "The Renaissance," "The Reformation," "The Discovery of America," and "The Settlement of Our Country;" but these together cover a large reach of human history, and each epoch is full of the action of powerful personalities, pregnant with momentous interests, and moving forward to vast issues. Familiar with the riches of historic literature and inspired by a robust assurance that the one supreme thing to be seen in human progress is "God in history," as Bunsen says, the author surveys and marshals facts, happenings, and personages and sketches his brilliant

historic cartoons with manly vigor of handling, with artistic skill, with dramatic force, and in strong colors. The book is a crowded portrait gallery in which we have glimpses of well-nigh all the world-making men that are encountered in recorded history since the upward march of mankind began.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Master and Men; or, The Sermon on the Mount Practiced on the Plain. By WILLIAM BURNET WRIGHT. 12mo, pp. 240. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The author is not a stranger to the reading public, being known by his volume of sermons, *The World to Come*, and his book, *Ancient Cities, from the Dawn to the Daylight*. The present book consists of definitions and exhibits. It defines saintliness, which is only manhood in full bloom, in its various elements as outlined by the Sermon on the Mount, and demonstrates the practicability of saintliness by actual saints. The chapters that are made up of definition and discussion of principles are entitled, "Puzzles," "A Fertile Source of Puzzles," "The Change that Must Come," "Blessedness and Power," "The Blessedness of Sorrow," "The Inheritance of the Meek," "Hunger and Thirst after Righteousness," "Mercy," "Seeing God," and "The Peacemakers." The illustrative saints who are vividly put in evidence are Moses, Socrates, Paul, King Alfred, George Fox, Charles George Gordon, and George Macdonald—each of these in a chapter by himself, like a divine masterpiece, as Raphael's Sistine Madonna in the gallery at Dresden has a chamber all to itself, where visitors sit silent and entranced.

Josiah Wedgwood, F.R.S. His Personal History. By SAMUEL SMILES, Author of *Self-Help, Character*, etc. 12mo, pp. 380. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

The Wedgwoods have been numerous for generations in Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. For the most part they have been a family of potters since 1600. Improvement in certain kinds of earthenware is largely due to the ingenuity and patience and taste of this family, prolonged through generations. Josiah, the most noted of the Wedgwoods, was born in Burslem, Staffordshire, in 1730. He brought a rude and empirical handicraft to the condition of an industrial art. He was a later Palissy, inventing a new chemistry and new tools for his trade. He took the English market away from Holland, France, and Germany, and was appointed potter to the Queen. He raised himself to opulence and distinction, becoming a fellow of the Royal Society and of the Antiquarian Society. Yet his life was a struggle with physical suffering. In 1892, when he had been dead a hundred years, one of his copies of the famous Barberini or Portland vase sold for over one thousand dollars. This book is a stimulating story of the victorious career of a self-made man, who in his hard-won triumph made his wealth a blessing to his fellow-men.

Illustrative Notes. A Guide to the Study of the Sunday School Lessons, with Original and Selected Comments, Methods of Teaching, Illustrative Stories, Practical Applications, Notes on Eastern Life, Library References, Maps, Tables, Pictures, Diagrams. By JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT and ROBERT REMINGTON DOHERTY. Large 8vo, pp. 365. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The high commendations which we aimed to make of this publication in 1894 and previously might be repeated for 1895. It would be difficult to suggest any detail of help for the Sunday school teacher and advanced scholar which is here omitted. In lesson comments, illustrations, attractive print, and other matters the volume is most superior. For what it intrinsically is we commend it most cordially to the notice of all sincere Bible students in our Sunday schools.

Things of the Mind. By J. L. SPALDING, Bishop of Peoria. 12mo, pp. 235. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

The chapters on education are in the aphoristic style of Emerson and are as painfully devoid of coherence. But the aphorisms are good and may be useful to the order of mind Emerson inspired. Now and then the essayist stoops to become forcible, as in the following: "That which still survives as literature is what a few heavenly minds have picked up from beneath the hoofs of the herd, whose uplifted snouts pleaded for swill, not for thought." The chapters on "Professional Education" and "Culture and Religion" have a more definite value. The latter is an especially strong and clear discussion of the place of culture in human society. The author's criticism of Renan and Matthew Arnold is masterly, and the whole essay is a piece of thoughtfulness, good temper, and excellent style.

A Treasury of Stories, Jingles, and Rhymes. With One Hundred and Forty Vignette Illustrations in Half Tone after MAUD HUMPHREY. Short Stories; Fairy Tales; Mother Goose Jingles; Verses. By EDITH M. THOMAS, ELIZABETH S. TUCKER, and HELEN GRAY CONE. 8vo, pp. 251. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, cloth, $1.75.

From the standpoint of childhood this book is a "treasury" to be prized. The only defect which might be pointed out, if it be such, is the surplus of verse over prose. In illustration and general attraction the book ranks among the worthy holiday issues of the year.

Hypatia; or, New Foes with an Old Face. By CHARLES KINGSLEY. Illustrations and portrait of the author. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. 773. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, silk, ornamental, gilt tops, $7.

One of the most elegant products of the book-making art—Charles Kingsley's historic masterpiece in a silk dress, adorned as a bride for her lord. In this radiant book the hand of genius pictures the struggle between old paganism and Christianity in the early ages of the faith. In this day of the comparison of religions *Hypatia* makes for confidence in the superiority of our holy religion.

The Potter's Thumb. By FLORA ANNIE STEEL. 12mo, pp. 351. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Richard Henry Stoddard says of this book, "It has given me a clearer insight of native life in India, its subtleties, its sinuosities, its superstitions, than I have obtained from the Anglo-Indian tales of Mr. Kipling, who writes from without, while Mrs. Steel writes from within."

METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1895.

ART. I.—THE CREDIBILITY OF THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS.

IT is obvious that our Lord's resurrection stands in a very different relation to Christian faith from any of his other miracles. Other miracles are divine authentications of the revelation which he gave. The resurrection is itself an integral part of that revelation. There might have been more or less of those other miracles, and our general conception of the character and work of Jesus would have been still the same. If he had fed the multitudes with a few loaves once instead of twice, if he had raised a dead person to life once or twice instead of thrice, if any one or if some considerable number of the miracles recorded in the gospels had been left unrecorded, or if the record of some of them should be discredited as unauthentic, it would make no essential difference in our conception of the character and work of Jesus or in the general system of Christian doctrine. But if the record of the resurrection were lost or discredited our whole conception of Christ and of Christianity would be radically changed. Something, indeed, of the work of Jesus would be left if the world should lose its faith in his resurrection.

> In the wreck of noble lives,
> Something immortal still survives.

Whatever changes there may be in men's opinions of Christ and Christianity, human life will always be better for the ethical teaching of the Sermon on the Mount; human character will always be nobler for the example of sublime self-sacrifice on

Calvary. But the residue which would be left if the world should lose its faith in the resurrection would not be historic Christianity. It was "Jesus and the resurrection" that Paul preached at Athens. The resurrection was the corner stone on which the faith of the primitive Church was built. Whatever might remain if the resurrection should cease to be believed, it would not be Christianity. It would not be the faith that has made martyrs and missionaries—the faith that has transformed the world's history.

There is a profound contrast between the habits of thought, the intellectual atmosphere, of the first century and the nineteenth. Then, the science of nature was in a rudimentary state of development and had produced very little effect upon the general habits of thought. The doctrines of the unity of nature and the universality of natural law had scarcely been formulated by philosophers, and had not entered at all into popular thinking. Faith in the preternatural was universal, and ready credence was given everywhere to any alleged or imagined prodigy. Then, Herod could believe that John, whom he had beheaded, had risen from the dead, and the Roman populace could expect that Nero would return from the realm of shades and once more curse the earth with his presence. It was in that environment that the faith in the resurrection of Jesus was born. Can that faith survive in the very different intellectual atmosphere of the present age? The question is one of profoundest moment. It is the belief of many earnest and thoughtful minds that the faith in the resurrection must go with other beautiful myths and legends belonging to a stage of intellectual development which the world has outgrown. That is the teaching, for instance, of *Robert Elsmere* —a work which kindles our sympathetic admiration, not more by its vividness of delineation of character and its intense pathos, than by the profound sincerity and religious earnestness with which it is inspired. In that truly great and noble book the idea is continually presented, sometimes by direct assertion, sometimes by implication or insinuation, that the conception of the resurrection survives now only in the realm of emotion —that it can have no place in the intellectual life of this age.

Apparently in utter unconsciousness of the difficulties which the spirit of this age finds in the way of belief in a miraculous

event, many of the teachers of Christian evidences simply point to the apparently honest contemporary testimony to the fact of the resurrection, and confidently declare that no fact in ancient history is so well attested. It is doubtless true that the weight of testimony which can be marshaled in behalf of the resurrection is greater than that on the strength of which most facts of ancient history are believed; but the truth of that proposition is by no means sufficient to establish the credibility of the resurrection itself. We can no more judge of the adequacy of testimony to establish belief in any particular allegation, without regard to the character of the allegation, than we can decide whether a bridge is sufficiently strong without considering whether it is to bear foot passengers or railway trains.

It is, indeed, unnecessary to spend much time in proving that a miracle is possible. Nothing short of absolutely complete knowledge of the system of nature could entitle us to pronounce any allegation impossible *a priori* which is not self-contradictory.* That nature is governed by a system of law, that all the events of nature are linked together in a determinate and formulable order of coexistence or succession—this is the postulate with which science begins, and the belief which impresses itself upon the mind with deepening intensity of conviction as science advances. But, while it may be taken for granted that there are laws of nature, it is a very different question whether we have yet discovered those laws. Any formula which we call provisionally a law of nature is only a generalization of such facts bearing upon the class of phenomena in question as may be within the scope of our present knowledge. As that knowledge must always be incomplete, the supposed law can never attain the standard of certainty, but only that of a higher or lower degree of probability. In regard, even, to those laws which are based on the most extensive experience and the most thorough analysis of that experience, the possibility must always remain that some new fact may come to our knowledge which will contradict the supposed law. That the sun will rise to-morrow at the time predicted by the astronomers is extremely probable, but not certain. It is possible that the sun

* "Whatever is intelligible and can be distinctly conceived implies no contradiction, and can never be proved false by any demonstration, argument, or abstract reasoning *a priori*." —*Hume.*

may fail to rise. A new fact contradicting one of our supposed laws of nature would show, not that nature is lawless, but rather that our supposed law was only true approximately or within limits, that it was not exactly true, and that the real law is more complex than our provisional formula. So long, then, as human knowledge falls short of omniscience we cannot be warranted in pronouncing impossible *a priori* any allegation which involves no self-contradiction.*

But the possibility of miracle is one thing; the probability of miracle is a very different thing. While no one of those generalizations of our experience which we call provisionally natural laws can reach the standard of certainty, there are many of them which attain an extremely high degree of probability. Some of these generalizations rest on a collection of observations so immense and so thoroughly analyzed that the occurrence of a new fact which will contradict the generalization, though not absolutely impossible, is enormously improbable. Here we reach the ground of Hume's famous argument against the credibility of miracles. Hume's position is substantially that a miracle is *a priori* so enormously improbable that the falsity of any supposable amount of human testimony is more probable than the truth of the alleged miracle. The sophistical form in which Hume stated his argument has been justly criticised, and criticised by the agnostic Huxley, as well as by Christian writers; but the force of the argument depends, not on the sophistical form, but on the truth which it contains. That truth is that the amount and quality of testimony necessary to establish belief in any allegation varies with the *a priori* probability or improbability of the allegation, and that accordingly there may be allegations so enormously improbable that no supposable array of testimony would render them credible. Suppose all Roman historians of the century commencing with the death of Nero whose works are extant agreed in the assertion that Nero rose from the dead. Would such agreement establish in our minds a belief in the truth of the allegation? We answer, without hesitation, "No." We

* A more complete analysis of the conception of natural law, showing the impossibility of certainty in any such generalizations, we have given in an article, entitled "The Degree of Probability of Scientific Beliefs," published in the *New Englander and Yale Review*, January, 1891; republished as chapter iii in *Twenty-five Years of Scientific Progress, and other Essays*, New York and Boston, 1894.

believe that most of us would not even be brought to the point of seriously questioning whether the allegation might not be true. The supposition of error in all the historians of the period, arising from some mistake or fraud on the part of those who first gave currency to the story, would seem to us immensely more probable than the supposition of the truth of the allegation.

Why should we believe in the resurrection of Jesus on the evidence of testimony, when we can hardly conceive of any array of testimony which would convince us of the resurrection of Nero? The answer to this question may be given in two different forms.

I. In so far as the character of Jesus is unique and apparently superhuman, the *a priori* probability against the resurrection is diminished. If it is conceded that in various respects Jesus differs from all other men, it is thereby rendered more or less probable that he may differ from all other men in other respects. It is certainly true that the character of Jesus is unique. He seems to stand apart from mere men, like some mysterious visitor from a higher sphere. "Never man spake like this man." He bids the world, "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls." What other lips could thus have put into a single sentence the profession of humility and the claim to supremacy over mankind without producing an impression of grotesque incongruity? On the lips of Jesus the two utterances blend in sweet and solemn harmony. Behold him in the days of the passion week and in the threefold trial on the morning of the crucifixion. How, with each accession of humiliation, he reveals more fully a serene and superhuman majesty! The lower he stoops the higher he rises.

With whom among the sons of men shall we compare him? Shall it be with the saints of the Christian Church? The holiest of them loves best to confess that he only reflects some portion of the glory of Jesus, as the planets reflect the splendor of the sun. Shall we compare him with other founders of religions? Read the story of Buddha, as told so lovingly—too lovingly, perhaps, for strict and critical fidelity to truth—in Sir Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia." Read the beautiful story with loving sympathy, and thank God that "he left not himself

without witness" among the teeming millions of the Orient, but raised up for them a teacher of righteousness. But "the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another." The light of Asia pales before the Light of the world. Try to patch into one of the gospels the story of Buddha stealing out from his sumptuous palace, past the lovely sleeping forms of his troop of nautch girls, when the wail of human sorrow calls him forth to his great mission—try to patch into one of the gospels that story, as told so sweetly in Arnold's poem or, still worse, as told more repulsively in the Indian original—and how wildly incongruous it would be! The seamless robe would be changed for the piebald garment of a harlequin. Among earth's saints and sages there is no peer for the Man of Nazareth. It is not incredible that he who was superhuman in life should have been superhuman in death.

II. For the atheist, convinced that there is no moral purpose in the government of the world, there can be no meaning in a miracle, and such an extraordinary event is as improbable at one time as at another. But to him who believes, or even hopes, that the world is ruled by a God of moral attributes, it must appear more or less probable that such a God may choose to reveal himself to his children and may make the system of nature itself emphasize and attest that revelation. In proportion to the importance of the revelation which is to be made is the probability of some miraculous sign for its attestation. When we consider that but for the faith in the resurrection Christianity would have been buried forever in the rock-hewn tomb in which the Master lay, and when we try to measure what Christianity, with its revelation of divine fatherhood and human brotherhood and redemption from sin and life immortal, has been to mankind in these centuries of Christendom and Christian civilization and what it promises to be in the glories of a millennial future, we cannot deem it "a thing incredible" that, in that transcendent crisis of man's moral history, "God should raise the dead."

By such considerations as these the *a priori* improbability of a resurrection is so far neutralized that we are in a posture of mind to consider the testimony which can be cited in favor of the resurrection of Jesus. The resurrection of Jesus is not, as the resurrection of Nero would be, an event so enormously

improbable that scarcely any supposable testimony would suffice to render it credible. The historic record of the resurrection is contained in six of the books of the New Testament—the four gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The last of these has a peculiar importance, as being both the earliest in date and the most unquestionable in authenticity. Skepticism itself does not doubt that the First Epistle to the Corinthians was written by the apostle Paul, and at a date not more than about a quarter of a century after the death of Christ—at a time, therefore, when the greater part of the more than five hundred brethren who claimed to have beheld the risen Lord were still living. The summary of the appearances of the risen Christ to the apostles, as contained in that epistle, is therefore conclusive evidence that the faith in the resurrection was the faith of the first generation of Christians. It was not a myth that grew up slowly, when the original witnesses of the events of the life of Jesus had passed away and the simple tradition which they left had come to be embellished by the imaginative additions of later generations. It was the faith of the disciples who were contemporary with Jesus. It must be freely conceded that there is not the same degree of certainty in regard to the date and authorship of the gospels and the Acts as in regard to those of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. Yet we believe that the result of the most searching criticism is the conclusion that the three synoptical gospels probably existed in substantially their present shape before the year 70 of the Christian era, and that the fourth gospel is probably the authentic work of John, written in his old age, toward the close of the first century.

We have, then, probably six contemporary documents, written by five different writers, all belonging to the circle of the apostles and their immediate associates. The evidence of these records is in no wise weakened by the discrepancies between them. They are just such discrepancies as always exist between a number of honest but incomplete narratives of a series of transactions. To cavil at them is as malicious as it is foolish to attempt to harmonize them. The substantially historic character of the narratives and their trustworthiness as regards the main facts may be reasonably maintained, even if it be conceded that there is ground for the suspicion that some details

of the story (as, for instance, the angelic apparitions)* may be unhistoric—the result either of some mistake or confusion on the part of the original witnesses or of some early corruption of the tradition.

It is unnecessary to comment on the air of perfect simplicity and guilelessness pervading the gospels. A candid reader is continually impressed with the conviction that the writers of those books fully believed what they wrote. The fourth gospel is probably the only record of the events connected with the resurrection by an eyewitness, since the first gospel, in its present form, is probably not the work of an apostle, though it doubtless contains much material of which Matthew was actually the writer. In John's narrative we meet in richest abundance those little particulars which impress themselves upon the memory of an eyewitness, but which tend to lose their distinctness as a story is repeated by other persons. In the narrative of the visit of Peter and John to the tomb, we have such particulars as John's outrunning Peter, looking first into the open sepulcher, and seeing the linen clothes; his timid or reverent hesitation to enter; Peter's impetuous rush into the sepulcher, followed by John; the napkin that had covered the head of Jesus, "not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself." There is an air of photographic fidelity rather than of artistic selection of details. The very form of the narrative makes an almost irresistible impression that John is describing that which he has actually seen and experienced.

The obvious honesty of all the narratives and the circumstantial detail which marks John's gospel as the work of an eyewitness scarcely leave room for doubt that the sepulcher of Jesus was found untenanted on the morning of the first day of the week. In some way the body of Jesus had been removed. That fact, of itself, is of no miraculous character; and there is no reason, therefore, why, so far as that fact goes, the gospel narratives should not be recognized as having the same degree of trustworthiness as belongs to other apparently honest narratives of unexpected, but not miraculous, events. The absence

*Furness has suggested, not without plausibility, that the "young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment" (Mark xvi, 5) may have been no other than Jesus himself, indistinctly seen in the dimly lighted sepulcher by the women, who as yet had no thought of the possibility of a resurrection.

of a human body from the place in which it had been laid was a phenomenon which the disciples were certainly competent to observe. Assuming it to be substantially certain that the sepulcher was found empty on the Easter morning, we may remark that the faith in the resurrection derives some incidental confirmation from the impossibility of constructing any plausible hypothesis of the abduction of the body. It is difficult to imagine any motive which could have induced either friends or enemies of Jesus to attempt the removal and concealment of the body, even had there been no serious difficulties in the way of the accomplishment of such a design. This consideration derives some additional importance from the fact that, within a few weeks after the alleged event, the resurrection of Jesus was publicly proclaimed, and believed by multitudes, in Jerusalem —the very place where, if anywhere, evidence of the fact might have been forthcoming, if the body had been stolen from the grave.

We have referred to the unquestionably early date of the First Epistle to the Corinthians as being important in proving that the faith in the resurrection was not slowly developed after the contemporaries of Jesus had passed away. That date is, however, by no means the earliest period to which we can trace back the belief in the resurrection. There are indications that, by an apparently spontaneous and instinctive movement, the celebration of the first day of the week, or the Lord's Day, as a distinctively Christian festival, was established at a very early period in the apostolic age. It is evident that the Lord's Day was not regarded as a modification of the Jewish Sabbath, but as an altogether new institution. It was a joyous commemoration of that day which the Christian consciousness recognized as the birthday of the Church. The institution of the Lord's Day is, therefore, a most eloquent witness to the faith of the first generation of Christians in the resurrection.

But we need not depend on any document or institution to show that the belief in the resurrection goes back to the beginning of the history of the Church. The very existence of the Church is an unimpeachable testimony to the same effect. But for the faith in the resurrection the Church would have died with its Master and been buried in his tomb. "We trusted," said the disciples on the way to Emmaus, "that it had been he

which should have redeemed Israel." But that trust was in the past tense. The death and burial of Jesus utterly destroyed the crude and unintelligent faith in the Messiahship of Jesus which the disciples had cherished, and they had nothing to take its place. They were utterly disheartened; and, in the loss of their Master, the bond was broken which bound them to each other. What was it that transformed these heart-broken, aimless men, with no common interest but the memory of a dead hope, into a firmly united, courageous band, ready to attempt at once the conquest of the world? It was the faith in the resurrection that wrought that transformation. The Church itself is the monument of the epoch-making event which produced that faith and, thereby, gave the initiative to the course of Christian history. But what was that event? If Jesus did actually rise from the dead and appear unto Cephas and the twelve and the five hundred brethren, then all else is clear. The one great mystery of the resurrection explains all other mysteries. We have a sufficient cause for the transformation of character in the disciples and for all the subsequent course of history. But, if he did not rise from the dead, what was the event which happened on that Easter Day and which created the faith in the resurrection?

The answer which perhaps at present is most commonly given to this question, by those who deny the reality of the resurrection, is that the origin of the faith was in a vision or hallucination, which was experienced, at first, by a few of the more imaginative of the disciples, by whom, gradually, a sympathetic delusion was induced in others. As this theory has been developed by Renan, the credit of originating the notion of the resurrection is given to Mary Magdalene. The mental malady of which she had been healed had left her imagination in a peculiarly excitable condition. The faith which has regenerated humanity accordingly had its origin as a pathological symptom in the brain of a half-crazy woman. Instead of being shocked at this conclusion, Renan seems to find in it something peculiarly sweet to his æsthetic sensibilities; and, with that curious sentimentalism which gives to all his writings an air of indifference to truth and essential unmorality, he exclaims, "Divine power of love! sacred moments in which the passion of a hallucinated woman gives to the world a risen God!"

The first suggestion of the resurrection came from Mary Magdalene; but others were destined soon to share the same delusion. So contagious, indeed, was Mary's faith and enthusiasm that some of the disciples imagined they saw the risen Lord that same day in Jerusalem. But the visions became more frequent when, a few days later, the apostles returned to Galilee. They lingered around the beautiful lake, where every village and every hillside was linked by fond association in their minds with the memory of Jesus, where the blue waters seemed still to mirror his serene face, and the very air seemed still pulsating with the music of his voice. As they lingered amid those scenes, their minds fell more and more under the spell of those fond memories, till one and another seemed to himself to see the loved form of the Master and to hear his voice. And the hallucination of some became the faith of all the disciples.

But, if the appearance of the risen Lord was a delusion or hallucination, it was certainly a most peculiar one. The natural history of hallucinations has been extensively studied, and their laws are pretty well understood. Somewhat of the history of this particular delusion, if it was one, we can gather from the biblical narratives. The honesty of those narratives is unimpeachable. Even on the theory of hallucination we may assume that we have a substantially veracious, though uncritical, narrative of the subjective experiences of the disciples. So far as we can thus trace the history of this delusion, it seems to have been of a very exceptional sort. A delusion is usually preceded by a state of strongly excited expectancy. The person sees what he has been made to believe he will see. But in this case there was no such expectation. The death of Jesus plunged the disciples into utter despair. Whatever he had said about his death and resurrection had been so completely at variance with all their prepossessions that it had made no impression on their stolid unbelief. When Mary found the sepulcher empty she could only think that some one had taken away the body and laid it she knew not where. The reports of the women to the apostles "seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not." The mental attitude of the disciples was the very opposite of that state of expectant attention in which hallucinations most frequently originate.

A delusion most commonly affects only a single individual. Shakespeare is psychologically correct in making Banquo's ghost invisible to the rest of the company, though profoundly real to the guilty fears of Macbeth. But in this case the delusion affected simultaneously considerable numbers of persons—in one instance over five hundred—including, doubtless, men of all varieties of temperament, hopeful and despondent, imaginative and prosaic. All saw the same blessed vision. In the cases in which delusions have become epidemic and affected considerable numbers of persons, they have generally had a history extending over some months or years, in which they have gradually become prevalent and as gradually declined. In this case there was no such gradual development. The faith of the apostles, excepting Thomas, in the reality of the resurrection was established before the close of the Easter Day. The appearances reported are few in number, and all were comprised within the space of forty days. After that short period the risen Jesus vanishes forever. Whatever fantastic visions appeared to the imagination of more or less fanatical Christians, the risen Jesus walked the earth no more. The delusion vanished as suddenly as it came. The dream was dreamed out in forty days.

A delusion generally affects a single sense—most commonly sight or hearing; and the delusion of sight is shown to be such by the failure of the tactual sensations which would be experienced if the supposed objective cause of the visual sensations were real. When the hand cannot clutch the air-drawn dagger the dagger is only "a dagger of the mind." * In this case, apparently, the tactual sensations corresponded with the visual. The writers of the transparently artless narratives have unconsciously reported the results of the very experiment which a physiological psychologist would have wished to try. The women, says Matthew, "took hold of his feet." † Had the visual sensation been a delusion, the hands would have grasped only air. To the terrified apostles, who "supposed that they had seen a spirit," Jesus said, according to Luke's report, "Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me and see;

* An interesting illustration of this principle is seen in the case of Mrs. A., reported in Huxley's *Human Physiology*, Appendix B.

† Revised Version—here, as usually, more accurate than the Authorized Version.

for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." And John's faithful memory has preserved the story how the doubting Thomas had his doubts set at rest when Jesus gave him the evidence which he demanded—"Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side."

We realize fully the difficulties which the thought of the present age must find in accepting the faith in the resurrection. We see the solemn procession of the generations marching into

> The undiscovered country from whose bourn
> No traveler returns.

We realize the enormous improbability of an exception to a law sustained by so immense a mass of accordant experience. But, when we think of the alternatives to belief in the resurrection, they all seem so much more improbable that we find it easier to accept the one mystery which explains all mysteries. To believe that the faith in the resurrection was a delusion so contradicting all psychological laws, or a myth which was fully developed in a single day, or a falsehood perpetrated by the disciples to bring upon themselves imprisonment and death—to believe that the system of religious faith which has created a new and nobler civilization had its origin in fraud or self-deception —taxes our credulity more than to believe that Jesus rose from the dead.

Wm. North Rice.

Art. II.—SCOPE AND METHODS OF CHRISTIAN DOGMATICS.

Christian theology is a progressive and improvable science. While its fundamental truths are forever the same, the apprehension and expression of them vary as the centuries go on. The classification of the several branches of theology into distinct and well-defined departments has become a science in itself, and is known as theological encyclopedia. Most authorities now agree in arranging all theological studies under the four categories of exegetical, historical, systematic, and practical theology. It is probable that comparative theology will in the near future be recognized as another department coordinate with the four just named. Each of these is capable of subdivision; and the more one looks over the whole field and studies in detail the different parts the more apparent it becomes that each important subdivision demands separate and distinctive treatment. It is the purpose of this article to discuss the legitimate scope and methods of one of the subdivisions of systematic theology.

I. Our first concern is to find the name most suitable for that branch of theological study which treats of the doctrines of Christianity. The single word "theology" is altogether too general and comprehensive a term. An exposition of Job or of Isaiah, a history of the councils of the Church, a treatise on ethics or homiletics or apologetics may all claim to be works on theology. The term "systematic theology" has been employed, and not a few able works on Christian doctrine have assumed this title; but the words have such a firm place in theological encyclopedia as the name of an entire department of theological studies that it is quite unsatisfactory, not to say improper, to apply the general title to one of its acknowledged subdivisions. A work on homiletics might with equal propriety assume the title of "practical theology." The Germans have the very expressive word *Glaubenslehre*, which means *doctrine of faith* or *system of religious belief*; but we have no one or two English words that would serve as a satisfactory equivalent. A phrase like "the doctrines of Christianity" or "system of Christian doctrine" would be a simple and transparent title,

and cannot be condemned as subject to reasonable objection. But many will prefer a single word, if such can be found; and the technical term "dogmatics," now widely used for the purpose, appears to be free from any serious objection, and is sufficiently specific to meet the requirements of a defining title. A qualifying word may be added if one desires a closer definition. Biblical dogmatics limits itself to the teachings of the canonical Scriptures, traces the genesis and progress of doctrines, and makes special note of the various types of doctrine discernible among the different biblical writers. Ecclesiastical dogmatics takes account of the creeds and confessions of Christendom and follows the history of the several dogmas. The term "Christian dogmatics" is more general, and yet sufficiently specific to denote the scientific treatment of what a writer believes to be the essential doctrines of Christianity. Ecclesiastical dogmatics belongs more properly to the department of historical theology. But Christian dogmatics must include and rest upon the real teachings of the Holy Scriptures; and there is, therefore, much less reason for distinguishing it from biblical dogmatics. It may largely appropriate philosophical and historical elements, so far as these conduce to a clearer exposition of biblical doctrine; but it must acknowledge as its primary and authoritative source the original documents of the Christian faith. We accordingly adopt the term "Christian dogmatics" as the most appropriate title for that branch of theology the scope and methods of which we proceed to consider.

II. By the legitimate scope of dogmatics we mean that range or compass of theological topics which a well-defined system of Christian dogma should attempt to cover. From this field we do not hesitate to exclude metaphysics, apologetics, and ethics. These may be treated as so many subdivisions of systematic theology, but not as departments of Christian doctrine.* It may be an open question whether ethics should not be transferred to the department of practical theology. It may also be affirmed that the subject of ecclesiastical polity has no proper

* "Apologetics," says Miley, "is not of the nature of a Christian doctrine. . . . Any sufficient reason for its inclusion might properly require a treatment of all questions of canonicity, textual integrity, higher criticism, genuineness, and authenticity. . . . Apologetics would thus become a disproportionate magnitude in a system of doctrine. Neither is ethics, especially theoretical or philosophical ethics, of the nature of a Christian doctrine."—*Systematic Theology*, vol. i, p. 54.

place among the doctrines of revealed religion. We find no obligatory form of Church government prescribed in the Holy Scriptures. So far as the Church and the sacraments and various means of grace are to be considered as doctrines, they fall legitimately under what is technically called soteriology, or the method of salvation. After ruling out the four subjects named above, there is still left an ample field for dogmatics. Its range of subject-matter is high as heaven and deep as hell and broad as the universe of God. It must treat of angels and principalities and powers, of things present and things to come, of the nature of man, the doctrine of human sinfulness, the redemption through Christ, the revelation of God the Father and the eternal Spirit. These surely afford scope enough for the most ambitious author.

A writer on Christian dogmatics is not at liberty to inculcate, as a proper part of his subject, doctrines which have no basis in the records of divine revelation. But he need not limit his inquiries to subjects which are acknowledged by all to be fundamental or important. Not a few tenets regarded as scriptural by thousands are either not so important or not so capable of proof but that other thousands decline to accept them. But a complete treatise on Christian doctrine not only has the right, but is bound, to set forth what its author believes to be the teaching of the Holy Scriptures. We may accordingly conclude that the proper limits of Christian dogmatics are fairly indicated in the well-known article which declares that "the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith." Dogmatics may treat many topics of secondary importance, but must confine itself to such doctrines as are believed to have a scriptural foundation.

III. Having determined the legitimate scope of our subject, it remains to consider the methods of arranging the several doctrines in organic unity. In scientific method modern writers may reasonably be expected to surpass the ancients. Progress in any department of theology is not to be seen in the discovery of new material, but in the formulation and exposition of the great truths which the Church has possessed from the beginning. Through all the Christian centuries these truths

have been variously stated and defended, and some doctrines have naturally received much more attention than others. Origen's treatise on fundamental doctrines (*De Principiis*) is the nearest approach to a comprehensive system of Christian belief to be found among the early fathers; but its four books of doctrine are without any well-defined logical order. Gregory of Nyssa's *Great Catechism* is of much less extent, and is more of an apology for the doctrines treated than an attempt to enunciate a system. The *Accurate Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, in four books and one hundred chapters, by John of Damascus, is disproportionate in the treatment of topics, and gives prominence to opinions of no value. Augustine's various treatises on Christian doctrine are monumental, but they furnish us no help in scientific method. The celebrated *Loci Communes* of Melanchthon, published in 1521, and Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which appeared fifteen years later, attempt no analytic or synthetic arrangement of subject-matter. The *Theological Institutes* of Francis Turretin, first published 1679–1685, surpass Calvin's work in logical arrangement; but they follow the catechetical method of questions and answers, and discuss the several doctrines after the order commonly found in the creeds and confessions of the Reformation period. They all naturally begin with the doctrine of God; but the other subjects follow according to no uniform order and are treated as so many independent topics, each to be studied by itself.

The broad-minded and irenical George Calixtus, in his *Epitome of Theology*, published in 1619, attempted a philosophical arrangement of the essential doctrines by reducing them to three fundamental inquiries. First, he asks after the object, or aim, of theological science, and finds the answer in all those topics which relate to the salvation and ultimate glory of man. Secondly, he finds the subject and necessity of his doctrines in the facts of creation and of human sinfulness. His third inquiry is into the means of securing the salvation and ultimate blessedness of man; and under this head he presents the mediation of Christ and the means of grace. This has been called the analytic method of procedure, and has some attractive features. It moves partly in the line of that dogmatic method which first propounds the great subject of salvation, and then inquires after "the

efficient cause," "the meritorious cause," "the instrumental cause," and "the final cause." Much of its substance may be traced back to Peter Lombard's *Four Books of Sentences.* The chief objection to Calixtus's method is not its analytical form, but the order of his inquiries. To begin a treatise of such scope with the subject of salvation and future blessedness is obviously awkward and unnatural.

The so-called "federal theology" produced a method of arranging all the doctrines of Christianity under the two great covenants of nature and of grace. But the system compelled its advocates to follow an historical, rather than a logical, order, involved no little repetition and confusion of thought, and may be considered obsolete for dogmatic purposes. Leydecker, in 1682, cast the federal theology in a trinitarian form by grouping all Christian doctrine under the three headings of "Father," "Son," and "Spirit." He has been followed in recent times by Marheineke and Martensen. This trinitarian method is attractive for its simplicity, but is incompatible with a proper use of defining terms, and leaves too much room for arbitrary fancies. Martensen, for example, treats the fall of man, human depravity, and guilt under the head of "The Doctrine of the Father;" and Marheineke discusses these same topics under the main caption "Of God the Son." A methodology which allows such looseness of construction can hardly commend itself to the logical mind.

As we come down to the more recent period we observe the increasing attention paid to the method of dogmatics. But the English and Scotch divines have, so far, produced comparatively little in the way of systematizing the doctrines of the Christian faith. They have furnished valuable expositions in such works as those of Burnet and Browne on the Thirty-nine Articles, Hill's *Lectures in Divinity,* and Dick's *Lectures on Theology.* Thomas Ridgley's *Body of Divinity* is a very comprehensive work, but consists of a series of lectures on the Westminster Catechism, and follows its order of questions and answers. None of these writers make any considerable improvement on the old topical method of Melanchthon and Calvin. The Wesleyans have the credit, so far as I know, of producing the only two English works on dogmatics which exhibit careful attention to scientific method. The first of these is the well-

known work of Richard Watson, completed in 1823. Under the general title of *Theological Institutes* he treats, in four parts, of "the evidences, doctrines, morals, and institutions of Christianity." The second division is given exclusively to doctrines, and constitutes more than one half of the entire work. We could wish that this section had been published as an independent volume. Its method is as follows:

PART FIRST.

Doctrines Relating to God.

1. Existence of God.
2. Attributes of God.
3. Persons of the Godhead.
   (1) The Trinity.
   (2) Divinity of Christ.
   (3) Divine-human person of Christ.
   (4) Personality and Deity of the Holy Ghost.

PART SECOND.

Doctrines Relating to Man.

1. Man's creation and sin.
   (1) Man's primitive state.
   (2) Fall of man.
   (3) Results of the fall.
2. Redemption by Christ.
   (1) Principles of redemption.
   (2) Benefits of the atonement.
      a. Justification.
      b. Concomitants of justification—regeneration and adoption.
   (3) Extent of the atonement (long discussion of issues with Calvinism).
   (4) Further benefits of redemption.
      a. Sanctification.
      b. Right to pray.
      c. Special providence.
      d. Victory over death.
      e. Immortality of the soul.
      f. Resurrection of the body.

This is a simple and admirable arrangement of the doctrines of Christianity; but too large space is given to polemical issues now obsolete, and the great topics of eschatology are passed over in a superficial manner. There is no formal discussion of final judgment and retribution, and one may fairly criticise the position of the section on the "Extent of the Atonement," thrown in between two coordinate sections on "Benefits of the Atonement" and "Further Benefits of Redemption." All that is embraced under benefits of the atonement ought to have been brought under one heading, and the chapter on the extent of the atonement might, with slight changes, have been made to follow immediately after the discussion of the principles of God's moral government.

The other English work above referred to is *A Compendium of Christian Theology*, by William Burt Pope. After thirty pages of "Preliminaries" and two hundred pages more on

"The Divine Rule of Faith," the author comes to dogmatics proper, and arranges his material in six sections, as follows:

1. God.
   (1) The existence and notion of God.
   (2) The divine essence and perfections.
   (3) The triune Name.
   (4) The attributes of God.
2. God and the Creature.
   (1) Creation.
   (2) Providence.
3. Sin.
   (1) Origin of sin in the universe and on earth.
   (2) Nature of sin.
   (3) Sin and redemption.
   (4) Original sin.
4. The Mediatorial Ministry.
   (1) The divine purpose of redemption.
   (2) The redemptional or economical Trinity.
   (3) The person of Christ.
   (4) The mediatorial work in its process.
      a. The incarnation.
   (5) Historical manifestation of the Redeemer.
      a. The two estates.
      b. The three offices.
      c. The Christ of prophecy.
      d. The Christ of fulfillment.
      e. The prophetic office.
      f. The priestly office.
      g. The regal office.
   (6) Names of the Redeemer.
   (7) The finished work.
   (8) The atonement in its results.
5. The Administration of Redemption.
   (1) The Holy Spirit.
   (2) The Gospel vocation.
   (3) Preliminaries of salvation.
   (4) The state of salvation.
   (5) Christian righteousness.
   (6) Christian sonship.
   (7) Christian sanctification.
   (8) Tenure of covenant blessings.
   (9) Christian ethics.
   (10) The Church.
6. Eschatology.
   (1) Death and the kingdom of the dead.
   (2) The day of Christ.
   (3) The consummation.

With all its commendable features this outline is open to criticism. The second main division, entitled "God and the Creature," and discussing the works and providence of God, should have been made a subsection of the first main division. The fourth and fifth divisions belong essentially together, and the treatment of them in two coordinate sections involves needless repetition and confusion. The history of dogmas, incorporated in this work, adds little to its value, and transcends the scope of dogmatics.

American theologians are clearly in advance of Great Britain in the production of masterly works on Christian dogmatics. We may point with justifiable pride to the systematic theologies of Charles Hodge (3 vols. 1871–1873), Miner Raymond (3 vols.

1877–1879), Augustus H. Strong (1886), William G. T. Shedd (2 vols., 1888, and a supplementary volume in 1894), and John Miley (2 vols. 1892–1894). How closely all these correspond in general outline is seen from the subjoined table:

HODGE: (1) Introduction. (2) Theology Proper. (3) Anthropology. (4) Soteriology. (5) Eschatology.

RAYMOND: (1) Apologetics. (2) Theology Proper. (3) Anthropology. (4) Soteriology. (5) Eschatology. (6) Ethics. (7) Ecclesiology.

STRONG: (1) Prolegomena. (2) Existence of God. (3) The Scriptures a Revelation from God. (4) The Nature, Decrees, and Works of God. (5) Anthropology. (6) Soteriology. (7) Ecclesiology. (8) Eschatology.

SHEDD: (1) Theological Introduction. (2) Bibliology. (3) Theology. (4) Anthropology. (5) Christology. (6) Soteriology. (7) Eschatology.

MILEY: (1) Theism. (2) Theology. (3) Anthropology. (4) Christology. (5) Soteriology. (6) Eschatology.

It will be seen that Hodge reduces his material to the fewest divisions. But the heading, "Theology Proper," which Raymond also adopts, is quite objectionable, and suggests that he also takes note of theology improper. Raymond's plan includes apologetics and ethics. Strong has, we think, damaged the constructive value of his able and comprehensive work by introducing the section on the Scriptures as a main division, and making it follow his discussion of the existence of God. All that it is in point for dogmatics to say about the Scriptures as a revelation of God might have been incorporated in his "Prolegomena." His second and fourth divisions might also have easily been brought under one more general heading. Shedd introduces the new word "bibliology," under which he discusses the inspiration, authenticity, credibility, and canonicity of the Old and New Testaments. These topics we have already shown to be no proper part of dogmatics. Of the five outlines given Miley's is least open to criticism. He has shown care to omit topics which are not of the nature of Christian doctrine, and the six main divisions of his work are arranged in a strictly logical order. But one may reasonably question his plan of making "Theism" and "Theology" two separate and coordinate divisions.

A treatise on Christian theology has been compiled from the unpublished lectures and sermons of Henry B. Smith,* and is so unique in its outline as to deserve particular mention. Its obvious aim is to exhibit a Christocentric scheme of doctrine, under three leading divisions:

I. Antecedents of Redemption.
1. Christian doctrine of God.
(1) Nature and attributes.
(2) The Trinity.
2. Christian cosmology.
3. Christian anthropology.
4. Christian hamartialogy.

II. The Redemption Itself.
1. The incarnation.
2. Person of the Mediator.
3. Work of the Mediator.

III. The Kingdom of Redemption.
1. Union of Christ and the individual.
2. Union of Christ and his Church.
3. Consummation of the kingdom of redemption.

This scheme was evidently born of a desire to group all Christian doctrine about the person and work of the Redeemer; but an examination of its details leads to a conviction that such a Christocentric methodology is more fanciful than useful. The terminology employed is not a natural or happy set of rubrics. The doctrines of God, of cosmology, and of anthropology are not properly indicated by the heading "Antecedents of Redemption." Under the third division we are shown how "the union of Christ and the individual believer is effected by the Holy Spirit," and the doctrines of predestination, election, the effectual call, justification, regeneration and repentance, sanctification and perfection are set forth as the operations of grace. But why should all these be discussed apart from "the redemption itself" and "the work of the Mediator," which are made to form another and coordinate division of the work?

In passing to the German writers on dogmatics we feel, at first, embarrassed with the burden of making a selection. The theologians of the land of Luther and Melanchthon display such a genius for analysis and synthesis, such breadth and minuteness of learning, such depth and originality of thought, and such inexhaustible fertility that they well deserve the palm of leadership. Their learned works on Christian doctrine may be numbered by the score; and yet they go right on producing tome after tome in all departments of theological

* *System of Christian Theology.* By Henry B. Smith, D.D. Edited by William S. Karr, D.D. New York, 1884.

encyclopedia, as if the world was never quite so much in need of enlightenment as now. Dorner's *System of Christian Doctrine* and the *Christian Dogmatics* of the Dutch theologian Van Oosterzee have been translated into English, and may serve for those who do not read German as specimens of the indefatigable research and ability of the Continental divines. In the limited space of this article we select a number of outlines from the dogmatical works of distinguished writers which have not been translated into our own tongue.

Schleiermacher deserves our first attention. Uniting in himself preeminent ability with scientific skill and great religious fervor, he has powerfully influenced German theology for three generations. In his work on dogmatics* he does not attempt to build upon the teachings of Scripture or by the processes of philosophical speculation, but he treats all evangelical doctrines as developed out of the feeling of absolute dependence upon God. This feeling is an indwelling element of the nature of man, and the creeds and confessions of Christendom are so many outward expressions of the Christian consciousness. The following outline will show the method of his work on the *Christian Faith*. After an introduction of one hundred and fifty-five pages he thus divides and subdivides:

PART FIRST.

Development of the Religious Feeling of Dependence.

1. Feeling of dependence common to all finite being.
   (1) The creation.
   (2) The preservation of all things.
2. Divine attributes exhibited in the feeling of dependence.
   (1) Eternity of God.
   (2) Omnipresence of God.
   (3) Omnipotence of God.
   (4) Omniscience of God.
3. The constitution of the world as made known in the feeling of dependence.
   (1) Original perfection of nature in respect to man.
   (2) Original perfection of man.

PART SECOND.

Development of the Indwelling Consciousness of God.

I. Development of the Consciousness of Sin.
   1. The sinful state of man.
      (1) Original sin.
      (2) Actual sin.
   2. The constitution of the world in respect to sin and evil.
   3. Divine attributes which have respect to sin and evil.
      (1) Holiness of God.
      (2) Righteousness of God.

II. Development of the Consciousness of Grace.
   1. Condition of the Christian so

* *Der christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche im Zusammenhange dargestellt.* 2 vols. Reutlingen, 1828.

far as he is conscious of divine grace.
A. Of Christ.
(1) The person of Christ.
(2) The work of Christ.
B. The manner in which redemption is appropriated in the soul.
(1) Regeneration, justification, and conversion.
(2) Sanctification.
2. The constitution of the world in respect to redemption.
A. Origin of the Church.
(1) Election.
(2) The Holy Spirit.
B. Continuance of the Church in the world.
i. Essential and unchangeable characteristics of the Church.
(1) The Holy Scriptures.
(2) The ministry of the word.
(3) Holy baptism.
(4) The holy supper.
(5) Office of the keys.
(6) Prayer in the name of Jesus.
ii. Changeable features in the Church because of its contact with the world.
(1) The visible and invisible Church.
(2) Infallibility of the Church.
(3) The consummation of the Church.
3. Divine attributes which have respect to redemption.
(1) Divine love.
(2) Divine wisdom.
[Appendix on the doctrine of the Trinity.]

August Hahn's *Compendium of the Christian Faith** has the following divisions and subdivisions:

INTRODUCTION.

1. Of religion.
2. Of theology in general and dogmatics in particular.
3. Of the Holy Scriptures as the source of Christian doctrine.

FIRST PART.
Theology in the Narrower Sense, or the Doctrine of God.

1. Revelations of God.
(1) General revelations.
(2) Special revelations of God.
2. Doctrine of God according to his own revelations.
(1) General doctrine of God.
(2) Special doctrine, or the mystery of the Trinity.
3. Revelation of the life of God through creation and providence.
(1) The doctrine of creation.
(2) The providence of God.

SECOND PART.
Anthropology.

1. Doctrine of man in general, and of his original state.
2. Doctrine of man in the state of corruption.

THIRD PART.
Soteriology.

1. Christology.
(1) The person of Jesus Christ.
(2) The meritorious work of redemption by Jesus Christ.
(3) The order of salvation, or soteriology in the narrower sense.

FOURTH PART.
Of the Church.

1. Idea and aim of the Church.
2. The means of grace.
(1) The word of God.
(2) The sacraments.

* *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens.* 2 vols. 2d ed., Leipzig, 1857, 1858.

3. Government of the Church in its relation to the State.
4. Hopes of the Church—eschatology.
   (1) Growth and final universality of the Church of Christ on earth.
   (2) Life after death.
   (3) The last judgment.
   (4) End of the world and the blessed life in the kingdom of God.

Beck's *Lectures on Christian Doctrine** are in substance a biblical theology, and base the doctrines of the Christian faith on the fundamental idea of God as revealed in the Scriptures. The first volume is devoted entirely to *prolegomena* and introduction, and treats of philosophical principles, religion and revelation, miracles and prophecy, and other topics not relevant to our purpose. In his second volume he arranges the doctrines of revelation according to the following scheme:

FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINE OF GOD.

1. Cognizability of God.
2. Idea of God in the names "Elohim" and "Jehovah."
3. Father, Son, and Spirit.

FIRST SECTION.

The Divine Creation of the World, with its World Economy.

1. The origin of the world.
2. The continuance of the world.
3. Of the angels.
4. Of man.

SECOND SECTION.

The Apostasy of the World, with the Divine Economy of Law.

1. The origin of evil in general.
2. Apostasy in the unseen world, or the evil spirits.
3. The fall of man.
4. Sin in its propagation and development.
5. Of death, or the judgment of sin.

THIRD SECTION.

The Divine Reconciliation of the World with the Completed Economy of Grace.

1. The mediatorial nature of Christ.
2. The mediatorial life of Christ.
   (1) In the exercise of his mediatorial office in the world.
   (2) In his mediation in and after death.
3. The covenant-mediation in Christ.
   (1) The essential conditions of the new covenant-mediation.
   (2) Realization of the new covenant-mediation through a divine redemption of the world.
   (3) The individualizing of the new covenant-mediation through justification.
4. Completion of the covenant.
   (1) The appearance of the Lord.
   (2) Effects of the appearance of the Lord—resurrection and judgment.
   (3) The establishment of a new world-system.

* *Vorlesungen über christliche Glaubenslehre*, von J. T. Beck. Ed. Lindenmeyer. 2 vols., Gütersloh, 1887.

Lange's comprehensive treatise on Christian doctrine * displays the characteristic genius of the author by its division into "an organic triology" of philosophical, positive, and applied dogmatics. He manages to bring all the topics of positive dogmatics under the three heads of "Theology," "Soteriology," and "Pneumatology." After an introduction of twenty-eight pages, he presents his subject-matter in the following form:

I. THEOLOGY, OR THE IDEAL CHRISTOLOGY.
1. Anthropological theology.
2. Theological anthropology.
3. Reciprocal action between God and man; or ideal Christology in the narrower sense.

II. SOTERIOLOGY, OR THE REAL CHRISTOLOGY.
1. The life of Jesus Christ.
2. Doctrine of the person of Christ.
3. The redemption of Jesus Christ.

III. PNEUMATOLOGY, OR THE UNIVERSAL CHRISTOLOGY.
1. Foundation and development of the salvation and life of Christ in the sphere of individual life, or the order of salvation and glorification of man in Christ.
2. Foundation and development of the salvation and life of Christ in the sphere of social life, or the glorification of human society in the Church.
3. Foundation and development of the salvation and life of Christ in the cosmic sphere, or the final glorification of the world—eschatology.

Hase's Compendium of *Evangelical Protestant Dogmatics* † presents a condensed and somewhat novel scheme. After a short introduction on the theory and history of dogmatics, he divides his work into two principal parts, as follows:

I. ONTOLOGY.	II. CHRISTOLOGY.
1. Anthropology.	1. Christ in history.
2. Theology.	2. Christ in the inner life.
	3. Christ in the Church.

This simple arrangement, however, failed to meet the demands of a complete discussion of evangelical doctrines; for the author added two appendices, on the subjects of eschatology and the Trinity.

But another and still more striking outline of the evangelical faith is furnished in Carl Immanuel Nitzsch's *System of Chris-*

* *Christliche Dogmatik*, von Johann Peter Lange. 3 vols. Heidelberg, 1849–1852.
† *Evangelisch-protestantische Dogmatik*, von Carl August Hase. 6th ed., Leipzig, 1870.

tian Doctrine,* in which we have the three rubrics of "Agathology," "Ponerology," and "Soteriology:"

I. AGATHOLOGY, OR THE DOCTRINE OF THE GOOD.
1. Of God.
2. Of the creature.

II. PONEROLOGY, OR THE DOCTRINE OF THE BAD.
1. Of sin.
2. Of death.

III. SOTERIOLOGY, OR THE DOCTRINE OF SALVATION.
1. Established in the person of the Redeemer.
2. The appropriation of salvation.
3. The fellowship of salvation.
4. The completion of salvation.

One of the most recent German contributions to dogmatics is the able and comprehensive work of Friedrich A. B. Nitzsch.† The first part is devoted to the discussion of principles introductory to the study of the Christian system; and the second, entitled "Special Dogmatics," presents the doctrines in the following order of "Anthropology," "Theology," and "Christology:"

I. ANTHROPOLOGY.
1. Doctrine of man apart from sin.
2. Doctrine of human sinfulness. (Doctrine of Satan.)

II. THEOLOGY.
1. Cognizability of God.
2. Nature of God.
3. Activities of God. (Doctrine of angels.)
4. Attributes of God.
5. The Trinity.
6. Transition to Christology.

III. CHRISTOLOGY.
1. Foundation of the kingdom of God.
2. Conservation and appropriation of the kingdom of God.
   (1) The Church and means of grace.
   (2) Appropriation of salvation.
3. The completion of the kingdom of God.
   (1) The coming of Christ.
   (2) The resurrection of the dead.
   (3) The judgment of the world.

A study of the foregoing outlines will show the importance of method in the treatment of Christian doctrine. That scheme which provides for all the essential dogmas under the fewest possible divisions is presumably the best method and the one to be sought after. Most of the systems reviewed, whatever the number and names of their several divisions, begin with the doctrine of God and conclude with eschatology. If an *a priori* method is assumed there is an

* *System der christlichen Lehre.* 6th ed., Bonn, 1851.
† *Lehrbuch der evangelischen Dogmatik.* Freiburg, 1892.

obvious logical propriety in this order; but why should dogmatics always be tied up to the assumptions and assertions which *a priori* modes of thought involve? Most sciences proceed in the opposite way, and first make note of facts and effects before inquiring after causes. Several of the dogmatic schemes which we have given above place the discussion of the doctrine of man before that of God. That of Professor Friedrich Nitzsch is especially suggestive and worthy of attention.

> There is no propriety in discussing Christ before attention has been directed toward God and man; but it is not, on the other hand, possible to finish either the doctrine of God or of man without including Christ. The whole of the doctrine of the Trinity is left in the condition of an uncomprehended speculative problem if it be not prefaced by Christology.*

May it not be as truly affirmed that, in view of its mystery and relation to other doctrines, the subject of the Trinity should be left to the last place in a system of doctrine? All fundamental Christian truths are so interrelated that it is quite impossible to treat any one without some reference to other doctrines. It is hardly supposable that anyone now sets out either to read or write a treatise on dogmatics without some general knowledge of all the topics therein discussed. It cannot, therefore, be assumed as a matter of course that a treatise on Christian doctrine must needs begin with the concept of God.

Our American divines and some of the Germans seem to be overcome with a passion for the high-sounding words "bibliology," "theology," "cosmology," "angelology," "anthropology," "hamartialogy," "Christology," "soteriology," "pneumatology," "ecclesiology," and "eschatology." Such a definite nomenclature has unquestionable value; but it has gone to an extreme that savors of a craze for Greek terminology. Here are eleven fine, sonorous words, and that would not be a bad method which treated all Christian doctrine under these eleven heads in the order we have placed them. Bibliology has as good a right to stay as ecclesiology. Cosmology and angelology deserve a rank coordinate with anthropology and eschatology. If it be claimed that hamartialogy falls logically under anthropology, corresponding reasons may be given for including soteriology in Christology. It is, also, not difficult to see that

* *Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology.* On the Basis of Hagenbach. By George R. Crooks, D.D., and John F. Hurst, D.D. P. 488. New York, 1884.

ecclesiology and eschatology may be so included under other headings as to reduce the eleven rubrics to four main divisions, namely, theology, angelology, anthropology, and soteriology. And if one can show sufficient reason for denying angelology (including demonology) a rank coordinate with anthropology he may reduce the eleven to three. But, after all, may not the best scientific treatment of evangelical doctrine be compromised by persistent use of these technical terms? In the continuous flood of books it might perhaps be well, occasionally, to break away from stereotyped formulas as well as from *a priori* methods, and construct a system of Christian doctrine from some other point of view. Such a system might begin with the doctrine of man and present the facts of his natural constitution, his moral and religious nature, and his present sinful state. In the second place, the beginnings and development of spiritual life might be shown as actual experiences, realized and exhibited by innumerable Christian witnesses and taught among the most positive lessons of the Scriptures. For the facts of Christian life and experience may well be studied as positive truths, apart from the deeper questions of their relation to the divine government of the world and the mysteries of the person and work of Christ.* A thorough examination of these facts of human experience and knowledge would presumably prepare the way for the presentation of God's relations to them; and so we would be led gradually and logically, by a kind of inductive process, to the investigation of the supernatural, the unseen, and the eternal.

We observe two tendencies at work in the more recent discussions of the doctrines of divine revelation. One is conspicuously nonbiblical and speculative. It delights in the tentative formulation of dogmatic propositions and in philosophical attempts to establish them by rational argument. Its logical tendency is to carry all questions of doctrine into the realm of theological metaphysics. The opposite tendency has developed into the science of "biblical theology," and cultivates a habit of minutely analyzing the books of the Bible in search of what it calls the genesis and progress of doctrines. This minute research has produced numerous valuable results which cannot

*Such a discussion of the spiritual life of man would naturally be of the nature of a philosophy of religion, and might best be studied first as a matter of historical fact.

be ignored. But some writers have magnified the different types of doctrine discernible in the sacred records so as to make them contradictory. The Pauline epistles are affirmed to teach doctrines irreconcilable with those of Peter and of John. Paul's theory of justification by faith is held to be directly controverted in the epistle of James. The Elohist documents of the Pentateuch are believed to contain a different doctrine of God from that which appears in the sections assigned to the Jehovist. We opine that the simplest, truest, and soundest system of Christian dogmatics may be constructed by avoiding the extremes of both these tendencies, appropriating what is really valuable in each, and showing that those doctrines which are most surely believed among us are preeminently biblical.

Milton S. Terry

ART. III.—ASSYRIA'S FIRST CONTACT WITH ISRAEL.

THE Semitic peoples have long been retreating before the resistless forward movement of the Indo-European peoples. They who once held the great world empires have to-day no world power of the first magnitude. The brilliant civilization of the Moors in Spain went down before the Indo-European Spaniard, just as the glory of Carthage was trampled in the dust beneath Rome's iron heel. The arms of the Semite are no longer a threat to the world's peace; his ideas only are potent for good or ill. Of his future no man may speak with certainty. His retreat may be continued till his personality is swallowed up and lost; or some mighty impulse may hurl him once more in conquering might upon the Indo-European.

Though his future is thus doubtful and his present thus weak, his past forms humanity's greatest romance. The Semite, who is he? His period of preparation for a world career was probably spent in Arabia.* He is emphatically a man of the desert. Like the beautiful wild ass of the desert, "he scorned the tumult of the city" till his well-knit frame was ready for an herculean effort. But when the day came he swept out into Babylonia, conquered the land, and absorbed its civilization. From Babylonia was Assyria also possessed, and soon the cold mountain heights of Aram and the weltering hot Jordan valley were his. From southern Arabia he went into Egypt, and thence to the highlands of Ethiopia. Under changed conditions he took to the Mediterranean coasts of Africa; and soon fairest Andalusia was his also, and that to bless and not curse. Wherever he went he took culture along with the sword. The Levant is filled with his inscriptions, and the memory of the deeds he has wrought and the words he has spoken must continue while man endures. "Incontestably the best thoughts and principles—the most profound, the most propulsive, the most potential—that

* The question as to the original homeland of the Semites is still problematical. To the present writer Arabia is decidedly more probable than the other place suggested, namely, Central Asia. This is maintained by Sayce, Sprenger, Schrader, de Goeje, Wright, and many others, while Guidi and Hommel support the northern view. For clear statements of the argument for Arabia see Sayce, *Assyrian Grammar*, 1872, p. 13, and McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, New York, 1894, pp. 20-22. A *résumé* of all conflicting views is given in Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Cambridge, 1890, pp. 4, *ff*.

men have ever cherished have been conceived and elaborated in Semitic minds." * In the domain of religious thought his supremacy is at this hour beyond all the dreams of his most imaginative poet. Mohammedanism, Judaism, and Christianity are all Semitic; and the Indo-European has profited them nothing, save when he gave his strength to their wider diffusion. And the Indo-European now has no higher calling than this very diffusion of Semitic ideas.

But to propagate any of these religions demands of the Indo-European the possession of a sound knowledge of that faith. When the Englishman sets out to tell to the Chinese the story of Jesus and of his plan of salvation he must know Christianity in no mere surface fashion. He must know its history, know its origin, know its precursor—Judaism. How shall a man teach what he does not know, and how shall he know Christianity if he knows not Judaism, and how shall he know Judaism if he does not know all the peoples who touched Judaism in its history? There is no knowledge that the individual may acquire that will be foreign to his study of Christianity, for all knowledge is touched by this living faith. But no knowledge is of so great value as the knowledge of history. The history of Christ is fundamental. But behind his history is the history of Judaism, and behind the history of Judaism is the history of the mighty Semitic race. Both directly, in war, and indirectly, by far-reaching influences, the people of Israel were affected by the Assyrians and Babylonians; and the man who would know Israel must know these peoples. It was from Babylonia that Abraham came into Palestine; it was into Babylonia that the Jews went into an exile from which only a few returned to build the second temple and found a Church. Between those two great events there were numerous points of contact between the peoples of the Mesopotamian valley and the people of the promised land. In almost all of them the Assyrians and Babylonians were the aggressors, seeking ever to blot Israel from the face of the earth and to establish Assyrian rule over her territory.

To know the story of the successive campaigns waged by the Assyrians against Israel is to have the key to unlock the meaning of much that has been obscure in some of Israel's greatest

* McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, p. 7.

prophets. These noble and wondrously taught men saw God's hand in the history of the Assyrians, and viewed them as a God-sent scourge to punish the rebellious and idolatrous people of Israel and Judah. No man has ever painted the Assyrians so vividly, so faithfully as Isaiah: "They shall come with speed swiftly: none shall be weary nor stumble among them; none shall slumber nor sleep; neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken: whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent; their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint, and their wheels like a whirlwind: their roaring shall be like a lion, they shall roar like young lions: yea, they shall roar, and lay hold of the prey, and carry it away safe, and there shall be none to deliver" (Isa. v, 26–29, Rev. Ver.). Those words were based on accurate knowledge of the Assyrians, and find their full justification in the oft-repeated phrases in which Assyrian annalists describe the movements of their armies. For many a passage in Isaiah, in Amos, in Micah, in Nahum the best commentary is a line quoted from some contemporary Assyrian inscription. Not that the profound and life-giving ideas of the prophets are illustrated by the words of their neighbors, but rather that the conditions under which they lived and worked are made plain by the carefully kept records of Assyrian campaigns. But the historical writers of the Old Testament, as well as the prophets, are illustrated by the Assyrian inscriptions. Sometimes, the same event is told in the Old Testament and in the Assyrian annals, and when placed side by side the two narratives prove to be mutually complementary. To trace out all these parallels would require volumes. To set forth one of them, with all the materials for its perfect comprehension, is the object of this paper.

The advance of Assyria upon Israel was slow and methodical. The greatest masters of military occupation in the early Orient slowly acquired a sense of their own power and steadily but surely crushed out their opponents. At the end they became absolute masters of western Asia. It was natural that Israel should be among the latest of lands to be subdued, for peoples who were nearer to Nineveh must naturally be first overcome. Up to about the year B. C. 1500 Assyria was chiefly dependent upon Babylonia, from which it had been first occupied by Semites. From that time Assyria began to be a separate nation

and her career of growth and aggrandizement began. About the year B. C. 1480 Asshur-bel-nishêshu ("Asshur is lord of his people"), King of Assyria, and Karaindash, King of Babylon, defined very accurately the border between their respective kingdoms; and for some time peace reigned between the two lands. In the very nature of things, however, Assyria and Babylonia must be rivals for supremacy in western Asia; and soon the struggle began. In the varying fortunes of the next few centuries Assyria was at times the leader, and at other times Babylonia held first place. During these early centuries the capital of Assyria was the ancient city of Asshur. When Assyrian power began to extend northward by conquest, and when Babylonian arms were ever beating against its southern border, Asshur was found to be too far from the geographical center and too near to Babylonian aggression. In the reign of Shalmaneser I (about B. C. 1300) Kalchi * became the residence of the Assyrian kings, and so remained until the reign of Sargon (B. C. 722–705), when Nineveh, its ancient and near-by neighbor, became the residence city of the kings. From B. C. 1300 to 1120 the conquests of Assyria were not of the first importance. The giant was consolidating his strength and preparing for the making of an empire.

But in the year B. C. 1120 the time had come, for in that year Tiglath-pileser I ascended the throne, and for five years carried on a series of campaigns against the North and West which not only produced enormous wealth from tribute, but added great sections of rich territory to the empire. He pushed the borders of Assyria to the edge of Lake Van in the north, and then pressed westward along that parallel until he reached the Mediterranean, north of the Phœnician States. Still farther to the west and north, even into Cappadocia, were the Assyrian borders extended, and other lands, not directly annexed, were forced to pay heavy tribute. His own summing up of the

* Biblical Calah (Gen. x, 11, 12). Kalchi was not the capital during this entire period, for Asshur-bel-kala (circa B. C. 1060) removed the capital to Nineveh, and Asshur-naçir-pal (885–860) returned it. See Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens* (1892), p. 145, and compare the articles by Schrader on Calach and Nineveh in Riehm, *Handwörterbuch des bibl. Alt.*, 2te Aufl. (1893). On Nineveh and all its surrounding cities it is now possible to refer to a thoroughly scientific paper written by an Assyriologist, in collaboration with a competent engineer who knows thoroughly the entire surrounding country. See Billerbeck and Jeremias, "Der Untergang Nineveh's und die Weissagungsschrift des Nahum von Elkosch," in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, band iii, pp. 87–188, Leipzig, 1895.

results of these great campaigns is striking. "In all, forty-two countries and their princes, from the far side of the Lower Zab, the boundary of distant mountains, unto the far side of the Euphrates, the land of the Hittites, and the upper sea of the West, from the beginning of my rule until the fifth year of my reign, my hand has conquered; of one mind I made them all; their hostages have I taken, tribute and fines I laid upon them." * Though Tiglath-pileser came out, probably, to the Mediterranean on one of these campaigns, it was far to the north of Israel, and only the rumble of his distant chariots reached the chosen people. Had this empire, thus formed by the Assyrians, held together, Israel would sooner have felt the iron hand than it actually did. A period of peace, however, followed the conquests of Tiglath-pileser, and many of his gains in territory were subsequently lost. During this period the Hittites, the Aramæans, and the Hebrews all developed into stronger nations. Assyria did not threaten their life. The contest with Babylon and internal dissensions had so weakened her that she was no longer a menace to the peace of the West. For Assyria a new life was necessary; and it came in the person of Asshur-naçir-pal † ("Asshur protects the son"), who reigned from B. C. 885–860. He was a worthy successor of Tiglath-pileser I, and speedily carried the borders of Assyria to the extreme limits attained by that great founder, and then overpassed them. Northern Syria also submitted to the Assyrian yoke, and the Assyrian empire extended to the Mediterranean Sea.

But even yet southern Syria and Israel had not been overrun. That was reserved for his son and successor, Shalmaneser II ("Shalman is prince"), who reigned from B. C. 860–825. In his reign for the first time Israel felt directly the shock of the Assyrian advance. During his long reign Jehoshaphat, Joram, Ahaziah, and Joash reigned in Judah, and Ahab, Joram, and Jehu reigned in Israel. His elaborate inscriptions are of priceless value to the Old Testament student, for they

* Prism inscription of Tiglath-pileser I, col. vi, lines 39–48, quoted by McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, p. 221. See Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I*, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 50, 51, and also p. 157; and, further, compare Winckler's translation in *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vol. i, p. 37. One phrase is difficult, namely, that above rendered "of one mind I made them all." McCurdy translates it very literally, "One mouth I made them all," but in a footnote explains, "He made them of one consent [to obey Asshur]."

† The ç in this name represents ץ. This is unsatisfactory from a scientific viewpoint; but the dotted *s* is not obtainable.

narrate at length events which are only lightly touched in the Scriptures, and give, also, sure chronological *data* with which to correct the system of Archbishop Ussher. In the year B. C. 854 came the first great clash of arms between Assyria and Israel. Shalmaneser had spent five years of his reign in successful campaigns against the lands about the head waters of the Euphrates and the territory along the Mediterranean in northern Syria. In the sixth year of his reign he again invaded the West. The power of his arms was now widely known in the West. No single people dared hope to oppose him successfully. The Aramæans, the people of Damascus, the Hebrews, and all others, large and small, must forget their differences and unite in a confederacy against him. The chief peoples engaged in this union were Hamath, Damascus, and Israel. To them were added small companies from Que (eastern Cilicia) and Muçri (western Cappadocia), and larger ones from the northern Phœnician cities, with detachments of Ammonites and Arabs. The leader of Israel in this great effort was Ahab.* At the village of Qarqar † the battle was joined.

It was in the main an Assyrian victory. That was inevitable. But it was not so decisive a victory that Shalmaneser was able to follow it up and at once annex the lands of the confederates to Assyria. It was, indeed, five years before he again invaded these lands. The confederacy had been measurably successful. Shalmaneser's own story of the great battle is told in the inscriptions numbered I and II in the selection of inscriptions which follow in the appendix to this paper. They form in

*In the inscriptions of Shalmaneser this Ahab is called *Akhabbu Sir-'-la-ai*, that is, Ahab the Israelite. In the early days of Assyrian studies it was contended by some that this was not Ahab of Israel, but that *Sir-'-la-ai* must represent some other place with the name of Siria or Suria. All doubts as to the exact reading of the text upon the stone were set at rest by Delitzsch, who showed conclusively that the stone read *Sir* and not *Sur*, as Haigh and George Smith had suggested. Wellhausen (*Jahrbüchcr für d. Th.*, xx, p. 627) had also found a difficulty in the historical reconciliation of Kings and the inscription. All these difficulties were thoroughly sifted and completely solved in Schrader's masterly discussion of the matter (*Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, Giessen, 1878, pp. 359–364). In the *Methodist Review* (1889, pp. 711-724), Dr. Joseph Horner has attempted again to cast discredit on this identification. He suggests that the place intended by the gentilic *Sir'lai* is Sir. This is, of course, impossible, for the simple reason that Dr. Horner has omitted altogether the consonant *l* and the guttural which precedes it; and his attempt to locate this Sir on Kiepert's map is, therefore, worthless. Schrader's paper settled the question, and all recent work but emphasizes the truth of his conclusions. The usual Assyrian gentilic adjective is now well known to be of this form, and *Sir'lai* correctly reproduces the stem consonants of "Israel." See further on this point in the "Arena," in the present number of the *Review*, a note replying to Dr. Horner.

† In the writing of this word *q* represents p. The dotted *k* would be preferable.

themselves a very interesting specimen of Assyrian historical style. The facts narrated in them are easily reconcilable with the narratives of the Book of Kings. One point only requires a word of explanation. The question to be solved is, What part of the biblical story is it to which this battle belongs? It is, unfortunately, impossible to be absolutely certain of the answer to this question. Decidedly the most probable location of it is in 1 Kings xx, where, at verse 34, we are informed of a compact between Ben-hadad and Ahab, by which the latter was permitted to hold a special bazaar at Damascus, and was also granted the cities which the Syrians had taken from Omri. Here is a point in the history when friendliness existed between the people of Damascus and the people of Israel; and no other time is so suitable. Of the date B. C. 854 there can be no doubt whatever. The only question is as to where that date falls in Ahab's life. The matter is important, for its settlement gives us a certain date in the kingdom of Israel by which we can reckon both forward and backward. It fixes the death of Ahab at B. C. 853, for he died two years after the battle of Aphek, which must have been fought in B. C. 855 (1 Kings xxii, 1, *ff.*).*

The year 850–849 found Shalmaneser II again invading the westland. Again he was opposed by a confederacy led by Ben-hadad. This time Israel had no share in the defense, for Joram (852–842) was too weak to engage in the contest. Had it not been that all the energies of Bên-hadad were absorbed in the life-and-death struggle with Assyria, Damascus would have been able to overwhelm Israel at this time. Shalmaneser's version of this campaign is given in the inscriptions numbered III and IV in the appendix.

In 846 Shalmaneser made another expedition, with much the same result as the one just preceding. Israel was not concerned in it, and for the same reason. The Assyrian was beating, in successive blows, against the powers in Syria and Palestine. In the end he must triumph, but more than a century of war would yet be necessary. The story of his campaign is told by Shalmaneser in inscriptions V and VI of the appendix.

In 843 Shalmaneser was again in the West, but this time was

* It is, of course, not for one moment intended to convey the impression that this fixed date removes all difficulties in the vexed question of Hebrew chronology. It is, however, one fixed date, and that is useful.

engaged, not in conquest, but in the cutting of cedar timber on the Amanus.* This journey may be here passed over, for Israel was not influenced by it.

In 842 the great king again came into the West, but this time he found new rulers in Damascus and in Israel. Ben-hadad II, King of Damascus, was dead, and the cruel Hazael was on the throne. Israel was ruled by the usurper Jehu. The valiant Ahab was gone, and bravery was supplanted by feeble diplomacy. Hazael fought like a man, and, defeated though he was, he was not undone; and Shalmaneser could not yet take Damascus, but must content himself with ravaging its borders. Jehu had not the courage to fight. Hearing of the approach of Shalmaneser, he thought to win his support against the Syrians by the making of costly presents to the Assyrian king. It was a fatal blunder. Better to have gone down crushed in a manly, defensive war than to have given the Assyrians the first grip upon the fortunes of Israel. Better still to have relied upon Israel's hope and Israel's God. It is only a word that Shalmaneser has to speak of Jehu, and it is written in VIII and IX of the inscriptions herewith printed.

We have told in outline the story of the beginnings of the Assyrian conquest of Israel. It is a melancholy story. The progress of it to its ultimate conclusion in the fall of Samaria, in B. C. 722, is another story. The student of the Old Testament who will study carefully the translations that follow, and set them in comparison with the Scripture story, will have his respect for the historical value of the Book of Kings newly quickened, and his impression of an important period of the history of Israel much vivified.

Selections from the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser II.

The translations which follow are made from the following monuments of this king:

I. The Black Obelisk. This beautiful monument of black marble was found by Layard in the central palace of Shalmaneser II, at the modern mound of Koyunjik. The whole four faces are covered with inscriptions beautifully cut into the solid stone and, in some cases, accompanied by well-executed pictures of the objects which the king had received as gifts

* Compare below Inscription IV, 41.

or in payment of tribute. It is, indeed, a sort of *édition de luxe* of the annals of the great warrior. It is now preserved in the British Museum. The original text has been several times republished since the first edition by Layard.* It has been translated into French by Oppert and Menant, into German by Winckler, and into English by Sayce and Scheil. The portions here given are directly translated from the original texts, after repeated personal consultation and collating of the monument in the British Museum.

II. The Monolith Inscription. This text was found in the ruins of Kurkh. It contains a portrait of the king, covered with two columns of writing. The monument has suffered somewhat from exposure, but the writing is, for the most part, well preserved. Though it tells of the same events as are described upon the Black Obelisk, it is, nevertheless, of great value, because the story is often told upon it at greater length, and it thus becomes supplementary. It was first published by Rawlinson, in the *Inscriptions of Western Asia* (London, 1870), vol. iii, plate 7, *ff.* It has been translated into French by Menant, into German by Peiser, and into English by Sayce and Craig. The latter carefully collated the whole text and corrected many previous mistakes. The translations here given, while directly from the originals, owe much to his work.

III. The Bull Inscriptions. These colossal monuments were also found by Layard in the central palace at Koyunjik. Parts only of them have been translated into German by Schrader and Winckler and into French by Scheil. No translations of importance have been made of them into other languages. The translations here given rest upon the text copies of Scheil, but the translations are original.

To those who are accustomed to the genuine literature of other languages these translations of inscriptions must necessarily seem bald and colorless. They are, indeed, not literature at all, but the raw material out of which literature has been finally fashioned among men. It is, however, but just to say that there is a fire and ring in them that has not been well preserved intranslating. It would have been easy to translate them into modern phrase; but it seemed best to strive after fidel-

* Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments.* London, 1851. Plates, 87-97.

ity and accuracy. The student wants to have the exact words of the documents rather than their spirit. Numerous errors in commentaries and popular treatises can be directly traced to loose or so-called free translations of Assyrian texts. The inversions which appear in these translations are, it is true, un-English, and the texts would be fresher without them. But they are necessary in order to the preserving of the lines. In every case, in the following translations, the reader may be confident that the exact Assyrian lines have been preserved. Reference to the originals is, therefore, easy. For greater clearness the names of persons is printed in small capitals, and the names of places in italics. Numbers are always expressed in figures when they are so written on the monuments.

I. Obelisk Inscription. (B. C. 854.)

54. . . . In the sixth of my years of reign, to the cities on the banks of the *Balikh*
55. I approached. Giammu, the lord of their cities, they had slain.
56. I entered *Til-apli-akhi.**
57. I crossed the *Euphrates* at its flood.
58. The tribute of the kings of the Hittite country,
59. all of them, I received. In those days Dadda-idri,†
60. King of *Damascus*, Irkhulina, of *Hamath*, together with the kings
61. of the Hittite country and of the seacoast, to their united forces
62. trusted, and to make battle and war
63. came against me. By the command of Asshur, the great lord, my lord,
64. I fought with them, their defeat I accomplished.
65. Their chariots, their saddle horses, their war material I took from them.
66. 20,500 of their soldiers with arms I slew.

II. The Monolith Inscription. Column II. (B. C. 854.)

78. . . . In the eponymy of Daian-Asshur, in the month Airu, on the fourteenth day, from *Nineveh* I departed; I crossed the *Tigris;* to the cities of

* Tiele reads here *Tul-Balakhe*, "the mound of Balikh;" Scheil reads *Tul-Turakhe*.

† Hadad-ezer. This is Ben-hadad (II) of the Old Testament—1 Kings, xx. On the Assyrian form of the name see Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, Giessen, 1878, pp. 538, *ff*., and also his *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, pp. 193, *ff*., and 201, *ff*.

79. GIAMMU on the *Balikh* I approached. The fearfulness of my lordship (and) the splendor of my powerful arms they feared, and with their own arms GIAMMU, their lord,
80. they slew. *Kitlala* and *Til-sha-apli-akhi* I entered. My gods I brought into his temples, I made a feast in his palaces.
81. The treasury I opened, I saw his wealth; his goods (and) his possessions I carried away; to my city *Asshur* * I brought (them). From *Kitlala* I departed; to *Kar-Shulman-asharid* †
82. I approached. In boats of sheepskin I crossed the *Euphrates*, for the second time, at its flood. The tribute of the kings of that ‡ side of the *Euphrates*, of SANGAR,
83. of *Carchemish*, of KUNDASHPI, of *Comagene*, of ARAME, the son of GUSI, of LALLI, the Melidæan, of KHAIANI, son of Gabar,
84. of KALPARUDA, the Patinian, of KALPARUDA, the Gurgumæan, silver, gold, lead, copper, (and) copper vessels,
85. in the city of *Asshur-utir-asbat*, on that side of the *Euphrates*, which (is) on the river *Sagar*, which (city) the Hittites call
86. *Pitru*, § I received. From the *Euphrates* I departed; to *Khalman* ‖ I approached. They feared my battle (and) embraced my feet.
87. Silver and gold I received as their tribute. Sacrifices I offered before RAMMAN, the god of *Khalman*. From *Khalman* I departed; two cities
88. of IRKHULINA, the Hamathite, I approached. *Adennu*, *Mashga*, *Argana*, his royal city, I captured; his booty, goods,
89. the possessions of his palaces I brought out (and) set fire to his palaces. From *Argana* I departed; to *Qarqar* I approached.
90. *Qarqar*, his royal city, I wasted, destroyed, burned with fire. 1,200 chariots, 1,200 saddle horses, 20,000 men of DADDA-IDRI,

* This was the oldest of the capitals of Assyria, which held its position until Shalmaneser I (about B. C. 1300) transferred to Kalchi the royal residence. Winckler has suggested that this change was probably made because the position of Asshur was too far south and a more central city was desired for the capital.

† That is, Shalmaneser-town, a city founded by and named after the monarch.

‡ That is, the western bank. § Pethor. ‖ Aleppo.

91. of *Damascus;* 700 chariots, 700 saddle horses, 10,000 men of IRKHULINA, the Hamathite; 2,000 chariots, 10,000 men of AHAB,
92. the Israelite; 500 men of the Quans; 1,000 men of the Egyptians (?); 10 chariots, 10,000 men of the Irkanatians;
93. 200 men of MATINU-BAAL, the Arvadite; 200 men of the Usanatians; 30 chariots, 10,000 men
94. of ADUNU-BAAL, the Shianian; 1,000 camels of GINDIBU', the Arabian; . . . 1,000 men
95. of BAASHA, son of RUKHUBI, the Ammonite—these 12* kings he took to his assistance; to make
96. battle and war against me they came. With the exalted power which ASSHUR, the lord, gave me, with the powerful arms which NERGAL, who goes before me,
97. had granted me, I fought with them, from *Qarqar* to *Gilzan* I accomplished their defeat. 14,000
98. of their warriors I slew with arms; like RAMMAN, I rained a deluge upon them, I strewed hither and yon their bodies,
99. I filled the face of the plain (?) with their widespread soldiers, with arms I made their blood flow. The destruction of the district
100. . . . ; to kill themselves a great mass fled to their graves. . . .
101. Without turning back I reached the *Orontes.* In the midst of this battle their chariots, saddle horses,
102. (and) their yoke horses I took from them.

III. OBELISK INSCRIPTION. (B. C. 850 and 849.)

85. In the tenth of my years of reign I crossed, for the eighth time, the *Euphrates* and captured the cities of SANGAR, of *Carchemish.*
86. To the cities of ARAME I approached, and *Arne,* his capital city, together with 100 of his cities, I captured.
87. In the eleventh of my years of reign I crossed, for the ninth time, the *Euphrates.* Cities without number I captured. To the cities of the Hittite country

*Only eleven confederates have been named, though the total is here given as twelve. Probably the scribe has accidentally omitted one name.

88. and of the Hamath country I descended and captured 89 cities. DADDA-IDRI, of *Damascus*, and 12 kings of the Hittite country*
89. ranged themselves side by side; their defeat I accomplished.

IV. BULL INSCRIPTION. BULL No. I. (B. C. 850 and 849.)

29. . . . In the tenth of my years of reign
30. I crossed, for the eighth time, the *Euphrates*. The cities of SANGAR, of *Carchemish*, I wasted, destroyed, burned with fire. From the cities
31. of *Carchemish* I departed, and approached the cities of ARAME. *Arne*, his capital city, I captured, and 100 cities in its environs
32. I wasted, destroyed, burned with fire. I made a slaughter among them, and their prisoners I carried away. In those days trusted DADDA-IDRI, of *Damascus*, (and)
33. IRKHULINA, the Hamathite, together with 12 kings of the seacoast, to their united forces, and to make battle and war came against me.
34. With them I fought, their defeat I accomplished. Their chariots, their riding horses, their war material I took from them. They fled to save their lives.
35. In the eleventh of my years of reign from *Nineveh* I departed; I crossed, for the ninth time, the *Euphrates* at its flood. 97 villages of SANGAR I captured. 100 villages of ARAME
36. I captured, wasted, destroyed, burned with fire. To the bank of the *Amanus* I approached, the mountain country of *Jaraqu* I marched through, (and) climbed to the cities of the Hamathite;
37. the city *Ashtamaku*, with 97 villages, I captured. A slaughter I made among them, their prisoners I carried away. In those days trusted DADDA-IDRI, of *Damascus*, IRKHULINA, the Hamathite,
38. together with 12 kings of the seacoast, to their united forces, and to make battle and war came against me. With them I fought, their defeat

* As Professor Sayce has correctly pointed out, the Hittite country is here extended so as to include Syria, Palestine, and even northern Arabia.

39. I accomplished. 10,000 of their soldiers with arms I slew. Their chariots, their saddle horses, their war material I took from them. On my return the city *Apparasu*,
40. a fortress of ARAME, I captured. In those days the tribute of KALPARUNDI, of *Patin*, silver and gold, horses, oxen, sheep,
41. clothing, (and) garments I received. To the *Amanus* I climbed up, (and) cut beams of cedarwood.

V. OBELISK INSCRIPTION. (B. C. 846.)

91. . . . In the fourteenth of my years of reign I levied an army (and) crossed the *Euphrates*. 12 kings came against me.
92. I fought with them, their defeat I accomplished.

VI. BULL INSCRIPTION. BULL No. I. (B. C. 846.)

44. . . . In the fourteenth of my years of reign from the broad land I levied an army without number.
45. With 120,000 of my troops I crossed the *Euphrates* at its flood. In those days levied DADDA-IDRI, of *Damascus*, IRKHULINA, the Hamathite, together with
46. 12 kings of the seacoast above and below, their troops without number (and) came against me. With them I fought;
47. their defeat I accomplished, their chariots, . . . their war material I took from them. To save their lives they fled.

VII. OBELISK INSCRIPTION. (B. C. 842.)

97. . . . In the eighteenth of my years of reign I crossed, for the sixteenth time, the *Euphrates*. HAZAEL,
98. of *Damascus*, marched to battle. 1,121 of his chariots, 470 of his saddle horses, with
99. his camp, I took from him.

VIII. FRAGMENT OF AN ANNALISTIC INSCRIPTION. (B. C. 842.)

40. In the eighteenth of my years of reign, for the sixteenth time, the *Euphrates*
41. I crossed. HAZAEL, of *Damascus*,
42. to the multitude of his troops

43. trusted, and his troops
44. in great numbers he levied.
45. *Saniru*,* a mountain peak
46. at the beginning of the *Lebanon*, for his fortress
47. he made. With him I fought;
48. his defeat I accomplished. 6,000
49. of his soldiers with arms
50. I slew. 1,121 of his chariots,
51. 470 of his saddle horses, with his camp,
52. I took from him. To save
53. his life he went away. I pursued after him.
54. In *Damascus*, his capital city, I shut him up.
55. I cut down his parks (and) marched to the mountains
56. of the *Hauran*. Cities
57. without number I wasted, destroyed,
58. burned with fire. Their prisoners
59. without number I carried away.
60. To the mountains of *Ba'li-ra'si*,
61. by the sea, I marched. My royal statue
62. I set up there.† In those days
63. the tribute of the Tyrians,
64. the Sidonians, and of JEHU,
65. son of OMRI,‡ I received.

IX. OBELISK INSCRIPTION BENEATH ONE OF THE PICTURES. (B. C. 842.)

The tribute of JEHU, son of OMRI: silver, gold, *shaplu* § of gold, *zuqut* § of gold, *kabuati* § of gold, *dalani* § of gold, lead, *khukuttu* § for the hand of a king, *budilkhati* § I received from him.

X. OBELISK INSCRIPTION. (B. C. 839.)

102. . . . In the twenty-first of my years of reign, I crossed, for the twenty-first time, the *Euphrates*. Against the cities

* Biblical, *Schenir* (Deut. iii, 9).

† To set up a king's statue was an expression of his sovereignty over the place.

‡ Jehu was not a member of the house of Omri, but a usurper. He is mistakenly so called by the Assyrians, because they had their first knowledge of Israel when Omri was on the throne. Commonly thereafter they called Israel "the land of Omri," and the king "son of Omri." The name "Samaria" is, however, not unknown. Compare, for example, Sennacherib, Taylor Inscription II, 47 (Rogers, *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. vi, p. 88).

§ The meaning of these Assyrian words is unknown or uncertain. Delitzsch thinks that *dalani* means "pails," but it is very uncertain. (Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1894, s.v.)

103. of HAZAEL, of *Damascus*, I marched. 4 of his cities I captured. The tribute of the Tyrians,
104. the Sidonians, the Byblians I received.

These selections are in most cases the same as have already been quoted by Schrader in his great book (*Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2te Auflage, Giessen, 1883); and they are exactly the same as those given by Hugo Winckler in his useful manual (*Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, Leipzig, 1892). The author's obligations to them are herewith gladly expressed, though the translations are not based upon their work, but in every case on the original texts. Besides this, Winckler's book is entirely without explanatory notes and introductions. It may be well to add that these selections are complete, in the sense that they contain all the passages in Shalmaneser's texts which cast any direct light upon the Old Testament. Ancient and unimpeachable witnesses are they to the soberness, carefulness, and solid historical work of the Books of Kings. Their discovery and decipherment have added new difficulties to our study of the chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah, at the same time that they have given us new and definite dates. But the difficulties which they have solved are far greater than the new difficulties they have made. The boastful records of an Assyrian conqueror, who despised the Hebrews, have their deepest interest for those who have inherited Israel's sacred books. "This is the Lord's doing; and it is marvelous in our eyes."

Robert W. Rogers,

ART. IV.—PSYCHOLOGY *VERSUS* METAPHYSICS.

OF late there has been an estrangement between the two. The former, under the name of the new psychology, very eager and bright, bears itself with an obtrusive and saucy independence toward the mother science. This is unbecoming and unnatural, for a real separation is impossible. The statement, "Psychology *versus* Metaphysics," implies more than mere juxtaposition in their relations; rather, antithesis and, possibly, antagonism—much as in the antique legal formula, "John Doe *versus* Richard Roe." John and Richard are not simply joined in suit, but are opposed. But with such a construction the two sciences would be arrayed in unnatural war, like a child entering suit to overthrow its mother. In some recent presentations of the claims of the new psychology, as well as of other sciences, there is this species of antagonism, with a spirit of matricide as unwise as it is unnatural, ungrateful, and unscientific. Those who promote such strife resemble vicious people urging on a family fight. The true antithesis in the "*versus*" should rather resemble a suit in chancery to adjust amicably an estate, in which the parental will may be established and rightly settled upon the child, according to the law of the case. The boundary line in this case is more difficult to trace than that over which the British lion and American eagle have quarreled in past years; and it would require a more skillful commission to accurately adjust the lines between metaphysics and psychology than any that ever met over national boundaries.

Within the realm of psychology, used in the broader sense, there are three departments: 1. phenomena of mind, or scientific psychology; 2. laws of mind, called nomology, which belongs to the province of logic, but is not concerned in the antithesis of our discussion; 3. ontology, or being, inferential and general, in which realm lies the philosophy of spirit. Between the first and the third—that is, between the phenomena of mind, or so-called scientific psychology, and ontology, or the philosophy of mind—lies the contrast intended by "Metaphysics *versus* Psychology."

For the purposes of discussion our distinction is more ideal than real, the separation being in thought rather than in fact;

the two are really inseparable. As there can be no physics without metaphysics, nor metaphysics without physics preceding, so there can be no psychics without metapsychics, nor yet any metapsychics (called, in this case, metaphysics) without psychics, or soul-facts. Just as we can have no peninsulas without continents to which they inhere, or bays without oceans to mother them, or planets without a solar system to house them, so there can be no scientific psychology without metaphysics, the mother of all. Antagonism or airy superiority on the part of our "new psychology," whether it be of a species psychological, neurological, or physiological, as based on soul-facts—all this quite prevalent in some laboratories, essays, booklets, and even textbooks—is callow and conceited, with a strong flavor of matricide. We know not an instance of this but that the very pretenders have strutted forth to the world, after all, in the garb of metaphysics, often of the sorriest kind, appearing in society clad in metaphysical raiment.

As in physics facts precede their philosophy, so in psychology, or soul science, facts go before their explanation and arrangement. But be it remembered that, in turn, the facts of physics are largely discovered by aid of the theories of metaphysics. Our philosophies organize our expectations and direct them into the realm where the facts are to be found. So in psychology, no new fact is seized upon in the laboratory but by the foresight and forecordination of the philosophy of psychology already in the field. No matter whether one be materialist, spiritualist, idealist, or realist, he reaches his conclusions by, and defends them with, metaphysical measures, and such as originate in the ontological and inferential department, which is metaphysics *par excellence.* The three departments of psychology—phenomenal, logical, and ontological—form one endless fugue, each in turn pursuing the other. It is an eternal round of search after new or old facts to furnish logic, to fill up metaphysics, then of search after more facts, to furnish more logic, to fill metaphysics, and so *ad infinitum.* A homely parable may illustrate. When I was a lad I knew three cows—White, Red, and Spot. In an encounter White drove Red, Red drove Spot, and Spot drove White. So metaphysics dominates logic, and logic dominates psychology, and psychology dominates metaphysics.

On account of this interdependence confusion may easily arise. A phenomenon is brought to light. Let us suppose it to be the affirmation that observation shows in a thousand cases the children of drunkards to be sober. Logic seizes upon the supposed fact and reasons, "If in a thousand cases an acquired tendency is nontransmissible, any number of acquired tendencies is nontransmissible; therefore, drunkenness, being an acquired tendency, is not transmissible." Logic, having thus seized upon the so-called fact, passes it over to metaphysics. Possibly it is assigned to the department of ethics; and at once may arise the proclamation, "Eat and drink, for to-morrow we die; heredity has no influence in the case of acquired habits." Or possibly the contrary verdict is heard, that the iniquity of the fathers is visited "upon the children, to the third and fourth generation." A council must be called. Judgment, we will say, presides; Will summons Logic into court; Conscience prosecutes; Memory is called as a witness; Imagination pleads the case. Logic is charged with a mistreatment of the fact and the false inference that any number of thousands can be judged from a given thousand. Some captious member of the assembly springs the question whether heredity contains a "tendency," or *vice versâ;* or whether there be design in producing tendency or in preventing it; or whether the observation which discovered the fact was inspired by some design; or whether there was not design on the part of those who inspired the search for so-called facts. As a collateral there might be brought up the question of stronger motives, as commercial advantage to the liquor traffic, or the support of some psychological theory; and, lo! we have already arrived at "confusion confounded," which may be translated, "confounded confusion." Or, suppose it to be a case of ethnology, and one talks learnedly and calmly about "our arboreal ancestry," affirming that it is too plain to be doubted, because a monkey can climb, and so can a boy. Here, again, we are on the verge of metaphysics; for this is ontological in its very essence. Or, suppose it to be a question concerning our "molluscan ancestry." Immediately Logic takes up the case, and often argues as follows: "Such are some facts. There must be other like facts to prove our descent. If it is not so, how is it? Therefore, it is so."

Who that recalls his class room experiences does not remember his dismay at the strife about words and theories among the metaphysical giants, and how in his dismay he has inquired, "Who shall know the truth, where the champion authors in the field have been, and still are, arrayed against each other?" We have written to many of the heads of the philosophical departments in the various universities of the country, inquiring for the best text-book on psychology. It is significant and a little discouraging to learn that no good text is known, with the rather amusing remark appended, "Not, at least, until the work I am preparing shall appear." This confusion comes, in part, from the very greatness of the leaders. How difficult it is to determine exactly the direction in which Kant or Sir William Hamilton march! They remind one of a pair of great giants going through a forest full of vines and brambles and bearing all before them by their easy strength. It is very difficult for lesser men to follow. But it is thirty-eight years since Hamilton's march ended; and it is well that the new psychology has undertaken to disentangle the wilderness.

Metaphysics, having had charge of psychology for a long time, has been something of the traditional stepmother, and her ward has suffered many things. Growing out of this there has arisen the purpose on the part of science to deliver the child from this thraldom and adopt it; but before we approve of the transfer some precautionary considerations are worthy of attention. If metaphysics has been absurd, has not science, also? If metaphysics has soared away into the clouds of mysticism, until the child was dizzy, science, which now proposes to care for and train it, has rushed into some jungles which threaten to put the eyes out. If metaphysics has run into the dreamy wilderness of rationalism, science may lead the child off into the frozen regions of agnosticism. If metaphysics has gone into the ethereal world of transcendentalism, until the child was wellnigh starved, will not science lead her into the swamps of materialism and drown her in the slime amid tadpoles? If metaphysics has inquired how many angels could dance at one time on the point of a cambric needle, did not science once give us the four elements—earth, air, fire, and water—and then add phlogiston? If metaphysics has sometimes attempted to measure the universe, and even the Almighty, with her tapeline,

telling her children some absurd stories about heaven and hell, has not science mistaken a geode for a prehistorical skull or planted potatoes by the phases of the moon? If metaphysics has invented a law of association by which ideas follow one another in trains, like magnetic particles, binding the responsible soul in fatal chains of doom, has not scientific investigation, for thousands of years, blindly overlooked child nature?

Let there be no foolish strife, no swinging to extremes. Psychology is, indeed, at the early morning of a brighter day, unless it shall swing too far beyond its center, like a clock which we have whose vigorous action leads it to such extreme strokes as to finally destroy its own balance, thus coming to a stop. For example, Professor James has produced one of the most interesting and brilliant of treatises on scientific psychology, but has assumed an extremely scientific treatment, and has really landed in neurology. He closes his two splendid volumes with a frank confession of failure, and almost pathetically says, "We have no science of psychology—only a mass of facts, which await, as did astronomy, some Galileo to come and reduce them to a science." In his attempt at an avoidance of metaphysics he has really indulged in some sorry specimens of the same, and has broken down according to his own confession. Like all the wicked, he passed on and was punished.

Another homely metaphor may help our case. A wise pig was accustomed to invade the cornfield by crawling through a hollow log under the fence. The farmer turned the log so that both ends were outside the fence. His pigship crawled through and was surprised to find himself still outside the field. He tried again and again, and then reversed the process. Finding himself still outside, whether in disgust or in alarm, he betook himself in a wild race to the woods. The riches of soul, as well as of corn, are not reached by crawling back and forth through empty physical channels.

There is about this new psychology the powerful influence of novelty; for there are fashions in universities and colleges, in their games, regalia, curricula, and methods of instruction, wise and otherwise. There are new knowledge, new fields of research, and new methods in the old. So there are the new education and the new psychology—fascinating, aggressive, progressive, dogmatic, opinionated, and uncertain, like a boy

half transmuted into a man. How absurd to a boy seems the work and opinions of his sires! How amusing and interesting is he to them! One would imagine, from much we read and hear, that for the first time since Adam the discovery of the child had been made. That interesting novelty is now under sharp investigation. This is well. Let us have the facts about him. The cranium has been awarded a hundred measurements. The brain is tested to find whether it produces thought chemically or by discharge, or whether there may be something superior which is a mere resident amid the cells. Sense perception is tested; memory is measured; consciousness, will, the logical powers, conscience (if it can be found), the affections, and even the faith shall be subjected to scientific treatment, as no longer "the substance of things not seen." Let this go on eagerly, reverently. But it must bring home the facts to the storehouse, namely, to metaphysics, where they will be judged, interpreted, treasured, and adjusted to their relations. And still enterprising science will be sent forth on other expeditions for other treasures. Just as the trustees of the British Museum send forth scholars to all lands, who bring returns in anthropology and cosmogony for study and arrangement, so metaphysics, the supervising, philosophizing, organizing, and enlightening science, must treat the facts of psychology and of all knowledge. In order to do that, she must rearrange her own apartments, clear out and relight them, so as to accommodate the new facts. For as well might the Museum buildings in London, or our own Smithsonian in Washington, have remained as they were twenty years ago, hoping to be adequate to the demands of science.

Practically, metaphysics and the new psychology must go together, and there must be increased attention to both. This is more than a matter of pure ideals. It may be tested by an experiment on any well-adjusted college curriculum. Let the demand be made to eliminate the studies permeated with metaphysics and to draw a red line through such subjects. The result would resemble a crimsoned battlefield where most of the participants were slain. The educational value of metaphysical studies may well be illustrated by the giants whom it has nourished. Summon together such as Socrates, Aristotle, the "broad-browed" Plato; the Germans Kant, Schleiermacher,

and Herbart; the English contingent—Bacon, Locke, Mill, and Spencer; the great Scotchman, Hamilton, and his illustrious countrymen; our Edwards and Emerson, and our naturalized McCosh; nor must we omit one, at least, of the living, Borden P. Bowne, with blade so keen that it resembles the fatal sword which severed heads at a stroke unfelt—assemble these men, and let who will of the moderns dare to sneer at the sons of metaphysics! This is a matter of great practical importance. Educated men furnish the world's leaders, whether they be conspicuous or unseen; and the schools furnish the educated men. An unbalanced mind is a dangerous mind. Whatever in our plans of development produces such is bad for them and bad for society. There is just now a tendency to this distortion in our new education. No sane philosophy will deplore the keenest search for real or so-called facts; nor will it hasten to abdicate at each shout of acclaim at such discovery.

We Americans have been accustomed to hear of the "tottering thrones and effete monarchies of the Old World and their worn-out civilizations." They do totter into firmer and more enlightened governments, while we do as much "tottering" as they. So the new education and its boasted scientific method, with its toylike laboratories and its lectures *versus* textbooks, indulges in some of the same swagger, as if looking to see the philosophy of the outgrown past totter and fall, bringing destruction to the whole metaphysical world. Let this youthful spirit sober itself; for sanity among men who are molding the world is greatly needed. Out of Harvard and Princeton and their educational compeers came the unconquerable spirit of the Revolution and the talent that founded our republic. Out of her gymnasia and universities came Prussia and, finally, the German empire. Wittenberg and Oxford gave the Lutheran and the Wesleyan reformations. And the much-misunderstood nihilism of Russia has grown in the universities and is breaking down absolutism in the domains of the czar. Out of the thirteen millions of school children in this nation, and especially the one hundred thousand or so of college students, is arising the fate of this republic and of the twentieth century. We must make neither cynical iconoclasts nor hair-splitting logomachists. Over against the scientific journals the philosophical also must be reinforced. Over against scien-

tific departments in universities must be held firmly those that deal in metaphysics. Progress often is deceptive, especially when headed in the wrong direction. A brilliant pulpit lecturer led a church of nondescripts in a great western city a few years ago. First, he got rid of miracles from his creed; then, he drove out devils, and afterward angels of mercy; finally, he attempted it with God. His congregation thereupon dismissed him, and he betook him to the stage.

Is there any hint in this? Which way tends the new education? Material science did good service by rescuing much of our world from the supposed influence of gnomes, demons, gods great and small, good and bad. After that it invaded the stars, and substituted gravitation for supposed angel forces. Now it looks threateningly toward the throne itself. Looking manward, it has put on a cloak and cap and assumed the name of psychology. It has hunted the soul back of muscle and sensorium; it maps out the human faculties in patches of gray matter; it finds thought to consist in discharges by molecular or chemical action from matter; it cuts and probes, measures and weighs, until the scared soul seems hiding in its cell. This neurology, calling itself psychology, seizes the child, observes, notes, pries, theorizes, discovering how to mold, change, generate, and even regenerate. Should it continue, unless it be truth-loving and reverent, it may drive itself out, like the preacher, and may find its stage amid the flitting scenes of a fictitious universe, without soul or immortality. Recently a brilliant young biologist, of reverent spirit, said, in substance: "I believe we have assumed a sharpness of antithesis between mind and matter wholly unwarranted. I seem in the study of matter to come into very near approach with an obverse side of it, which is mind." That seems not far from pantheism; but was not pantheism near the truth? Are we not on the eve of a swing back again toward the things of the spirit, and do we not hear arising a cry, "Spare the soul of the child nor desecrate its holy of holies; for upon him who so sins is sure to fall the blight of the plague, whether he be priest or layman?"

Isaac Crook

ART. V.—OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD ROMAN CATHOLICS.

I AM one of those who hold that the attitude of Protestants toward the Roman Catholic Church should not always and everywhere be hostile. It is not an enemy of mankind. We would all be sorry to see it suddenly blotted out of existence where a pure form of Protestantism could not take its place. It is surely better than no religion, or than any pagan religion, or than Christless Unitarianism. But I make no special plea for it, only for the truth. I am, I believe, as keenly alive to its faults as the most earnest anti-Catholic, and have put myself on record, in the pages of this *Review* and elsewhere, as a protestant against the tyranny of its system, the assumptions of its inerrant, triple-crowned ruler, and its perversions of biblical Christianity. But I remember, when I speak of its corruptions and its wide departure from the simplicity of apostolic Christianity, that Protestantism has its own blemishes, its own aberrations from the true faith; and where my convictions compel me to condemn I try not to condemn in passion and without discrimination, but to make the conclusion correspond with the facts. I seek to ascertain and measure my own prejudices and to make due allowance for the personal equation. For prejudice is persistent in the extreme and sadly bitter, blinding us unconsciously to truth and justice. It makes an almost fiendish use of the best of us sometimes.

Once more, to describe a little more fully the state of mind in which I endeavor to approach this important question, I am not so broad in my religious sympathies that I overlook the evil and magnify the good to be found in non-Christian systems, and I am not, therefore, led to claim nature worshipers, idolaters, and devotees of highly wrought philosophies as brethren in the Lord. I rejoice in our Parliament of Religions, not because it proved that there are some points in which all faiths agree, but because it brought Christianity into bold relief as the one divine religion, efficient and sufficient, and heir apparent to the kingdom of the world. A charity so broad that it would cover Hindooism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity with one mantle must first reduce Christianity to a Christless state. And what

is Christianity without the divine Christ and the supernatural? I try to keep my eyes open to the faults of the Church of Rome, as well as to its good features.

I think we should never allow ourselves to forget that the Church of Rome is a Christian Church. It ought not to be necessary to plead for such a concession; but there are not a few who hold that it is more pagan than Christian, and that the denunciations of the Apocalypse were meant to apply to it. I call it a Christian Church, because it accepts as devoutly as we the Gospel statement of the incarnation, the teachings, the miracles, the death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, and the fact of redemption by him and of salvation in his name. It believes in the same Bible, worships the same triune God, and holds as positively as do we to the immortality of the soul and to a state of bliss for the good and of misery for the evil after death. In its belief, so far as the great fundamental doctrines of Christianity are concerned, we cannot deny that it is orthodox. I call it a Christian Church, because it produces Christian fruits; and by its fruits, according to the Master's test, we may know it. With much else that seems foreign to the Gospel, we find in it constant devotion, burning zeal, and beautiful consecration. We see lives that are saintly in character, and a care for the orphan, the destitute, and the afflicted that compels our admiration. If we are often shocked by the immorality of professed Catholics, we find plenty of evidence of genuine piety. Most of us know Catholics who are conscientious in all their acts, strong in their faith in the merits of Christ, and very near to God in life. We do not forget that some of the hymns we love to sing for their devotional spirit were written by popes, cardinals, monks, and priests. What Protestant has given the world richer spiritual meditations than Thomas à Kempis, or more heavenly thoughts than Madame Swetchine, or sweeter hymns than the Bernards, Faber, and Newman? What Protestant missionaries have made larger sacrifices and put forth more heroic efforts for the conversion of the heathen than Xavier of India, Raymond Lull and Lavigerie of Africa, Le Caron of Canada, and De Smet and Marquette of the Mississippi valley? Catholic missionaries know how to die the martyr's death; and if a young Ohio Protestant girl, hoping for a long missionary service in India, yields a lovely life without a mur-

mur to the care of a leprous community, Father Damien, criticise him as you will for imperfections, dies a leper's death cheerfully, and dies with the name of Christ on his lips. The evidence that the Catholic is a Christian Church, however corrupt, however far astray, seems to me overwhelming.

Be this as it may, we have to deal with the Roman Catholic Church as an established institution. We could not overthrow or banish it if we would. It is here in our midst and in great strength. It is active among millions of our fellow-citizens, who are thoroughly attached to it and who derive all the Christianity they possess from its teachings. The question is, What should be our attitude toward it?

I think our attitude toward it should be characterized by Christian courtesy. We should treat it with respect. We should not sneer at it, or abuse it, or fling opprobrious epithets at it. We ought to be able to differ with it on points of faith or practice without bursting into wholesale denunciation. It is venerable. It has come down to us, through long centuries, from apostolic times. During long periods of time it alone preserved Christianity on the earth. Our own succession as Protestants comes down the same stream, through the primitive and the Dark Ages to the Reformation, when the great divergence began. It is a better Church now than it was in Luther's time. It, too, has reformed, and the process will continue. We do no dishonor to ourselves by speaking of this great and venerable Church as respectfully as we can. We can show this respect, in one way, by calling the Church by its proper name. It has a definite title by which it desires to be known. It does not object to being spoken of as the Catholic Church, or the Church of Rome, or the Roman Church; but it does resent the terms "Romish" Church, or "Popish" or "Papistical" Church. The use of these objectionable words is pretty constant practice among us; and, while it is often the result of mere thoughtlessness, it not seldom marks the attitude of the mind as one of contempt. We may insist that Catholics are oversensitive; but let the tables be turned and see how we would feel ourselves. We are Methodists, for example, and own Wesley as the founder of our movement; but we would not like to be called Wesleyites. We have a right to our own proper name and description, and those who would treat us with

respect must be mindful of them. We can differ with Roman Catholics, and contend earnestly with them for our own views of the truth, without descending to the use of terms indicating contempt. This may seem a small point, but if we would be careful always to pay heed to it our discussions would be raised to a higher plane; and this would be no trifling matter.

Some zealous controversialists take a singular delight in rabid and indiscriminate denunciation of the Church of Rome. They are fond of identifying its headship with the "scarlet woman" of the Book of Revelation, and of insisting that it is the mother of abominations. They believe that it represents the spirit of anti-Christ. Such expressions always make me shudder, as I would shudder at some shocking irreverence or awful blasphemy. I do not undertake now to say how we should interpret these scriptural terms; I only say that I see no warrant whatever for applying them to the Catholic Church or its head. It is a harsh, unchristian judgment, contrary to the positive declaration of Christ that he that is not against us is for us. A large body of Lutherans makes it an article of faith to identify the pope as "anti-Christ," not on personal grounds, but because of his official headship. Think of denouncing as a source of abominations a Church which, with all its faults and scandals, exalts the name and merits of Jesus Christ as the divine Saviour of the world!

We should strive to divest ourselves of our prejudices against Catholics and the Catholic Church. Many of us drew them in with every breath we breathed in the atmosphere of our youth, and have fed them upon a class of literature of scandalous character, such as inflamed and unprincipled writers and unscrupulous publishers put into the market. I have at this moment under my eye a flaring circular of the most sensational character, with shameful pictures conveying the slanderous imputation that priests and nuns are wickedly immoral, and that the confessional is a sink of iniquity. But we know well enough, when we reflect, that such scandals are not monopolized by Catholics. When infidels have tried to make it appear that the offenses of certain well-known Protestant ministers against purity are common to, if not characteristic of, Protestantism, we have resented it with indignation. Prejudice receives such imputations with eager readiness, and we have

reason to be slow to condemn. A Methodist minister of Scotch birth once told me that, in his early childhood, he had a most terrible fear of Catholics. He had heard such stories of their wickedness and cruelty that he believed they had horns and were not like other people. I remember a young country girl, just in her teens, who was greatly shocked on discovering that a little friend, whose acquaintance she made on a visit to a relative in a city, was a Catholic. "Why," said she, with genuine surprise evident in manner and tone, "I thought Grace was a nice girl." From that moment she lost all interest in her playmate, who was a Catholic and, therefore, could not be nice. A Presbyterian minister says his little girl has been boycotted by many of her former associates because she is friendly with a young Catholic. They told her that if she would not give up her Catholic friend they would not play with her any more. Her father thought the Catholic companionship suitable, and would not advise his daughter to yield to the unconscious bigotry of her young friends. We all know that such instances are numerous, and they are not creditable to our intelligence and fairness. They indicate how rank is the prejudice with which thousands of Protestants are imbued—prejudice not confined to children, or even to the lay element, but fully developed in ministers, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran, etc. This rooted prejudice will not allow us to see the Catholic Church as it is or judge of it fairly; but it predisposes us to believe every damaging statement and discount every favorable one concerning it. It is no defense to say that Catholics have a like prejudice toward Protestantism. No doubt they have. They condemn us more roundly than we condemn them, and are more ready, perhaps, to believe the worst said of us. But two wrongs do not make a right; and the wrong we do may be less excusable in us, because it is done under greater light.

This prejudice of ours, which we too often mistake for a virtuous indignation, makes us quite willing to believe the worst reports respecting Catholics and Catholicism. For example, many believed that the false encyclical circulated a few years ago as the utterance of the pope was genuine, notwithstanding the fact that its spurious character was evident on the face of it. Common sense must convince anyone who reads it with

any reflection that it is a fraud. It puts into the pope's mouth expressions which are outrageous beyond measure and which no sane pope could have imagined. He is represented as declaring that "the people of the United States of America have forfeited all right to rule said republic, and also all dominion, dignity, and privileges appertaining to it," and that he has determined to absolve "all subjects of every rank and condition in the United States, and every individual who has taken any oath of loyalty to the United States in any way whatever," from "said oath, as from all other duty, fidelity, or obedience." This power is assumed to be exercised on the ground that "this pontiff alone hath been constituted head over all nations and kingdoms, and invested with power to destroy, to separate, to scatter and subvert, to plant, build up, link together by mutual charity, to order, to preserve the faithful in the spirit of unity, and deliver them whole and entire to their Saviour." This vile and malicious attempt to excite men's passions and prejudices also puts these words into the pope's mouth:

> The United States has been filled with books containing the most flagrant heresies, of which the Protestant version of the Bible is the chief, and that (*sic*), not content with adopting its false and impious doctrines, proselyting has been resorted to to turn the Catholics from the one true Church.

Any honest man must burn with indignation against those who are responsible for this false and injurious document. On such grounds as this our patriotism is often appealed to, and we are warned that the object of the Church of Rome is to undermine our government and subvert our institutions.

Among the false and injurious reports spread in the last two years, I may mention one which has occasioned no little alarm. It represents the Catholic bishop of Peoria as receiving by express innocent-looking boxes labeled "Trees." When opened in the cellar of his residence they were found to contain Winchester rifles. The same statement has appeared in connection with the bishops of other dioceses. The inference drawn is that the Catholic hierarchy is getting ready for an appeal to arms, and that they will attempt to rob us of our liberties. Fancy the Church engaged in such a conspiracy! Those who view Catholicism with most alarm usually credit it with great cunning and with almost superhuman sagacity in adapting means

to the end. How supremely silly would any such attempt at insurrection be! It would be more worthy of the inmates of an insane asylum than of a body of bishops. Some people, also, have been disturbed by reports, in this instance true, about the arming of young men in Catholic educational institutions by the authorities of the United States. Surely, they say, this is dangerous, and indicates that the Jesuits have great influence at Washington. They do not, of course, know that this is pursuant to law, and that Protestant institutions receive arms on the same terms as Catholic.

Quotations from the Catholic press have been offered as proof of the assertion that the "throne on the Tiber" is likely to be set up "on the Potomac," and that the "manifest object of papacy is the subversion of our free institutions." One of these quotations is alleged to be from *The Western Watchman*, a Catholic weekly of St. Louis. It is as follows:

> We would draw and quarter Protestantism; we would impale it and hang it up for crows' nests; we would tear it with pincers and fire it with hot irons; we would fill it with molten lead and sink it into hell fire a hundred fathoms deep.

I do not remember to have seen this sentence in Father Phelan's paper, which I have read faithfully many years. But I have little doubt that it appeared therein. It is certainly very energetic in expression, and manifests a very decided dislike of Protestantism. It is not to be taken, however, as indicating that Father Phelan would revive, if he could, the tortures of the Inquisition and consign us to dungeon, rack, and stake; but as a rhetorical extravagance. He is very intense in his manner of expression. He is the "Brick" Pomeroy of the Catholic press. He is sharp, severe, startling—just as much so when he criticises his ecclesiastical superiors as when he writes against Protestantism. He fought Archbishop Kain with singular courage, and never said more cutting things of him than when he announced his own surrender on compulsion. Those who know *The Pilot*, of Boston, as a paper of literary merit and free as possible from bigotry, would understand the meaning of this sentence, taken, probably, from its editorial columns:

> No good government can exist without religion; and there can be no religion without an Inquisition, which is wisely designed for the promotion and protection of the true faith.

"What!" asks the good Baptist minister who quotes it, "have the Dark Ages come again?" He sees visions at once of Torquemada, the Duke of Alva, of burnings and of horrors unspeakable. But this is not what *The Pilot* means. It refers to one of the present sacred congregations, *Congregatio Sacri Officii* or *Romanæ et Universalis Inquisitionis*, whose duty it is to examine and repress heretical and depraved doctrines and offenses, such as those of Curci, St. George Mivart, and others. If Dr. Briggs were a Catholic he would have been required to defend his views before the Congregation of the Inquisition, instead of the Presbyterian General Assembly. The old title is retained, but the horrible practices connected with it have passed away forever; and no Catholic, at least in this country, wants them renewed. It is only fair that we try to ascertain the intent of a writer before we attack him. This is particularly necessary where our prejudices urge us to condemn. Fair play is a prominent American characteristic. Let us be careful to observe the spirit of it.

The instances of downright misrepresentation, including the false encyclical and also a blood-curdling form of oath mendaciously attributed to the order of Jesuits, are not few; nor are unfair and injurious interpretations and inferences uncommon. I do not say that all Protestant controversialists are guilty of them. Far from it. But they play no small part in the process of exciting anti-Catholic prejudice and poisoning the popular mind. It is certainly not too much to ask of all who would do justice to the cause of truth that they approach this question with candid minds, that they endeavor to cast aside prejudice, and that they be cautious in accepting derogatory statements, and take measures to test them, so far as possible.

I desire now to try to answer two of the questions that have frequently been put to me. The first is, Are Roman Catholics not disloyal to our government? And this is the second: Do they not propose to destroy our public school system?

I. Are Catholics disloyal? I do not remember ever to have seen the affirmative of this question supported by the citation of any act. It is commonly argued from the doctrine of papal supremacy. Catholics, it is urged, know no higher law than obedience. The people obey the priests implicitly, the priests are in complete subjection to the bishops, and the bishops are

bound to do whatever the pope tells them. This pope is a foreign potentate who assumes to be superior to kings and governments; and he would, if he could, subordinate the State to the Church. In answer let me ask, Is it not obvious that he could not if he would? Where is there a State over which he exercises even a shadow of sovereignty? There are countries, like Italy, Austria, Spain, and Portugal, which are overwhelmingly Catholic. Surely there, if anywhere, this assumed prerogative would be asserted. It is not. The pope has no quarrel, even with the government of Italy, on this point. All that he asks of King Humbert—and he asks this less and less often and more and more perfunctorily—is that the seat of his spiritual empire be made papal or neutral territory, so that he shall be independent of all governments. Everybody admits that this concession will never be made. Now, if the pope cannot obtain control over a Catholic power, what possible chance has he of doing so over a great Protestant power like the United States? The idea of such a thing seems to me preposterous. If the Church is as cunning, as unscrupulous, as adept in trickery as it is sometimes said to be, why has it not carried its point in Italy, where the Church has its seat of government and where the people are intensely Catholic? If the pope really desired to subvert our government, of which there is not the slightest evidence, what object could he have in view? The establishment of a monarchy? This is inconceivable. It is true enough that the idea at Rome used to be that monarchies were of divine right; but this idea has been modified, and the pope has recognized in France—the oldest son of the Church—the divine right of republics. If our own republic were ever intolerable to the holy see, why were Catholics allowed to assist in establishing it? A prominent Catholic, educated by the Jesuits, signed the Declaration of Independence. John Carroll, the first Catholic bishop and archbishop in the United States, was a zealous patriot, and went on an important mission to Canada with Benjamin Franklin and others. If our Catholic countrymen are disloyal, why have we never, in all our history, caught them in disloyal acts? Thousands upon thousands of them were soldiers in the civil war; they filled many official positions in army and navy and in the civil service; they led our armies as generals, and there was never a suspicion that they were not as loyal as

Methodists or Baptists or Lutherans or Presbyterians. A Catholic was chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and his judicial record indicated no desire to overturn our Constitution. I say again, if Catholics are enemies of our government, in what single act have they shown their hostility?

A hypothetical case is sometimes put, thus: suppose an issue were to arise in which Catholics had to choose between their country and their Church, between their patriotism and their religion—what then? I reply, that this question is just as pertinent respecting members of other denominations as of Catholics. It is often said by way of condemnation that, if a Catholic had to choose between his faith and his country's requirements, he would sooner give up his allegiance to his country than to his religion. Well, who wouldn't? Religion embraces our duty to God. Isn't that our highest duty? And if conflict comes, who that is worthy of the Christian name would abjure his faith? This is only an idle question; such an issue is in the highest degree improbable; but our prejudice provokes our fears, and our fears are wild and unreasoning.

Catholic bishops and priests have said, on a few occasions, that in another century the United States would become Roman Catholic. I have seen such predictions printed in big black type, with exclamation points, as though all manner of treasonable designs were involved. I suppose that any enthusiastic Protestant might express such a belief or hope for his own denomination without being considered an enemy of his country. Catholics believe, of course, in their Church, and it is natural that they should want it to grow and gain ascendency everywhere. There is nothing wrong in that, surely. As a Methodist, I should like to see my own Church increase beyond all other Churches. I do not say that it would be a good thing for the Church of Rome to possess the United States—far from it. Christianity would take a long step backward if such a misfortune should come upon our country. I only say the desire that their Church should achieve this triumph is not discreditable to Catholics, and that it is better for us to study the methods and results of their Church as a religious body, with a view to evangelizing it, than to be twisting logic, straining facts, writing and circulating false encyclicals, and defying common sense, in a vain attempt to prove that it is scheming for the

overthrow of our government and for the destruction of our liberties.

I do not think that the Catholic hierarchy is at all dissatisfied with our form of government; but I do think that Catholics, as Catholics, have been pretty deeply immersed at times in party politics. They went into the elections of 1892 to defeat General Harrison. The Catholic press, with scarcely an exception, made fervent appeals to their readers so to cast their votes as to "rebuke bigotry" and compel Indian Commissioner Morgan to leave the Indian Bureau. They raised a hue and cry against his administration, claiming that he was hostile to their schools and teachers and treated them with injustice. They rallied as many Catholic votes as possible against the Republican candidates, and were overjoyed at their signal defeat. That Catholic votes accomplished that defeat I do not say. I do not believe they did. I only say that it was the evident desire of the more zealous and bigoted Catholics to secure a change in the administration. It is worthy of remark, however, that nothing has been gained for their Church. A Baptist succeeded a Baptist in the direction of the Indian Bureau; and the policy of the previous administration has been followed, and there are no Catholic complaints. Catholics were also in the last elections, as Catholics, to rebuke the American Protective Association. But from the returns it is evident that they had little or no success. Hundreds of thousands of them must have voted with the same party with which it was sought to identify the American Protective Association. I have not a word that is favorable to say of this proscriptive association; but I do not greatly pity those against whom it makes war. They brought the punishment on themselves. I agree most fully with those who apprehend danger if the Roman Catholic Church goes into politics; but I believe the danger will not be to the country, but to the Church.

II. Does the Church of Rome desire to destroy our public school system? "Destroy" is a strong word. I doubt whether it is right to apply it even to the most hostile opinion that prevails among the hierarchy. The most any Catholic has asked for is exemption from payment of the public school tax or division of the school funds. In neither case would the system be destroyed. If the first alternative were adopted it would im-

pair the integrity of the system and limit it. It would not be for all the people, as it is now, but only for the larger part of them. If the second proposal were accepted we should have in this country the conditions that prevail in England and elsewhere. We should have both the secular and religious elements represented in our public schools. The system would be greatly changed and impaired, but it would not be destroyed. It would not be fair, I think, to say that the hierarchy would destroy our public school; but it is fair to say that they are not satisfied with it as it is.

Years ago, particularly under the reign of Pius IX, who resisted modern progress and opposed modern ideas, the feeling of the leaders of the Church in this country was hostile to our public schools. One reason for this was the undeniable fact that the Church sustained heavy losses through the falling away of Catholic children from the faith. Many became Protestants, and many others refused to enter the Church of their parents. They imbibed, in the atmosphere of the schoolroom, ideas of liberty and independence—liberty to think for themselves, with a sense of personal responsibility for the results of their thinking. Bishop and priest, accustomed to systems in the Old World providing for religious instruction, regarded our secular schools as dangerous to the faith of Catholic children, and not infrequently denounced them as godless. In recent years, however, this feeling has become far less intense; Catholic parents regard the public schools with more and more favor. They find them much superior to Catholic parochial schools and patronize them extensively. Here in New York, the largest diocese, numerically, in the country, reporting a Catholic population of 800,000, there are only 40,149 children in the parochial schools. Most of the rest are, of course, in the public schools. Moreover, the Church is convinced that the American people mean to preserve the public school as it is, and it recognizes the uselessness of keeping up a losing warfare. It has become generally Americanized itself, and has learned how it can supplement the instruction given in the secular school with religious training. Letters from five archbishops and twenty-five bishops, published last year,* show that Catholic prelates generally agree in saying that they do not *demand* a

* In *The Independent* of January 11, 1894.

division of the public school funds or a recognition of denominational schools as a part of the system of the State. In the present state of public opinion they do not think it would be wise to do so. They also agree in holding that the denominational systems of other countries are preferable to ours. Here we must take a decided stand for our system as it is. Whenever and wherever the issue is raised we must be prepared to meet it and resolutely oppose any backward step. My own belief is that the issue will never be seriously raised. Irresponsible individuals may try to do so, but the hierarchy will not commit itself to a hopeless task. In fact, it is adjusting itself to the American idea and modifying its decrees. Catholic parents are not now excommunicated for ignoring the parochial, and patronizing the public, schools. Catholic prelates and priests are outspoken friends of our system of public education —not many of them, to be sure, but they are increasing in number. Archbishop Katzer expresses his hearty approval of the following action of the German-American Catholic societies of Wisconsin in 1890:

> We concede the necessity of compulsory school laws, the necessity of public schools, and the right of taxation for such purposes. We hereby declare that we make no claim upon public funds for the maintenance of parochial and private schools.

If this article were not already too extended I should like to show wherein the decrees of the Church in America have been modified so as to allow Catholic parents larger liberty in the education of their children, and to give further evidence of the change in the attitude of the Church. My own position is that of the fullest confidence in the purpose and power of the American people to maintain and develop our free school system on undenominational lines. At the same time, we cannot afford to be careless as to the utterances and actions of the Church of Rome. If it should plan a sudden attack, which I do not in the least expect, let us be ready to meet it.

In conclusion, I would encourage all reform movements in the Catholic Church. I would recognize every step forward toward a purer faith and a more evangelical doctrine, every sign of decrease of superstition, every indication of development of independence of spirit and of resistance to ecclesiastical tyranny, remembering that no Church reforms its doctrine and

practice suddenly. The question is sometimes asked, "If the Church of Rome has changed in anything, where is the record of the repeal, when did it recall its errors?" I would answer this question by asking another: When did the Presbyterian Church disavow those chapters of the Westminster Confession which affirm the horrible decrees of Calvinism? It has recently refused to revise those chapters. Does it, therefore, still hold the old doctrine of reprobation, and can we convict it of believing in infant damnation because the section from which this inference has been drawn is still unchanged?

H. K. Carroll.

ART. VI.—THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.*

ONE could not come near John Greenleaf Whittier without realizing that he stood near one who had felt the touch of the seamless robe. It was with a little private company in the parlors of ex-Governor Claflin, in Boston, that we spent a golden, never-to-be-forgotten afternoon with him ten or eleven years ago. He was then seventy-five years old; tall, slender, erect, active, energetic; with face mild, firm, intense; head like a Hebrew prophet; and "dark, deep eyes full of shadowed fire." Since that day we have always called him "St. John Whittier." He, too, was a son of thunder; he, too, was the apostle of love. Is it wrong to call this meek and quiet man a Boanerges? Read his "Voices of Freedom" and answer. His ancestors were Huguenots, men who had offered their backs to the scourge and their necks to the guillotine for the faith that was in them; and he was a son of the fathers. He stood up boldly in those stormy days when the muttering thunders of approaching war were shocking North and South, and speaks truly when he says,

> My voice, though not the loudest, has been heard
> Wherever Freedom raised her cry of pain.

But he did not whisper against iniquity:

> Deeply he felt, and, stern and strong,
> His soul spoke out against the wrong.

One has aptly said: "When he was fighting slavery he knew the word which would hit hardest and seldom scrupled to use it. A vocabulary brought from the Old Testament by the way of Puritan New England was not one of ethereal mildness." Whittier was of the Quaker Church militant, "preaching brotherly love," as Lowell puts it, and then "driving it in." His words just after the Mexican war sound as if the breath of the Almighty were blowing through the trumpet he held to his lips:

> By all for which the martyrs bore their agony and shame;
> By all the warning words of truth with which the prophets came;
> By the future which awaits us; by all the hopes which cast
> Their faint and trembling beams across the blackness of the past;
> And by the blessed thought of Him who for earth's freedom died,
> O my people! O my brothers! let us choose the righteous side.

* "The disciple whom Jesus loved."—John XXI, 20.

The Rev. Dr. F. C. Iglehart, in the *Methodist Review* for January, 1893, gives Garrison's judgment, written in 1863, that there were few living who had done so much as Whittier to operate upon the public mind and conscience and heart for the abolition of slavery; and he adds the suggestive circumstance that when, early in the war, the Hutchinson family were expelled from the Army of the Potomac, by a too prudent officer, for singing to the soldiers one of Whittier's songs of freedom, President Lincoln sent them back again, saying, "It is just the kind of a song I want the soldiers to hear:"

In vain the bells of war shall ring
Of triumphs and revenges,
While still is spared the evil thing
That severs and estranges.
But blest the ear
That yet shall hear
The jubilant bell
That rings the knell
Of slavery forever!

Whittier's ear heard it. Happy man, he lived to sing it, and in his writing desk he used to keep the large iron key of the slave pen at Richmond, which most appropriately had been sent to him when that city was captured by the Union troops.* It is suggestive of the religious temper of this man that on his eightieth birthday the South, in the person of Secretary Lamar, could say that "the spirit of Whittier's antislavery poetry was as free from malice and hatred as the Gospel itself, while at the same time it was scorchingly severe upon the gigantic sin." † The *Universalist Quarterly* is right when it calls Mr. Whittier preeminently our representative American poet and "thoroughly imbued with the spirit of our civilization; one of those rare souls that deal with realities and look through fallacies and falsehoods, and can divine the essential facts, the eternal truths that lie deep in the heart of things." ‡ He was essentially a seer, a reformer, a man pure in heart and brave in life.

His spirit was so liberal in its sympathies that, of the sixty-six hymns chosen for the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, nine were from his pen, more than from the pen of any other poet.

* *Harper's*, vol. lxvi, p. 357. † *Andover Review*, January, 1888.
‡ *Universalist Quarterly*, vol. xxiv, p. 304.

He saw the good in other faiths besides his own, and, like a good Quaker, as he was, judged men by their works and spirit, rather than by their articles of religion:

> Call him not heretic whose works attest
> His faith in goodness by no creed confessed.
> Whatever in love's name is truly done
> To free the bound and lift the fallen one
> Is done to Christ. Whoso in deed and word
> Is not against him labors for our Lord.
> When he, who, sad and weary, longing sore
> For love's sweet service, sought the sisters' door,
> One saw the heavenly, one the human, guest,
> But who shall say which loved the Master best?

He held up to scorn those whose religion consisted only in a creed, and urged, as the great Master did, that the whole law is fulfilled in this—that we love the Lord our God with all our hearts, and our neighbor as ourselves. He taught, as the Bible teaches,

> That they who differ pole-wide serve
> Perchance the common Master;
> And other sheep he hath than they
> Who graze one narrow pasture.

Whittier's sympathy with all men is beautifully illustrated in his "Songs of Labor and Reform."

> A blessing now, a curse no more;
> Since He, whose name we breathe with awe,
> The coarse mechanic vesture wore,
> A poor man toiling with the poor,
> In labor, as in prayer, fulfilling the same law.

How exquisitely beautiful are these lines:

> O brother man! fold to thy heart thy brother;
> Where pity dwells, the peace of God is there;
> To worship rightly is to love each other,
> Each smile a hymn, each kindly deed a prayer.
>
> Follow with reverent steps the great example
> Of Him whose holy work was "doing good;"
> So shall the wide earth seem our Father's temple,
> Each loving life a psalm of gratitude.—*Worship.*

Whittier was a true Christian after the pattern of that other John, the fisherman of Galilee. It was the chord of love to which his heart responded most jubilantly. He never tried

singing; he sang as the birds sang, and the notes he sounded most were love to God and love to man:

> Assured that He whose presence fills
> With light the spaces of these hills
> No evil to his creatures wills.

Such thoughts from this secluded singer hidden away in his Isle of Patmos have given new courage to many a tired worker. Mrs. Mary B. Claflin, in her personal recollections of the poet, tells of a high-strung girl in college, overwrought with the strain of examinations, who went to the president and said: "It is of no use. I cannot go on. My life is a failure. I must leave college and go home." To whom the wise president said, "Go to the library and read 'The Grave by the Lake,' and then come up here and I will talk with you;" and when, an hour afterward, the girl reappeared there was a new light of hope in her eye, and she said, in substance: "I will go on. I will overcome the obstacles. I believe now that life is worth the effort." * And there are others of Whittier's poems which are as full of this invigorating spiritual ozone as is "The Grave by the Lake." It is doubtful if any hymn of this generation has comforted and strengthened more sad souls than has "The Eternal Goodness:"

> I know not what the future hath
> Of marvel or surprise,
> Assured alone that life and death
> His mercy underlies.
>
> . . . .
>
> And so beside the silent sea
> I wait the muffled oar;
> No harm from him can come to me
> On ocean or on shore.
>
> I know not where his islands lift
> Their fronded palms in air;
> I only know I cannot drift
> Beyond his love and care.

The thought of God's presence in human life, and Whittier's absolute trust that the steps of a good man are ordered of the Lord, caused him constantly to emphasize the biblical truth

* Mrs. Claflin informs us by letter that the college was Wellesley, and the president Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer.

that all life is holy when lived "unto the Lord," and all its commonest employments sacred:

> Let the lowliest task be mine,
> Grateful, so the work be Thine.

> Doing God's will as if it were my own,
> Yet trusting not in mine, but in his strength alone.

> Leaning on him, make with reverent meekness
> His own thy will,
> And with strength from him shall thy utter weakness
> Life's task fulfill.*

Very many of Whittier's finest poems—notably "Trinitas" and "The Two Rabbins"—are only variations or interpretations of the Saviour's words, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." They pray best for pardon who, like Moses and St. Paul (Exod. xxxii, 32; Rom. ix, 3), forget themselves in their longing to have others blest:

> Each made his brother's woe his own,
> Forgetting, in the agony and stress
> Of pitying love, his claim of selfishness;
> Peace, for his friend besought, his own became;
> His prayers were answered in another's name;
> And, when at last they rose up to embrace,
> Each saw God's pardon in his brother's face.

His was a serene trust in the uttermost wisdom and goodness of the omnipotent God. In almost every poem this faith throbs beneath every utterance. "If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there: if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there." God's love follows his children everywhere, even when they fly from him into the abysses of sin. His love is omnipresent and everlasting:

> All souls are thine; the wings of morning bear
> None from that Presence which is everywhere,
> Nor hell itself can hide, for thou art there.—*The Cry of a Lost Soul.*

> And in life, in death, in dark and light,
> All are in God's care:
> Sound the black abyss, pierce the deep of night,
> And he is there!—*My Soul and I.*

* See also Methodist Hymnal, hymns 197 and 602.

And through the dreary realm of man's despair
Star-crowned an angel walks, and lo! God's hope is there.
—*Divine Compassion.*

Still thy love, O Christ arisen,
Yearns to reach these souls in prison!
Through all depths of sin and loss
Drops the plummet of thy cross!
Never yet abyss was found
Deeper than that cross could sound!—*The Grave by the Lake.**

One of the most tender poems in literature is that of "The Minister's Daughter." Taught she had been from her cradle the old, stern, hard, false, Calvinistic creed that

All souls, save a chosen few,
Were doomed to the quenchless burning,
And held in the way thereto.

And, walking with her father in the apple orchard, she whispered her wish that there never had been any apple blossoms:

"Had there been no Garden of Eden
There never had been a fall;
And if never a tree had blossomed
God would have loved us all."

"Hush, child!" the father answered,
"By his decree man fell;
His ways are in clouds and darkness,
But he doeth all things well.

"And whether by his ordaining
To us cometh good or ill,
Joy or pain, or light or shadow,
We must fear and love him still."

"Oh, I fear him," said the daughter,
"And I try to love him, too;
But I wish he was good and gentle,
Kind and loving as you."

And the minister looked down into the little upturned face and learned a lesson of love:

No more as the cloudy terror
Of Sinai's mount of law,
But as Christ in the Syrian lilies
The vision of God he saw.

* This is the plain expression of an "eternal hope" for penitent sinners even after death. A number of the early Christian fathers held to this view; and Canon Farrar quotes reverend names among the clergy of later ages who, though thoroughly orthodox in all other respects, yet permitted their hearts to dream this dream.

Because of such expressions as the above Mr. Whittier has been claimed as a Universalist by some hasty writers. Fortunately, we have his own words, which ought to be worth something more than are the guesses or inferences of anyone else. In his authorized *Life and Letters*, edited by Mr. Samuel T. Pickard, the relative and literary executor of Mr. Whittier, is given a letter written by the poet in 1882 in reply to a memorial received from fifty of his friends in Great Britain and Ireland, in which he expresses his trust in the mercy of the All Merciful, "yet with a solemn recognition of the awful consequences of alienation from him and a full realization of the truth that sin and suffering are inseparable." * Still more emphatic are his words in answer to the special question of a friend concerning his views: "I am not a Universalist, for I believe in the possibility of the perpetual loss of the soul that persistently turns away from God, in the next life as in this. But I do believe that the divine love and compassion follow us in all worlds, and that the heavenly Father will do the best that is possible for every creature he has made." † That is not bad Methodist theology. His words during our long afternoon's confidential conversation with him were in accord with the above. "What is your view, if you are willing to express it, concerning future punishment?" "Ah," said the saintly voice, "that is an awful thought, the possibility of everlasting separation from God, and yet I cannot deny it. Some men choose here to be separated from him. I do not see but they may choose this forever. I can conceive of nothing worse in this life, or in any life, than to be alienated from God, to be away from him, and out of sympathy with him." A hush fell on us then, as if we had, indeed, heard the voice of the disciple whom Jesus loved.

Whittier never minified the awful fact of sin. In one of his latest books he wrote:

> The soul itself its awful witness is.
> Say not in evil doing, "No one sees,"
> And so offend the conscious One within,
> Whose ear can hear the silences of sin
> Ere they find voice, whose eyes unsleeping see
> The secret motions of iniquity.

* *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier*, 1894, vol. ii, p. 663.
† *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 295.

Nor did he believe that the sinner could save himself. In almost his last poem it is said, when one asks the old pilgrim to hide the stains upon his soul:

"Thy prayer, my son, transcends my gift;
No power is mine," the sage replied,
"The burden of a soul to lift
Or stain of sin to hide.

"Howe'er the outward life may seem
For pardoning grace we all must pray;
No man his brother can redeem,
Or a soul's ransom pay."—*Between the Gates.*

Mr. Whittier believed in a present deliverance and help, wrought by a present Saviour. In his letters just published he tells of the time when, at thirty-three years of age, he was moved to prepare himself for life and death "by a surrender of all to Christ," and long afterward speaks of the desire "to win souls to the divine Master," and of the "divine revelation of the Holy Spirit." In his poems he says:

I know how well the fathers taught,
What work the later schoolmen wrought;
I reverence old-time faith and men.
But God is near us now as then;
His force of love is still unspent,
His hate of sin is immiuent;
And still the measure of our needs
Outgrows the cramping bounds of creeds.
. . . . . .
. . . The dear Christ dwells not afar,
The king of some remoter star,
Listening, at times, with flattered ear
To homage wrung from selfish fear,
But here amidst the poor and blind,
The bound and suffering of our kind,
In works we do, in prayers we pray,
Life of our life, he lives to-day.—*The Meeting.*

Yet Loved of the Father, thy Spirit is near
To the meek, and the lowly, and penitent here;
And the voice of thy love is the same even now
As at Bethany's tomb or on Olivet's brow.—*Palestine.*

This will be recognized as the clear expression of one of the chief tenets of the old orthodox Quakerism. Mr. Whittier lived and died a consistent Friend of the old school. On quarterly meetings he kept open house for his brethren; and

often in his poetry he refers to the blessings received on "calm and fair first days:"

> And so I find it well to come
> For deeper rest to this still room.
> . . . . . .
> The world that time and sense have known
> Falls off and leaves us God alone.
> . . . . . .
> Heart answers heart; in one desire,
> The blending lines of prayer aspire;
> "Where, in my name, meet two or three,"
> Our Lord hath said, "I there will be."

One of the most beautiful characteristics of Mr. Whittier was the largeness of mind, the liberality of spirit, which fitted him to belong to the universal Church of humanity. In 1884, when his picture was hung in the Orthodox Friends' School at Providence, R. I., he could truthfully write, "I am a Quaker by birthright and sincere convictions, though no sectarian, in the strict sense of the term;" and President Chase, of Haverford College (Orthodox), on the same occasion could say that, although the poet had been the "unfailing champion of the principles which the Society of Friends had always proclaimed," yet "we will not claim for sect or party what belongs to mankind. Whittier is ours, but he is no less the world's." That was well said. Every evangelical Church can claim him as well as the little orthodox society of which he was a lifelong member; and even outside the bounds of orthodoxy or Christendom, wherever there are brave and reverent souls struggling after truth, they will find respondent, sympathetic notes everywhere in Whittier's verses. No one of all our singers has lashed the bigot and the sectary with scourge more terrible than he. No one, since that day when Pharisee and hypocrite and money changer fled before the Man of Nazareth, has anyone, with truer eye or stronger arm, laid heavier blows upon the back of those parsons and laymen who, magnifying creed, have omitted the weightier matters of the law—judgment, mercy, and faith.

> Small respect for cant and whine,
> Bigot's zeal and hate malign,
> Had that sunny soul of thine.
>
> But to thee was duty's claim
> Sacred, and thy lips became
> Reverent with one holy Name.—*In Memory.*

Terrible was his denunciation of any Church that stood close to the auction block; yet he declared the Church to be a necessary bulwark of the State:

> The riches of the Commonwealth
> Are free, strong minds and hearts of health;
> And, more to her than gold or grain,
> The cunning hand and cultured brain.
>
> For well she keeps her ancient stock,
> The stubborn strength of Pilgrim Rock;
> And still maintains, with milder laws,
> And clearer light, the good old cause;
>
> Nor heeds the skeptic's puny hands,
> While near her school the church spire stands;
> Nor fears the blinded bigot's rule,
> While near her church spire stands the school.—*Our State.*

Again, although as a Friend he emphasized the Inner Light, and well declared

> the unpardonable sin
> Is to deny the word of God within,

yet no one has written more appreciative words concerning the Book of books than he:

> We search the world for truth; we cull
> The good, the pure, the beautiful,
> From graven stone and written scroll,
> From all old flower-fields of the soul;
> And, weary seekers of the best,
> We come back laden from our quest,
> To find that all the sages said
> Is in the Book our mothers read.—*Miriam.*

Because of his tolerance for others' views and his sympathy with all well-meaning people, even when he differed from them in belief, some small sects have eagerly seized hold of certain expressions in his writings, and loudly proclaimed that the great poet Whittier had deserted the faith of his fathers and had become as one of them. The Universalists, the Spiritualists, and the Unitarians have all claimed him. We have previously in this article shown that he was not a Universalist; that he was not a Spiritualist is shown in his authorized *Life*, where he distinctly declares that the facts of Spiritualism are not of a character to convince him.* The claim that Whittier was a Unitarian has been made very boldly. The editor of *The Unitarian* has

* Pickard, *Life and Letters*, vol. ii, pp. 681, 709, 710.

placed him prominently in the list of "Representative American Unitarians." The *New World* (March, 1893) has claimed him as "the preeminent singer" of Unitarianism, whose great mission was that of "humanizing God;" and Edward Everett Hale, in his oration on Oliver Wendell Holmes, has also made the same claim. In view of such public boasting it may be well to give some of the facts which convincingly disprove the claim.

I. Mr. Whittier remained to the day of his death a member of the Society of Orthodox Friends—a society which, in its own "Declaration of Christian Doctrine," expresses its belief in "the Trinity, the Scriptures, the fall of man, justification and regeneration, the resurrection, and the final judgment, the issues of which are eternal." *

II. Those who knew him best, including many who were associated with him in Church fellowship, positively declare that he was liberal, but was not Unitarian, in his belief. Only a hint can be given of the mass of testimony that could be presented here. We have previously given the words of President Chase, of Haverford College, who called him "the unfailing champion" of the principles of the society with which he was connected. Dr. O. C. Hobbs, late President of Earlham College, and Superintendent of Public Instruction in Indiana, himself one of the most prominent Friends in America, who was selected by the Peace Society as its representative to England, Germany, and Russia, and who was a warm friend of Mr. Whittier, when this rumor was mentioned to him emphatically and positively denied it. This is stated on the authority of his daughter, Mrs. Carrie H. Trueblood, and of Thomas C. Trueblood, Professor of Oratory in the University of Michigan. Professor Trueblood also knew Mr. Whittier personally, and adds his testimony to that of Dr. Hobbs. Rev. Dr. D. T. Fiske, who was selected to speak at the poet's funeral, writes, November 16, 1894, stating that he knows of nothing "to justify the claim that he was a Unitarian." "I do not think he cared much for dogmatic statements, nor held in high esteem metaphysical or scholastic theology; but he always seemed to me to have the spirit of one who had, in loving faith, received Christ into his inmost being and felt his divine, life-giving, transforming touch." To the same effect is a note just received from Mrs. Governor Claflin, at whose residence the

* *American Church History Series*, vol. i, p. 143.

poet made his home for weeks at a time when in Boston. Professor Allen C. Thomas, of Haverford College, who also spoke at Mr. Whittier's funeral, in a letter dated November 1, 1894, writes that in an interview of some length which he had with the poet a few years ago "he spoke of himself as a decided Orthodox Friend," and adds:

> There is no doubt whatever about this, because he himself made the distinction between the so-called Hicksites and the Orthodox, and did it voluntarily, without interrogation. My own impression is that his spiritual life deepened as he grew older, and more and more he came to rely upon Christ as his Saviour. That he was a Unitarian in the ordinary acceptation of the term, or in any acceptation of the term—if his own words to me meant anything—he was not. It is quite certain that Mr. Whittier was no Calvinist; but that does not make him a Unitarian.*

In response to a request from the present writer, Rufus M. Jones, editor-in-chief of *The American Friend*, wrote a long article for that paper (November 15, 1894), in which he shows, first, that the belief of Mr. Whittier and all his Quaker ancestry —"that a faithful, obedient, listening soul finds himself in intimate touch with the living Christ, who becomes a constant Teacher, an inward source of spiritual strength"—is in no way inconsistent with a clear faith in the all-important work of the incarnation. He then quotes largely from Whittier's writings, to prove that he held views "diametrically opposed to the generally accepted meaning of Unitarianism," and adds this personal testimony:

> The writer spent part of a day in conversation with him, and he spoke freely of his own religious views; and I came away feeling certain that in belief the poet was in harmony with those whose whole faith centers in Jesus Christ and his manifestation of the Father. We remember distinctly his expressions of regret that one of his intimate friends, a pronounced Unitarian, should have found it possible to put Jesus the Christ into comparison with mere men; and he said, "I have often remonstrated with him."

Mr. Samuel T. Pickard, the husband of the poet's best loved niece, in the authorized *Life and Letters*, which the poet assisted him to prepare, declares: "With all his charity for other sects, Mr. Whittier held firmly to the faith in which he was

* Professor Thomas also called attention to Mr. Whittier's Introductions to Dora Greenwell's *Patience of Hope* and to the *Journal of John Woolman*, where again and again he speaks of "our divine Lord."

educated."* Nothing need be added to this. These testimonies prove that, if Mr. Whittier were a Unitarian in heart, he succeeded in keeping his convictions so hidden and secret that his most intimate Orthodox Friends with whom he associated in Church fellowship never suspected it; he never confessed it to them. Is it easier to believe that John Greenleaf Whittier, that brave and saintly soul, would thus disguise his real sentiments and refuse frankly to speak out his convictions and be wholly true to the truth revealed in him, or to believe that those who claim him as a Unitarian have been deceived by their own desires and misled by their own eagerness to claim a distinguished proselyte?

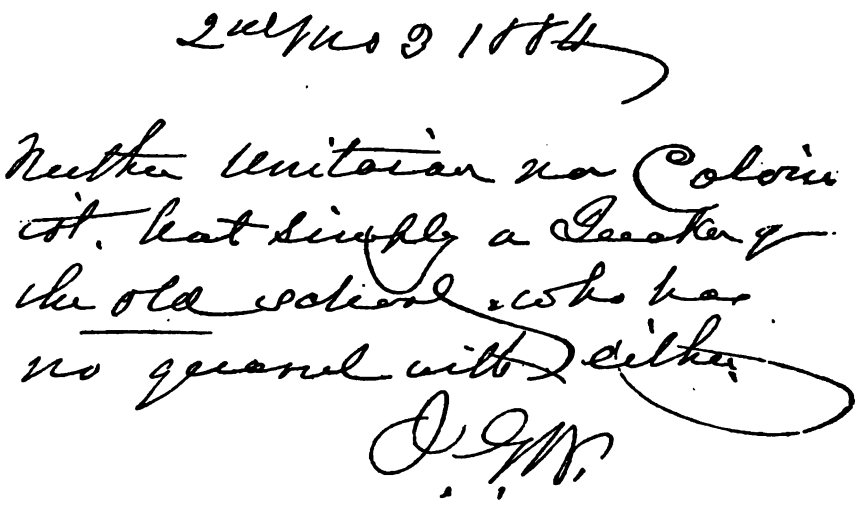
III. Nothing could add to the strength of the argument outlined above, unless we possessed Mr. Whittier's own declaration that he was not a Unitarian and that he was in true heart-sympathy with the Orthodox Church to which he belonged. This we do possess and will now put in evidence. Fortunately, the whisper that he was a Unitarian came to the ear of Mr. Whittier before he died, and he seized the opportunity on various occasions of clearly and positively denying its truth. This he did some years ago in a beautiful letter to Angelina Huff, the teacher of Professor Trueblood, of Ann Arbor, Mich. This letter we have not yet been able to find; but its contents are vouched for by Professor Trueblood. To the same effect he wrote to Rev. Dr. Richard H. Thomas, pastor of the leading Orthodox Friends' society in Baltimore, Md. Dr. Thomas was intimately acquainted with Mr. Whittier. In his history of *The Society Friends of America* † he says:

> It seems but simple justice to J. G. Whittier, who was a member of the Orthodox Friends, to say that, while he was full of universal love and recognized the good in all, he was not a Unitarian in his creed, or even an Arian, but distinctly accepted the orthodox view of Christ Jesus, as he personally assured the writer of this sketch.

He wrote also to Mr. Charles D. Hole, of Salem, O., who has kindly written me the exact circumstances and sent me Mr. Whittier's note. Mr. Hole, having heard the claim made in Salem that Mr. Whittier was a Unitarian, and having noticed that the Quaker poet was placed in a cluster of noted Unitarians in

* *Life and Letters*, vol. i, p. 281. See also vol. i, pp. 259-266, 280; vol. ii, p. 683.
† *American Church History Series*, vol. xii, p. 280.

Kennedy's *Life of Longfellow*, wrote to him asking, "Are you virtually a Unitarian in belief, as has been reported of you, although called a Quaker?"* and in a few days thereafter received the following reply, mailed from Danvers, Mass., February 4, 1884:



IV. In entire agreement with the above are the many definite statements of his belief given in his own words, in his authorized biography and elsewhere:

> He worshiped as his fathers did,
> And kept the faith of childish days,
> And, howso'er he strayed and slid,
> He kept the good old ways.
>
> . . . . .
>
> So, scattering flowers with pious pains
> On old beliefs, of later creeds,
> Which claimed a place in truth's domains,
> He asked the title deeds.—*My Namesake.*

In 1840 referring to Unitarianism, he said, "I am not prepared to give up Quakerism to throw myself body and soul into the antisectarian sect about Boston. Free I am to say that I feel a deeper interest than formerly in supporting the religious doc-

* Mr. Hole did not retain a copy of the letter he sent to Mr. Whittier; but the above, which was published in *The Christian Advocate*, September 15, 1892, is his best recollection of it, and gives the exact thought, if not the exact phraseology.

trines and testimonies of our society." * At this time his declaration of belief was as follows:

> God is one, just, holy, merciful, eternal, and Almighty Creator, Father of all things; Christ, the same eternal One, manifested in our humanity and in time; and the Holy Spirit, the same Christ manifested within us, the divine Teacher, the living Word, the Light that lighteneth every man that cometh into the world." †

In 1877 he made even a more definite confession, saying that, while Jesus of Nazareth was a man, "through whom the divine was made miraculously manifest," "the Christ was a God—a new revelation of the Eternal in time." ‡ As if desiring forever to put a stop to this whisper at Amesbury, that he had in heart deserted the orthodox faith of his fathers, in his will, which was written February 11, 1890, and admitted to probate at Salem, Mass., October 3, 1892, he says:

> It is my wish that my funeral may be conducted in the plain and quiet way of the Society of Friends, with which I am connected not only by birthright, but also by a settled conviction of the truth of its principles and the importance of its testimonies.§

If, therefore, he be still retained in the list of representative American Unitarians it will be against the last and most solemn protest his dying lips could frame.

John Greenleaf Whittier was a humble, trustful believer in God and prayer and immortality, in sin and man's ruin by sin, except as he was saved by the one divine Name:

> Alone, O Love ineffable!
> Thy saving name is given;
> To turn aside from thee is hell,
> To walk with thee is heaven.—*Our Master.*

In a letter written in 1882 are these words: "Let me say that the hope which I humbly cherish for myself and my fellow-creatures rests not upon any work or merit of my own, but upon the infinite love manifested in the life and death of the divine Master, and in the light and grace afforded to all." ‖ There is no note in all his music that sounds more constantly than this note of love and adoration for the Christ—

> The Christ of God, whose life and death
> Our own have reconciled.

* Pickard, *Life and Letters*, vol. i, p. 260. † *Ibid.*, vol. i, 264. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 631.
§ A photograph of this section of the will has kindly been procured for me by Rev. Raymond F. Holway, Salem, Mass. ‖ Pickard, *Life and Letters*, vol. ii, pp. 683, 684.

He loved the scroll of Hebrew sages chiefly because of

> The starry pages promise-lit,
> With Christ's evangel overwrit,
> The miracle of life and death—
> O holy One of Nazareth.

Whittier saw, as did that earlier St. John, that the supreme thing in revelation is the Word that was made flesh, and, therefore, writes of turning over and over the gallery of its sacred pictures,

> Until we pause at last, awe-held, before
> The one ineffable Face, love, wonder, and adore.

He loved to speak of Him whom again and again he calls "Redeemer," "Saviour;" "through whom all the Father's brightness shone." When he mentioned Gennesaret it was to say,

> Where dry-shod o'er it walked the Son of God,
> Tracking the waves with light where'er his sandals trod.

If he spoke of Mount Olivet it was to tell of

> The garden where His prayer and groan
> Wrung by his sorrow and our crime,
> Rose to one listening ear alone.

The atonement was a practical and solemn truth to him. To a friend he wrote:

> What will it avail us if, while boasting of our soundness and of our enmity to the delusion of the Hicksaism, we neglect to make a practical application of our belief to ourselves—if we neglect to seek for ourselves that precious atonement which we are so ready to argue in favor of.*

Over and over in his poems he says that, unless God mends one's heart and puts in it the new spirit of self-sacrifice,

> Unworthy are his lips to tell
> Of Jesus' martyr-miracle,
> Or name aright that dread embrace
> Of suffering for a fallen race.—*Derne.*

> That sacrifice! the death of him,
> The Christ of God, the holy One!
> Well may the conscious heaven grow dim,
> And blacken the beholding sun.—*The Crucifixion.*

> Deep strike thy roots, O heavenly Vine,
> Within our earthly sod,
> Most human, and yet most divine,
> The flower of man and God!—*Our Master.*

*Pickard, *Life and Letters*, vol. i, p. 236.

The disciple whom Jesus loved died, and was buried from his own garden September 9, 1892. Almost the last verse his pen ever transcribed was that which he wrote to Miss Frances E. Willard on the death of her mother:

> But weep not for those who shall sorrow no more,
> Whose war are is ended, whose trial is o'er;
> Let the song be exalted, triumphant the chord,
> And rejoice for the dead who die in the Lord.

His last words were, "Love only; love the world." In the garden, as he lay there sleeping so restfully, the Hutchinson family sang one of his early heroic poems of freedom; and then, just before he was carried away to the Friends' cemetery, a sweet voice repeated one of his hymns—words so saintly that they may well end our study of his religious beliefs:

> When on my day of life the night is falling,
> And, in the winds from unsunned spaces blown,
> I hear far voices out of darkness calling
> My feet to paths unknown.
>
> Thou who hast made my home of life so pleasant
> Leave not its tenant when its walls decay;
> O Love divine, O Helper ever present,
> Be thou my strength and stay!
>
> . . . . . .
>
> I have but thee, my Father! let thy Spirit
> Be with me then to comfort and uphold;
> No gate of pearl, no branch of palm I merit,
> Nor street of shining gold.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Some humble door among thy many mansions,
> Some sheltering shade where sin and striving cease,
> And flows forever through heaven's green expansions
> The river of thy peace.
>
> There, from the music round about me stealing,
> I fain would learn the new and holy song,
> And find at last, beneath thy trees of healing,
> The life for which I long.—*At Last.*

Candace M. Cobern

ART. VII.—THE REDEMPTION OF THE SLUMS.

THERE are those who are disposed to take a gloomy view of the future of Christianity. To our mind there never was a better prospect of its final prevalence. There are various reasons for such confidence, one of which is found in the fact that we are at last beginning to realize our duty to the cities, and especially those parts of them sometimes called "the slums." It was high time to do something. We need not here describe the growth of the cities in proportion to that of the rural districts of our country. Is it not written in the books of the Census Bureau? Moreover, the startling figures have been repeatedly published in the journals of the day and made the text of many an earnest exhortation from the pulpit and the platform. It is, likewise, unnecessary to dwell on the effect upon the morality of the cities of this rapid increase in their size, since it is pretty well understood that it is precisely "the dregs of society" that tend to settle in the centers of population. The cities, then, have in the last decades grown as rapidly, if not more so, in wickedness as they have in the number of their inhabitants. What, meanwhile, has the Church been doing? Much, doubtless; but anyone who will take pains to investigate the matter will find that, except in one of its branches, its growth has been almost entirely among the better classes. The Catholics alone have held their own or made advancement in the slums of our cities. "Yes," some will say, "and that is the reason why they are no better." We should say, rather, that it is the reason why they are no worse; for though, of course, we cannot approve of all the doctrines and methods of Romanism, we are convinced that thousands are deterred from vice and crime, and other multitudes sustained in virtuous courses, through its influence, and that, therefore, the dark corners of our cities are not as dark as they would have been had the priest, too, gone when the minister deserted them.

Yes, "deserted," severe as it may seem, is the proper term to use in this connection; for not only have the Protestants, until lately, not grown in the districts in question, but they have actually withdrawn from them and sold their houses of worship to the Catholics. This is as true of the Methodists as

of the other denominations. In Boston, for example, not only the old church on North Bennett Street, but Father Taylor's Bethel, the scene of some of the most glorious achievements of Methodism, is now a Catholic sanctuary. Of course, we know why the Protestants left the North End of Boston and the corresponding quarters of other cities. "Our members," they said, "are moving to the newer wards or into the suburbs, and the church must go with them." That might be a reason for moving a club, but it is not a warrant for leaving a house of worship. In the first place, it assumes the contrary of a fundamental principle of Christianity. It implies that the religious advantages to be given to a community may be measured by the ability or the disposition of the said community to pay for them. Jesus, however, said, "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister;" and the Church deserves the name Christian only when, as it has done in all its missionary enterprises, it gives as freely as it has received. The desertion of these so-called "downtown churches" has, in many cases, been the more culpable because it was financially unnecessary. Some time ago we heard a story of a minister who was called from a distant field to serve a church that was, by many of its official members, supposed to be on the verge of dissolution. When he arrived he asked them the reason of their fears. "Why," they replied, "our people are moving away, and those that are taking their places in the neighborhood are of another sort." "Then," said he, "let's have another sort of church." He went to work on this idea of adapting his church to its environment, and it immediately entered upon a new period of prosperity, which still continues. Only a few years ago there was a deal of talk about abandoning Grace Church, in Boston; but there happened to be among its members a number of men who loved it enough to make some exertion to save it, and now, although it is not so well situated as it might be, it is one of the most prosperous Methodist societies in the city. These are our reasons for using the term "desertion."

In this hasty sketch of our relation to the task of redeeming the slums we have used the past tense. We believe that the Methodists, like the other Protestant denominations, have mistaken the mind of God and failed of accomplishing their entire mission in their eagerness to acquire influence among the

respectable; but we are equally convinced that Protestants generally are awaking to their responsibility to the hitherto neglected classes, and that there is henceforth to be increasing effort for their salvation. It is a divinely inspired movement. Let us see how it may best be furthered.

Most Methodists, we suppose, if asked on what means we must chiefly rely to redeem the slums, would, without much hesitation, reply, "The preaching of the Gospel." They would open missions in convenient places and introduce the usual methods of winning souls. This seems to be the idea of the official declaration of the Church with respect to our work in the cities. It commends to us the so-called "City Evangelization Union," the object of whose branches is to furnish aid to needy churches, organize new church enterprises, and conduct mission work among the religiously destitute (Discipline, ¶ 364). We believe in preaching, and we would have the Gospel, the news of God's love for men, proclaimed wherever they could be gathered to listen to the message. Such a plan would require a goodly number of preachers; for it is not a difficult matter, in a large city, to get a congregation. In the summer one can in a few minutes, if allowed to do so, collect a crowd about one in the street or on the Common, and with simple, earnest words hold them until the object of such a meeting is accomplished. In the winter it is a still simpler matter. Then it is only necessary to secure a room, on or near a thoroughfare, where there is plenty of light and warmth, and there will be a congregation whenever it is open. If notice be given that those who have no other place to lodge will be allowed to sleep on the floor after the service every seat will be filled, and however long the meeting may last few will lose their patience. On Sunday one is almost sure to find from twenty-five to a hundred men more or less disposed to be entertained at any of the cheap lodging houses.

To be sure, a crowd of this sort does not furnish the best material for saints. It is, in fact, largely composed of the "bummers," whose only employment is that of collecting nickels from the thoughtlessly benevolent for the support of rumsellers. Not long ago a gentleman saw one of them receive a coin from another passer and, being curious to know

how he would use the money, followed him. He went directly to the nearest saloon and presently reappeared, wiping his mouth and showing other signs of temporary satisfaction. The gentleman waited until he was out of sight and then, going into the saloon, asked the proprietor what the man had purchased. "A glass of brandy," said the rumseller; "and he drank it to the health of the fool that gave him the money to pay for it." It is not often that a man of this stamp is touched by the Gospel. If he seems affected he will usually be found to be trying to "work" the missionary for "the price of a meal" or out of pure mischief. In addition to these incorrigibles, however, there are apt to come to a mission persons of a different character—young men recovering from "a spree," to find themselves robbed and deserted, with others, male and female, who are seeking a place to spend an idle hour. They are attracted by the singing; but their interest does not always stop there, for now and then one is moved by the prayers and exhortations heard to begin a better life. These, and not the bummers—who need a thorough course of the law to be prepared for the Gospel—are the class that the mission really reaches; and if they were far fewer than they are it would be worth while to rake the filth of the slums to save them.

Let us, then, establish missions and preach the Gospel in its simple power to as many as possible. But suppose that a young man, out of work and utterly destitute, is converted. What next? Is he, at the close of the meeting, to be turned into the street with a "God bless you! Be faithful!" to sleep on a doorstep or find a refuge in the nearest police station? Or is he to be provided with a ticket and sent to a neighboring lodging house, to lie in filth, pestered by vermin, but more sorely tortured by the drivel or profanity of his drunken roommates? And, if he endures—as some, thank God! have done—this ordeal, when he rises in the morning resolved to be a man among men is anything to be done for him; or is he to be left to wander from shop to shop or from store to store, receiving thoughtlessly or contemptuously curt answers to his appeals for a place to earn an honest living, until his strength is exhausted and he is tempted to doubt the existence "of Christian charity under the sun?" The case of the woman who has been a "sinner," suggested by the above quotation, is

even more critical. We recently heard of two such of whom the sister in charge of a mission complained that, although they "started," they almost immediately returned to their old life. The friend to whom the complaint was made, in her next letter, asked, "Did anyone take any pains to prevent those girls from falling again?" and there was no answer.

We have directed attention to the disreputable, because they are usually most numerous at English-speaking missions; but the denizens of the slums are not all of this sort. There is a large class of the simply unfortunate. We are reminded, first, of the women —the widows obliged, sick or well, to toil incessantly to support themselves and, perhaps in addition, a family of helpless children; and the worse than widowed whose lot it is to be the wives of drunken husbands. Now and then one of these poor creatures slips into a mission. The warmth of the place does her good, and, although she may not join audibly in the singing, the hymns sung carry her thankful thoughts heavenward. One of the workers approaches her. Something in her expression tells him that she is a child of God. What is his duty, as a representative of the Church of Christ, to this unfortunate sister? Shall he look into her pinched and sunken face and merely ask the stereotyped question, "Are you saved?" and pass to the next, while she murmurs, "My God! is that all?" Or is there a further obligation? A few months ago two women, the widow of a once-prosperous New England farmer and her daughter, were found in a cellar in Boston in a starving condition. A little later a poor woman actually died for the want of the food suited to her condition after childbirth. Does the Church, as a Church, care for none of these things?

And the children? The slums swarm with them. They will come to the mission. At first they will be rude and boisterous, but most of them will finally respond to proper treatment. Of course, the missionary will organize a Sunday school. Have we not heard that "the Sunday school is the nursery of the Church?" But is he to be satisfied with admitting them once a week to a warm and clean, if not otherwise very attractive, place and giving them a single lesson from the Bible, leaving them to spend the rest of the seven days in the garrets and cellars that they have been taught to call their homes, or on streets lined with rumshops and alive with loafers and prostitutes? Is it of no

consequence to him or to the denomination that he represents where and how these future men and women, part of whom, at least, will one day have a voice in the government of their city and country, amuse themselves?

The foreign element, especially the Jews and the Italians, is becoming an important one in the make-up of the population of the slums, and Protestants are very wisely giving it more and more attention. It is clearly an advantage to have these foreigners where they can be so easily reached and influenced. Here, however, as in other cases, any attempt at evangelization starts a number of serious questions. For example, we open a mission for Jews, and in process of time a young man, finding himself convinced that Jesus is the Messiah, comes to the missionary for advice. The latter is naturally elated and impelled to apply the exhortation, "Stand up for Jesus." His convert replies: "I live with my parents and work for a Jewish employer. If I profess Christianity I shall not only be turned out of my home and deprived of the means of getting a living, but I shall be practically banished from the Jewish quarter. To whom shall I go, and how shall I earn my bread?"

Among the Italians we are met by another class of questions. They are mostly simple peasants, the prey of any sharper who chooses to take advantage of them. Their worst enemies are certain of their own countrymen—the "bosses" through whom they get employment, and the so-called bankers to whom they intrust their earnings. The bosses—often, we blush to acknowledge, with the knowledge and connivance of American contractors—charge them a fee of from two to five dollars for a job at reduced wages, demand exorbitant prices for the wretched food and shelter furnished them, and, finally, on the slightest pretext, discharge them to make room for new victims. The bankers then take what is left; but, instead of sending it to waiting wives and children in Italy, put it into their own pockets and—disappear. Some months ago there came to our country one of these peasants, who had mortgaged a little home that he owned to pay his passage. He found work and, after a time, succeeded in saving enough to cancel the mortgage. He took the money to an Italian banker to be sent to his wife and supposed that his home was redeemed. In a few weeks the banker failed, and about the same time he heard that the mortgage had

been foreclosed and his wife and baby turned into the street. Meanwhile, he had lost his job, so that he was not only powerless to help his family, but was himself on the verge of starvation. He had, also, found his way to the mission and become a devout Christian. What would have been an appropriate text for a sermon or exhortation in his case? Or was something besides a sermon in order? In another outrage an American was the offender. A family that had just immigrated hired two or three rooms, and went to a dealer who sold goods on the "installment plan" to buy some simple furniture. The bill amounted to two hundred and twenty-five dollars, on which they paid one hundred and twenty-five, agreeing to bring a certain part of the balance monthly until the debt was canceled. The poor debtor, however, although he sought it faithfully, could get no work, so that after a while he was obliged to confess that he could not fulfill his agreement. The matter was then brought to the attention of some Protestant friends, who at once notified the dealer to remove his goods, and then furnished the rooms with as much and equally good furniture for eighty-seven dollars! This Italian, also, was a member of a mission. Ought a missionary to such people to see them fleeced in this fashion without an effort to punish or prevent it?

We have dwelt thus at length on missions pure and simple for the purpose of showing, as we think that we have, their inadequacy as a means of redeeming the slums. We are inclined to think that the importance of mere preaching in other fields has been overestimated. We are sure that among the classes under consideration it is not effectual unless supplemented by other agencies. It is not surprising, therefore, that so many missions have proven failures. Nor is it surprising to find, on turning to the New Testament, that the message of the preacher is not the whole of Christianity. When John the Baptist sent to inquire whether He of whom he had heard was, indeed, the hope of the world, Jesus sent word to him, "The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them." Here our Saviour distinctly describes preaching as only a part of his mission, one of the various ways in which he was sent to reveal the love of God to men. His ministry, from beginning to end, was a constant development

of this thought. He preached when he had opportunity; but he seems to have spent more time in healing the sick and otherwise supplying the physical needs of his countrymen than he did in talking to the multitudes that thronged him. When he sent his disciples on their first independent mission he instructed them to follow his example. "Go," he said, "and as ye go preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand;" but he at once added, "Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils: freely ye have received, freely give." It was evidently his intention that his followers, filled with his spirit, should, like him, go about doing good. The saints in all ages have imitated their Master in this respect. Our own Wesley was an indefatigable friend of the poor and the unfortunate, as well as a great preacher. He founded schools and dispensaries for their benefit. He also gave us a rule that has always seemed to us one of the most admirable statements of the essence of practical Christianity ever framed—that which requires that the desire for salvation be evidenced by "doing good of every possible sort and, as far as possible, to all men."

What, then, is our duty as Methodists, as Christians, to the classes in question? We must, of course, win the wicked and comfort the godly; but if we would be perfect we cannot stop there. They are all, for one reason or another, handicapped in the race of life. This fact is their sufficient claim upon our sympathy and assistance. If they are hungry and naked we must see that they are fed and clothed. If they are homeless we must find shelter for them. If they are sick or in prison we must minister to them. If they are ignorant, and thus exposed to harm of any sort, we must teach them the things essential to their welfare. If they are oppressed we must do our utmost to rescue and defend them. True, as someone will, perhaps, suggest, this is really the duty of the community. The community, however, is so imperfectly civilized, not to say Christianized, that it cannot be depended upon to do its duty. The Church, therefore, as it has heretofore done, must come to the rescue and continue to serve tables, if necessary, until "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" shall have become the fundamental law of society.

It is clear that what is to be done cannot be done by a few missionaries and meetings in vacant stores or simple chapels.

There must be permanent plants, adapted to various uses, like those of the Young Men's Christian Association, in the neglected quarters, and help enough to manage them. The precise form of organization for the work is not important. It may be a "settlement," where a company of young people devoted to good works live, and whence they reach the neglected about them. A home of this sort is a light in which multitudes are made to rejoice. The work required can, however, be done by a church properly organized, it seems to us, as well as by a settlement. Let the people in any city who have the redemption of the slums at heart return to the abandoned field, build a suitable structure, and make it their church, supporting its pastor and his assistants with their money and consecrating a portion of their time to personal work in the neighborhood, and the result will be marvelous. Where churches convenient for the purpose already exist, they can be restored to influence and prosperity by introducing proper features into their management. If this cannot be done by the membership the other churches of the city must lend a hand, and that with workers, as well as money. We might enlarge upon this subject of ways and means, but it is not necessary. There is no difficulty in finding young men and women willing to devote themselves to this inspiring work—some, entirely, for little more than a bare support; others, to the extent of their leisure from other duties, without compensation. As for money, there is almost no limit to the amount that can be had for the prosecution of successful efforts in this direction.

The success of the institutional method, or the hand-to-hand grapple with vice and misery, is no longer in question. An entire article would be too short to describe the results in any given field. We can only briefly refer to them. In the first place, a vast amount of suffering is relieved. The sick are nursed, the hungry fed, the homeless sheltered, and the naked furnished with clothing. Those who are handicapped by ignorance or any other similar disability are, as far as possible, relieved of their burdens. Thus, for example, hundreds of foreigners are taught to write their own, and to speak the English, language, while almost as many women are instructed in the arts of the housewife. Multitudes of children are gathered into clubs and classes where they learn all sorts of valuable

things, not the least important of which are consideration for one another and admiration for the unselfishness of their leaders and instructors. Nor is this all. The agents through whom these blessings are distributed are, first of all, disciples of Jesus. What they do they do "in his name." Hence, it is natural that their ministry in temporal things should prove a preparation for the Gospel. As a matter of fact, their beneficiaries are constantly being gathered into the Church. Even Jews forget the hatred engendered by centuries of contempt and persecution and learn to love our Saviour. A young Jewess in consumption, who was nursed by a visitor from the neighboring "settlement," was so touched by the tenderness with which she was treated that when she died she died a Christian. A class of young Jews, who, when they began their studies in a club formed for their benefit, stipulated that the subject of religion should not be introduced into their meetings, after a year asked their leader to arrange a service for them on Sunday.

Work of this kind has not, however, had the success that is in store for it. The institutions described are gradually kindling in the people of the slums themselves a local enthusiasm. On the other hand, they are disseminating in the community at large information concerning the real condition of things among the poor, which must result in legislative action for their benefit. If the saloon could be banished, and the loafers who did not go with it compelled to work for a living, the rate of progress would be so accelerated that our goal would soon be in sight. Here is an opportunity for the Methodist Church. Will it accept the divine call and lend a hand in the movement that is upon us? Or will it fall into the rear of the column led by the Salvation Army and lose the right, hitherto its glory, to be called the Church of the masses and the especial friend of the unfortunate?

W. G. Mitchell

Art. VIII.—JOSEPHUS AND JESUS.

Flavius Josephus, the famous historian of the Jews, was born in the first year of the emperor Caligula's reign, which was about the eighth year of corrected chronology after our Lord's ascension. As he was the contemporary of the apostle John and spent the earlier part of his life at Jerusalem, it is quite probable that he was an eyewitness to many transactions which occurred in that city in connection with the apostles, after the accession of King Herod Agrippa I, grandson of Herod the Great. He was a carefully educated priest, as well as a historian and a Pharisee. He began public life at the age of nineteen, and at thirty was appointed governor of Galilee, taking command of the Jewish forces at Jotapata, the military key to the situation, in order to resist the invasion of Vespasian, the Roman general, against the Jews; but after enduring a siege of seven weeks he was forced to surrender—a fact for which the Jews never forgave him. However, great consideration and extraordinary privileges were accorded him as a prisoner of war at the headquarters of the Roman army; and, being present, he was compelled to witness the events of the year 70, which issued in the complete reduction of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Jewish theocracy and commonwealth.

His seven books of the *Jewish War* were completed about A. D. 75; and his twenty books of the *Jewish Antiquities*, written originally in the later Aramæan or "Hebrew," but subsequently rendered into Greek, in which form they are preserved, were published about the year 94.* That which is of special interest to the Christian student is the testimony found in his *Antiquities* relating to three persons named in the New Testament—John the Baptist, James, the brother of our Lord, and Jesus Christ. His witness to the historical existence, character, and work of our Lord is contained in the following paragraph:

> Now, there arose about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such as received the truth with pleasure. He carried away with him many of the Jews, and also many of the Greeks. He was the Christ. And after Pilate, at

* Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. i, p. 59.

the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, his first adherents did not forsake him. For he appeared to them alive again during the third day, the divine prophets having foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of those called Christians after him is not extinct to this day (*Antiquities*, xviii, 3, 3).

Until the sixteenth century there was but one opinion respecting the genuineness of this celebrated passage attributed to Josephus concerning Jesus Christ; but since that time critical opinions have divided. It is certainly a compact statement of our Lord's life. A condensed representation of the arguments for and against the theory of the genuineness of this famous paragraph is here presented:

I. IT IS AN INTERPOLATION.

1. The passage interrupts the general narrative. Answer: In point of fact, is this proposition conclusive or necessitated? Certainly it is not as much a digression as the story in Luke (iii, 19, 20) respecting the Baptist and Herodias, which no one suspects as spurious. Rather, the scene described "exhibits one of the most remarkable of the undesigned coincidences occurring between the New Testament and Josephus. . . . It has led the historian into a brief digression upon the life, death, and character of the Baptist, which speaks volumes in favor of the genuineness of that still more celebrated passage in which he speaks of 'Jesus,' that 'wise man, if man he may be called,' unhesitatingly quoted as genuine by Eusebius."* Now, Josephus had just been recording a calamity to the Jews on account of a sedition which occurred under Pilate, and thence naturally proceeds to relate another great disturbance of the public mind, associated with it in thought, which occurred "about the same time" and under the same Pilate, namely, the crucifixion of Jesus; and in narrating the steps which led up to this event he mentions that "many of the Jews" were drawn over to him, and how, at the suggestion of "the principal men" among the Jews (high priests and Sanhedrists), Pilate was induced to sentence Christ to the cross. Josephus then proceeds to mention another, and still another "calamity" which "put the Jews in disorder," the first occurring in connection with the

* William Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, article "Herodias."

temple of Isis at Rome, and the other with the expulsion of the Jews from that city by the emperor Tiberius (§§ 4 and 5); after which he promises to return "to Jewish affairs." Thus, so far from the reference to the crucifixion being an interruption of the narrative arbitrarily interjected, as a disturbance of the public mind, it is quite in line with what follows, and the interruption theory does not seem to warrant the conclusion assumed.

2. A stronger point made against the genuineness of this passage is that it is, in fact, inconsistent with the views of a Jew, and would imply that the writer was a Christian. "If it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works. . . . He was the Christ." * One would rather expect that Josephus would represent Jesus as an impostor, in accordance with the notions of "the principal men" in power who sought and secured his death. The reply, in part, is that Josephus certainly does mention Christ elsewhere, and in such a way as indicates that he had named him previously. But nowhere does this writer apply to Jesus any epithet of disparagement or even dislike. He mentions James as "the brother of Jesus, who is called Christ" (*Antiquities*, xx, 9, 1). The belief which assumes *a priori* that Josephus meant to preserve a deliberate silence concerning Jesus Christ is a belief which not only has no real reasons for its support, but is contrary to all the reasons of the case. Let it not be understood that Josephus intended to give his own private judgment of our Lord's claim to character in the passage under discussion, whatever that opinion might be.† He is a historian, and in the historic style which preeminently characterizes his writings he holds himself well in check, evidencing a good spirit toward those with whom he differs radically, but whose judgment he treats with proper consideration.

Neither is it to be assumed that all the high-minded and thoughtful Jews were malignants toward Christ. Josephus was not born until about eight years after Christ was crucified,

* "Ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν." Dr. Hudson conjectures that the preceptor of Josephus, named Banus, was a disciple of John the Baptist, and that Josephus thence learned to treat Jesus with respect. See *Life of Josephus*, Whiston's edition, § 3, note.

† This *usus* is illustrated in form by Mary, who said to Jesus: "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold thy father [Joseph] and I have sought thee sorrowing" (Luke ii, 48). Compare Luke's own statement concerning Jesus (iii, 23), "Being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph"—"Ὢν υἱὸς (ὡς ἐνομίζετο) Ἰωσήφ."

and may hardly be thought to sympathize deeply with those who had clamored for his death; and he did not write his *Antiquities* until about sixty-five years after our Lord's ascension, when that spirit of malice which put him to death might naturally be thought to have exhausted itself. At any rate, even in the time of Christ, there were not wanting those who had the respect and courage to treat Jesus and his apostles with proper consideration, while yet maintaining their Jewish character and position throughout. We nowhere read in the gospels that Nicodemus ever became a Christian, but it is expressly mentioned that he was "a man of the Pharisees" and "a ruler of the Jews," for he was not only a member of the Sanhedrin, but was the third officer of that senate of wisdom and learning. Yet he is found saying unto Jesus: "We know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these signs that thou doest, except God be with him" (John iii, 2). Himself a Pharisee, he defended Christ against the Pharisees, and received therefor their reproach (John vii, 45–52). He also assisted Joseph of Arimathæa in ministering the funeral rites in the burial of our Lord (John xix, 38–41). Then again, another "Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, had in honor of all the people," also stood for the defense of the apostles when arraigned before the Sanhedrin (Acts v, 34–40).

Now, it was no more inconsistent for Josephus to write, as it is predicated that he did in this passage, than it was for Gamaliel to speak as he did of the apostles before the Sanhedrin, or for Nicodemus to say what he did unto the Saviour. Yet both of these remained Jews in high position. The strongest expression made by Josephus does not necessarily infer that he was conveying his own private opinion; but that, of the many Christs who had arisen, this one who was "the doer of wonderful works," was the one, in distinction from all others, who had been by so many, and, indeed, was still, cognized as *the* Christ. He simply reflected public opinion. The case is paralleled by Pilate's inscription on the cross, "This is Jesus the King of the Jews" (Matt. xxvii, 37), which certainly does not mean that Pilate accepted Jesus in lieu of his own Roman procuratorship, but that the Jesus of the crucifixion was that one who had commonly been called king. Pilate's meaning in this was so obvious that he declined to change the inscription

at the suggestion of the Jewish authorities (John xix, 21, 22). So also elsewhere Josephus puts himself upon record as explicitly speaking of James as "brother of Jesus, who is called Christ." *

3. It is claimed further that no writer until Eusebius (A. D. 315) inserted the passage under consideration, which was nearly two centuries and a quarter after Josephus wrote. Neither Justin Martyr (148), nor Clement of Alexandria (192), nor Tertullian (200) quotes this paragraph, although each one might have done so with advantage to Christianity. It is thence inferred that the whole paragraph must have been an interpolation. To this it is replied that an argument based upon mere silence can never be conclusive that a given fact did not exist; and certainly it is far from proving a case of interpolation. For a mere omission argues nothing. Every historian omits many things with advantage to his narrative, and no writer tells us all about everything or anything. Strabo and Tacitus both write of the Jews, but both are silent about the sect called Essenes. Nor are they mentioned in the New Testament by its Jewish writers; while Josephus distinctly speaks of them. Neither Herodotus nor Thucydides mention Rome. Did Rome, then, not exist? Dion Cassius, Tacitus, and Suetonius all wrote of the emperor Tiberius, and each one omitted some things which the others recorded. Eusebius, the friend and favorite of Constantine the Great, is silent concerning the death of Crispus, that emperor's son. Josephus himself, the special and able historian of the Jewish nation, omits about the banishment of the Jews from Rome by the edict of Claudius, while Suetonius and Luke mention the fact. Is silence, then, the equivalent of contradiction? Does the omission to mention an occurrence prove that it never happened? But Josephus does not omit to speak of Jesus Christ elsewhere, as we have seen; nor does he dwell upon his name and fame as we might wish or expect.

To maintain that these sentences are interpolated, it logically falls to the part of the affirmant thereof to prove how the inter-

* "Τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ." Renan, the late distinguished skeptic and professor of history in the University of Paris, with reference to this testimony conjectures that Josephus wrote "Χριστὸς οὗτος ἐλέγετο"—"He was called the Christ." And this seems to be the sense intended, without supposing the text corrupted.

polation occurred, the place where, the person by whom, and the circumstances in which it was so successfully introduced, without leaving a trace to excite suspicion in the mind of Eusebius, who quotes it twice. Here is a case in which neither majorities nor authorities can rule, but facts. Opinions are supported by reasons, prejudices are prejudgments and worthless. The several writers named addressed their apologies to the Roman rulers—the emperor, the senate, or both—but sometimes to the head of the local government. For the apologists of Christianity to appeal to Josephus as authority in reference to Christ would have carried very little weight to the minds of the Roman judges, who instinctively disliked, if they did not, indeed, despise the Jew; and, as to Jews themselves, this paragraph would have but little influence with them, for the twofold reason that Josephus had lost caste with his brethren for having surrendered Jotapata to the Romans early in the war, and that the Jews were utterly hostile to the sentiment expressed concerning Jesus Christ. So that the quotation of Josephus and his testimony concerning Jesus for the benefit of Roman or Jew would have simply been a case *mal à propos*.

In respect to Eusebius and preceding Christian writers who did not quote Josephus' saying, "He was the Christ," the point is well taken, if it be meant that the quotation was not made formally. But that is not the same as saying that it was not referred to at all. There are instances of reference which, if they do not identify the very paragraph, at least indicate it. For some writers wrote with such remarkable coincidence of expression that when taken in connection with historical circumstances, it becomes difficult to resist the conviction that these writers knew of this celebrated paragraph. The passage contains three distinct averments: *a*) "There arose . . . Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man;" *b*) "He was the Christ;" *c*) "The divine prophets having foretold these . . . things concerning him"—that is, his death and resurrection, just mentioned.

(*a*) Justin Martyr, in his *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho*, says: "For after that you crucified him, the only blameless and righteous man, . . . when you knew that he had risen from the dead and ascended into heaven, as the prophets had foretold,"

etc. (§ 17). Here is direct mention of Jesus as the "only blameless and righteous man," his resurrection from the dead, and that it was predicted by the divine prophets.

(β) Origen, against Celsus, says, "In the eighteenth book of his *Antiquities of the Jews* Josephus bears witness to John as having been a Baptist," and then adds: "Now this writer, although not believing in Jesus as the Christ, in seeking after the cause of the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple, . . . ought to have said that the conspiracy against Jesus was the cause of these calamities befalling the people, since they put to death Christ, being prophesied of"* (*Contra Celsum* i, § 47). "And it is wonderful that he [Josephus], who did not receive Jesus as the Christ, should ascribe such righteousness to James" (*Commentaries*, Matt. x, 17). Here the death of Christ and that it was the subject of prophetic prediction are mentioned together and connected, as in the paragraph in Josephus. If this passage be not genuine, Josephus nowhere in his writings gives his opinion of Jesus Christ. On the hypothesis of its genuineness, it is easy to understand why Origen should so repeatedly and in different books accentuate the personal opinion of Josephus concerning Jesus. He says that Josephus "did not receive Jesus as the Christ," "not believing in Jesus as the Christ." But, on the contrary, if this passage did not exist in Origen's time (about 248), it is very difficult to understand why he should make so much of Josephus's opinion concerning Jesus, as if he knew perfectly well what that opinion was, when Josephus had not expressed any opinion on the subject! But the genuineness of the passage referred to accounts for Origen's knowledge of Josephus's opinion, accounts for the importance which he attaches to that opinion as known, and accounts for his reference to two particulars—the death of Christ, and that it was a subject of prophecy, both of which are contained in this testimony of Josephus. But, on the hypothesis that the passage is a forgery, these circumstances still remain to be explained.

Now, if Justin either refers to, or quotes a part of, this paragraph in A. D. 148, and Origen does the very same thing just one century later, then Eusebius, in 315, was not the first Christian writer to whom this testimony of Josephus to Christ was known.

* "Ἐπεὶ ἀπέκτειναν τὸν προφητευόμενον Χριστόν."

(γ) Now, as to Clement of Alexandria, he nowhere cites Josephus on anything, except upon a single point of chronology relating to a period between Moses and Josephus.

(δ) Tertullian never quotes Josephus, except upon a point of chronological character, and that in the latter's work against Apion. It does not even appear that Tertullian ever saw any other of the writings of Josephus. If silence is to be taken as implying interpolation it must, by parity of reasoning, condemn as forgery all else of Josephus's writings, except this one point of chronology. But, as this proves too much, the omission of this passage by other writers does not help the negative side of the discussion.

(ε) Finally, Tacitus, who wrote about 110, while not mentioning Josephus as his authority—as he seldom does mention his sources of information—uses language and ideas so associated as to impress one that he had the paragraph now under consideration before him. In relating the sufferings of the Christians he says: "The founder of this name was Christ, who in the reign of Tiberius was brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judea in the reign of Tiberius." * Whence did Tacitus receive this historical information? Either from Josephus, or from the Roman records held in the archives at Rome, or from the New Testament. If from the New Testament, then the Scriptures were in circulation at Rome at the beginning of the second century; if from the Roman archives, then we have the best possible profane authority for the historical existence of Jesus Christ; if from Josephus, then Eusebius was not the first author whose works contained this testimony.

II. THE PASSAGE IS GENUINE.†

1. All the manuscripts and versions known, without exception, contain this passage.‡ It is maintained that, in the absence of proof to the contrary, universality in authorities and authors compels belief. It is held to be uncritical to ignore all the authority known, the more when all the authorities agree.

Annals xv, 44.

† So say Bretschneider, Hauteville, Schoedel, Oberthür, Whiston, Böhmert, and Böttger. In the introduction to his *Vie de Jésus*, p. xii, Renan says: "*Je crois le passage sur Jésus authentique*," etc.—"I regard the passage on Jesus [in Josephus] to be authentic. It is entirely in the style of Josephus; and if this historian had mentioned Jesus it would have been in that manner."

‡ Schaff, *Person of Christ*, p. 191, note.

The reply is that there is no manuscript dating earlier than the eleventh century, and all the manuscripts existent were written by Christian scribes, which is a suspicious circumstance favoring interpolation. The replication is that the scribes being Christians does not justify the suspicious inference. The copyists of the New Testament were also all Christians, but that fact in itself does not warrant the belief that the New Testament is the work of fraud. The passage is in Josephus, in all the copies of his work; and its presence is to be accounted for by facts, and not by guesses. The burden of proof is with him who now objects. When and by whom was the interpolation so successfully introduced, and how was the supposed fraud maintained through centuries, and now discovered without the accession of any new fact? And how has it been managed that there does not now exist one single copy of Josephus's *Antiquities* which omits the passage? Eusebius quotes the testimony twice without the slightest suspicion of its being a corruption; and between A. D. 324–1480 there are no less than twenty-two writers, mostly historical, who quote this famous passage at length as unquestioned and unquestionable.*

2. It is in perfect accord with the known style of Josephus. This is illustrated in the same work, in which he introduces a section respecting John the Baptist and one which mentions James the Just.

3. As a historian of those times Josephus could not have ignored the "Man of history." His father, at least, was the contemporary of Jesus, and must have known of the name and the fame of Christ. Writing of Jewish affairs within that century in which he himself lived, it would have been extremely unnatural and unaccountable for Josephus not to have mentioned that One who had made the profoundest impression of any man that ever lived. But it is evident that he did know of Christ, for he elsewhere calls him by name, and knows and names one who was his brother—James the Just, who was "brother of Jesus, who is called Christ."† Moreover, Josephus mentions John the Baptist; and both James and John acquired all their preeminence by virtue of their relation to Jesus. To say, then, that his inferiors, who stood nearest him and

*See Whitson's edition of Josephus, Appendix, pp. 827–832.
† *Antiquities*, xx, 9, 1,

through him were brought into prominence, were named by this historian, but that the great Master himself, whose words and deeds have never ceased to stir the great world, was wholly ignored and unnamed, is a kind of reasoning which does not produce conviction. Taking Josephus's expression in this testimony, in connection with that concerning James "the brother of Jesus, who is called Christ," as the key for interpreting the sentence, "He was the Christ," it is easy to understand that Josephus was conserving his faith as a Jew in the presence of stupendous facts which he proceeds to state. His attitude toward Christianity may be illustrated by Nicodemus, in his relation to the Saviour, or by Gamaliel, in his relation to the apostles. That is, Josephus was not a Christian, but a liberal Jew; not a hater of Jesus or a hypocrite, but a conservative historian who related his facts respecting Jesus as he saw them; not willing, however, to accept the Christian conclusion legitimated by his facts; not accepting "the Christ" as his personal Redeemer, but as the Messiah of Jewish expectation, a temporal ruler of the Jews, and regular successor of King David. Whatever interpretive sense may be accorded to the particular sentence, "He was the Christ," it in no wise affects his testimony to the historical facts, as follows:

> And after Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, his first adherents did not forsake him. For he appeared to them alive again during the third day, the divine prophets having foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe called Christians after him is not extinct to this day.

S. L. Bowman.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

Not many days before Whittier died his valued friend, Oliver Wendell Holmes, reached the age of eighty-three, in recognition of which the venerable Quaker poet sent him, with affectionate greeting, the following lines:

> The hour draws near, howe'er delayed and late,
> When at the eternal gate
> We leave the words and works we call our own,
> And lift void hands alone
>
> For love to fill. Our nakedness of soul
> Brings to that gate no toll;
> Giftless we come to Him who all things gives,
> And live because he lives.

Remembering that Whittier well knew who it was that said, "Because I live, ye shall live also," we cannot doubt that his pure soul was fixed upon his divine Lord and Master as he wrote, with feeble and failing fingers, these devout and solemn lines, so full of the spirit of self-renunciation and of utter dependence on the grace and power of the Redeemer of mankind. And we are confidently sure that to him was fulfilled the prayer which Tennyson offered for himself; when he put out to sea there was no moaning of the bar.

The conference held in the Vatican for the purpose of considering the possibility of a reunion of the Roman and Greek Churches was a result of the papal encyclical on Christian unity. The pope is not only desirous of having all Christians under one name; he is anxious, also, to widen his dominions. But neither the old Armenian Church, nor the Greek Church of Russia and Greece have taken any part in the conference. The ecclesiastical bodies represented in the conference, outside of the Roman Church, number but five million souls, while the Churches of Greece and Russia number ninety-eight millions. Even the comparatively small number of non-Romanist people who consented to send representatives to the conference have never acknowledged the superior

authority of the pope. It is not likely that they will concede this now for the sake of the proposed unity, and the pope will not, of course, resign his professed authority. In fact, it is these exclusive claims of a nonspiritual kind which stand in the way of Christian unity everywhere to-day.

SOME FEATURES OF ONE STRIKE.

Two reasons move us to write of this particular strike: we have eyewitness knowledge of it, and it is of general interest, because typical to some extent of many other strikes. On Monday, January 14, 1895, the motormen and conductors on about all the trolley lines of Brooklyn, numbering some five thousand men, quit work and went on strike for better treatment, being overworked and underpaid. Over several hundred miles of road not a car was running, except a few that carried United States mails. A city of about a million, suddenly deprived of its accustomed means of transportation, suffered immense inconvenience and discomfort, and business was largely paralyzed. An extra expense of $20,000 a day was entailed upon the city, or, what is the same thing, on Kings County, for troops and special police necessary for restoring and maintaining order. The loss to business must have aggregated millions. The suffering endured in severe winter weather by the poor families of the strikers must have been great and distressing. It seems worth while to set forth here, in numbered order and in the present tense, the salient features of this deplorable history, as it proceeded from stage to stage.

1. In the beginning the sympathy of the community is almost entirely with the strikers. They are believed to have real grievances and a just cause; they only ask for fair play. The trolley companies have few friends. Their history has not been honorable. By corrupt means, to begin with, they obtained from the city valuable franchises without paying anywhere near what the privileges were worth. They then inflated or watered their stock, to a volume far in excess of actual capital invested and far beyond the value of their property. Then the roads are so run as to pay large dividends on all this fictitious stock over and above excessive dividends on the real investment. The fare being limited by law, the trolley lines cannot get more money out of their passengers; they therefore wring it out of their employees by overwork and underpay, shrewdly and heartlessly arranging their rules so

that most of the losses—as, for example, by delay or accident—shall fall on the men and all the profits go to the company. Thus, the poor workmen are ground between the millstones as grist, to feed fat the stockholders and pay dividends on money that was never invested. It is the same sort of cruelty as miners in Scotland revolted against, when a fifteen per cent dividend was paid to the stockholders and eight dollars a week to the laborer in the mines. Moreover, the law requires that when dividends reach ten per cent fares shall be reduced. It is said that to avoid this necessity the individuals who constitute the companies resort to a legal fiction, organize on paper another company, a sort of side show, and manage to divert part of the revenue of the roads into this fictional treasury, whence it is distributed to the individual trolley stockholders by a subterranean sluiceway which dodges the law. The trolley companies have, also, been reckless of human life. They have killed many people. They delayed as long as possible to equip their cars with fenders, and only did it slowly when compelled. They made such rules about trips that their men, in order to earn even the wages allowed them, were obliged to run the cars at a higher rate of speed than the law permits. This has endangered the public and made lawbreakers of the men. For such reasons the community had small sympathy or patience with the companies in the beginning of the trouble, and have still less as the miserable days go on and most of the trolley officials maintain, in spite of intercessions by the mayor and others, an attitude of hard and arrogant stubbornness toward the men who are claiming their rights.

2. The strikers, starting with a just cause, show their reasonableness further by yielding part of their demands on some of the lines, and resuming work the moment the managers of those lines make a slight concession and consent to a half decent compromise. The men promptly meet these companies halfway. A similar spirit on the part of the other lines would have ended the strike completely in twenty-four hours.

3. The companies whose employees, obtaining no concessions, continue on strike slowly secure other men, a few at a time, from other cities to run their cars. The new men have a right to come and take the places made vacant by the strikers, and must be protected in that right if it requires all the power of the city and the State. One of the new motormen—"scabs," the strikers call them—being asked if he is not afraid of the angry mob, answers grimly: "No; I have a wife and five hungry children

looking to me for bread. It is easier to face the mob than to face them." Another "scab," when threatened by the strikers, replied resolutely: "Let me alone. I have a right to earn food for my motherless children up in Connecticut."

4. The labor leaders earnestly caution their men from the first to abstain from violence and lawlessness. Nine tenths of the strikers, perhaps, obey and refrain from molesting the new men and from injuring the property of the companies. But it is a heavy strain on suffering human nature for them to see the trolley magnates triumphing over them and destroying their hopes, by filling their places with other men who do not belong to their labor organizations; and a few of the strikers, unable to bear this strain, begin to intimidate and assault the new men and in various ways try to prevent the running of cars. Wires are cut, tracks are torn up or obstructed, car windows are smashed, motormen and conductors are stoned, pulled off the car platforms, and brutally beaten. The danger is intensified by the fact that liquor saloons, where many of the strikers congregate, put that into their mouths which steals away their brains, inflames their blood, and deprives them of self-control. A crisis is at hand. Some of the strikers are becoming responsible for crime, thus challenging the law. Violence must be suppressed at any cost. And now a battle is in sight which can have but one end—an end in which, sad to say, there is no comfort for the workingmen standing out for their rights. Government and authority dare not parley with violence and destruction; lawbreakers must be restrained by force; order and peace must be restored at all hazards. The initial issue, the disagreement between the labor unions and the trolley companies, is now pushed into the background by a more ugly and desperate conflict. Labor has lost the floor by the folly of some of its sons; its motion, which was seconded by the community, is indefinitely postponed. The authorities responsible for law and order call the previous question on a motion to put down violence. The cause of the poor workingman begins to be in a sorrowful plight.

5. By the time this stage is reached, if not before, the unhappy laborers suffer a new and undeserved calamity. All the vicious classes, the toughs and hoodlums, the motley crew of vagabonds and villains that infest all cities, gangs of young rowdies, anarchists, thieves, thugs, and drunkards, gather on the scene with no desire but to create disorder and make trouble. The foulest scum of Europe boils up from the slums and pours itself in among

honest workingmen. Riot and arson, destruction of property, brutal assaults on persons, jeering defiance of all authority break loose and threaten all things. The strikers, whose purpose was orderly and whose requests were lawful and right, are by this irruption of the barbarians mixed up indistinguishably with the offscouring of the earth and involved in apparent responsibility for anarchic disorder. And now we see the cause of labor in a forlorn, desperate, and pitiable case. The situation is one which the strikers did not desire and are not as a body responsible for; which they of all men have reason most bitterly to deplore; but of which they are the helpless victims. In the streets law is being trampled in the dust. In places there is no safety for property or life. There is, in such a case, but one course for civil government, set to preserve peace and protect society. The police proving insufficient through lack of numbers, or inefficient through cowardice or sympathy with the strikers, the militia are ordered out. Thousands of soldiers are quickly under arms. Batteries wheel out of armories and are planted in public squares and at other commanding points. Regiments come marching down the streets. The mob, enraged at this armed menace, hoots and yells, "Get out, you tin dudes!" Stones and other missiles are showered at the soldiers. Bricks from chimney tops are thrown from house roofs to crush the skulls of the military. Members of the police and militia are carried bleeding to hospitals. The troops represent order and law; the mob represents anarchy. The issue is sharp and inevitable. The officers bear it unflinchingly with soldierly self-control until the assault on their men is deadly. The crowd is warned to desist and disperse, but pays no attention to the order. Only one thing can happen now. "Make ready! Aim! Fire!" The volley goes into the mob. The next-to-the-worst event has happened, in order to save us from the worst. The strikers as a body are not to blame; they only ask what they had a right to demand. The soldiers are not to blame; they have only done their duty to the public welfare at the peril of their own lives; they are acting as the bodyguard of civilization. Young fellows mostly they are; but Captain John Bigelow was only just turned twenty-two when at Gettysburg, on the second day, he fought his Ninth Massachusetts Light Battery from the Peach Orchard angle to the Trostle House, until he had lost twenty-eight men and sixty-five horses, was himself disabled by two wounds, and not enough were left to work the battery. In like manner, no doubt, if need be, these soldier boys will do their

duty manfully, until peace and safety are restored to the city. Older men forget what splendid and heroic manliness twenty-one years may develop. But at this point the most widely tragic and lamentable thing is that the ill-fated cause of honest labor has gone down before the guns, having got itself mixed, as so often happens, with lawlessness and riot, and lies now bleeding from many wounds, overwhelmed with irretrievable disaster. Dire *dénouement* for the cause of the innocent! Many blameless and needy ones plunged into a bottomless abyss! Unutterably disheartening spectacle for angels and men!

Everybody knows that, under the methods now in use by labor unions, on one side, and corporations, on the other, the procession of events as seen in Brooklyn last January is liable and likely to be duplicated in the main elsewhere. The same dismal and disastrous story goes on repeating itself from year to year with melancholy monotony, the only uncertainty being where the sickening tragedy will be enacted next. So long as such things are possible ours is a lame, rickety, stumbling civilization. We have thus far made only a horrible failure in regulating the relations of employers to employed and of corporations to the public. Our statutes are a mockery, a grief, and a disgrace. Our system of laws is inadequate. Like a bridge too short to reach either shore, it does not sufficiently restrain the action of labor unions, at one end, or of capital, at the other. In particular, it fails to seize the biggest offenders with a grasp from which they cannot get away. It needs to be added to by skillful and conscientious engineers, until it spans the gulf and justice can pass all the way to and fro between the two sides, to adjust their interests in such equitable fairness that the wrath of God shall not abide on the situation and punish society with perpetual turbulence and misery. The planks of that bridge must be laid on the framework of Christ's Golden Rule. Until we ordain and establish righteousness we will have no rest; the stars in their courses will fight against us, and the very stones of the field will refuse to be at peace with us—they will leave their resting places and come flying at our heads.

The cause of the workingmen is in bad shape. They have not yet hit upon the best plan for self-protection. Their case is mismanaged for them, and they are victimized by the stupid or reckless folly of incompetent, unscrupulous, and largely irresponsible leaders. They are led into hopeless struggles from which nothing but loss and distress can come to them and their families, and are

often forced by officers of their unions to continue on strike, when it is plain their battle is lost and when they earnestly desire to resume work on the terms offered. On the fourteenth day of the Brooklyn strike Master Workman Connelly admitted that it was a mistake to have ordered the strike, when so many men all over the country are out of employment; admitted, further, that the situation had become such that further prolongation of the strike meant ruin to many of the workingmen; and yet, in almost the same breath, declared that he had no intention of calling the strike off. To the Brooklyn strikers the following bright gleam of sense came from a distance over the wires:

ST. LOUIS, January 24.—At a meeting last night of the Building Trades Council, delegates being present from each of the thirty-two trades unions in St. Louis, a new and most radical constitution was adopted. One of the most important changes made by it is the abolition of the office of walking delegate. The preamble is a strong one. It boldly asserts that strikes are unnatural and that boycotts are un-American; and both methods, which have been pursued by unions all over the country to subserve their ends, are discountenanced. Arbitration is the method that will be employed in settling difficulties between employees and employers in St. Louis hereafter.

The cause of public welfare is in equally bad shape. We have not yet hit upon the best way of protecting ourselves from the rapacious greed, stony selfishness, and formidable influence of corporations. It is intolerable that, in a case where labor, asking for living wages, stands making overtures to submit the whole dispute to impartial arbitrators, capital should refuse to consent to arbitration, while a million of people are compelled to wait, with their business nearly at a standstill, until one party to the quarrel shall starve the other out. A community that has passed through such an infliction is of opinion that corporation officers who show no regard for the public comfort, and who, even when appealed to by the mayor and others on behalf of the interests of the city, refuse to yield an inch and keep answering stubbornly, "We have nothing to arbitrate," deserve to be punished by long imprisonment at hard labor; and the dishonest companies that uphold their officers in such a course deserve to be mulcted in fines heavy enough to reduce them to bankruptcy. There is need of some power, equipped with apparatus capable of sudden efficiency, to compel both parties in disputes which incommode and afflict the public to submit their differences to a court of arbitration, and to continue their service of public needs without inter-

mission until decision is given, by which they should then both abide.

It will not be easy to make our laws what they ought to be, touching these acutely distressing matters; for of legislators two classes are in the way—those who are afraid of the labor vote, and those who are owned by the corporations. Moreover, the corporations employ able and cunning lawyers who, by fictitious procedures and ingenious trickery, can generally circumvent such laws as now exist. Apparently, there is no trolley line to the millennium; we may have to foot it all the way; but we must keep moving forward, and not back. *We must!*

THE METHOD OF UNSUPPORTED DOGMATIC ASSERTION.

THE *American Catholic Quarterly Review* refers with satisfaction to the liberty of thought which the Roman Catholic Church permits her children in all questions which do not trench on faith or dogma, in all questions on which the Church has not pronounced; as, for example, scientific questions, which can only be decided by science, and for many of which the *data* necessary for proof are not yet possessed. So far as this liberty exists in the Catholic Church, it is evidence that she is wiser than she once was, having learned something from her expensive mistakes. Such liberty is right and necessary everywhere. Clearly, any Church would make a mistake if it should commit itself, and bind its ministers and members, to any particular scientific theory in astronomy, chemistry, geology, anthropology, zoology, or biology; to any special form of civil government or doctrine of political economy; to any particular system of physics, metaphysics, or philosophy; to any particular chronology, secular or biblical; to any one theory of inspiration, as against all others; to any one attempted interpretation of the infinite mystery of the Trinity; to any one exposition of the incarnation and the hypostatic union of divine and human in Jesus Christ; to any one among the many philosophies of the atonement; to any one opinion as to the nature of the body in which our Lord appeared in the various Christophanies after his resurrection; or to any calculation of the precise date at which, or manner in which, the Saviour's second coming will take place.

Refraining from promulgating any fixed and final decision on such disputed secondary matters, the Church should manifest the sweet reasonableness of its adorable Master, and confine its dog-

matic and authoritative declarations to those fundamentals which are indispensable to its organization and life and essential to the structure of the Christian faith, and to such doctrines as contain important and well-ascertained truths of religion, not likely to be altered by new light or any progress of the human mind. This course means safety and solidity for the Church, as well as liberty for her children; it insures that they will respect and revere her, and not employ their education and intelligence in quarreling with her; and it enables her to move serenely on, in the comfortable and sustaining confidence that the future can bring her no intellectual humiliations. Say ye to such a Church that in all the ages to come it shall be well with her.

We are sorry, however, not to be entirely sure that the Roman Catholic is exactly that sort of Church. We regret to find, in the same number of the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, an editorial statement which forces us to doubt whether the free and independent exercise of individual intelligence is as habitual and general and strongly encouraged in that Church as our first quotation would lead us to infer. The statement is found in the notice of a book recently printed for its author, Dr. Mason Gallagher, by the Methodist Book Concern, entitled, *Was the Apostle Peter Ever at Rome?* and it is as follows: "Millions believe firmly in the Roman pontificate of St. Peter and its consequences, without being able to sift the value of the testimonies by which these tenets can be proved. *Even if Protestants could make out their case, that 'there is no historic proof that Peter founded the Church in Rome,' this would not make a single true Catholic waver in his faith; for we believe this and every other doctrine of faith on the authority of Holy Church.*" (Italics ours.) From which, if we understand English, it appears that, if and when the Catholic Church asserts, as a historic fact, something which is not declared in the Scriptures and which concededly *can be shown to have not a single particle of historical evidence to warrant it*, not one true Catholic will think of questioning the correctness of the assertion. This looks to us like abject submission of the intellect to the wanton violence of sheer arbitrary authority. As Protestants and as members of a denomination whose founder avowed a tenderness for the better sort of Romanism, we would have hesitated to make so sweeping a statement concerning Roman Catholic Christians, especially after the article by Rev. C. C. Starbuck, on "Dogma and Opinion within Roman Bounds," in the last September number

of our *Methodist Review*, and with Dr. Carroll's article in our present number on "Our Attitude toward Roman Catholics;" but we are scarcely at liberty to question its truth, since it comes from an authority that must know more about it than we. It enables us to understand how such new-fangled dogmas as papal infallibility and the immaculate conception of the Virgin can be promptly and blindly accepted by a world-wide Church as soon as promulgated.

Contemplating this openly avowed and boasted capacity for deglutition of the intellectually indigestible, our curiosity finds a fresh interest in the future in wondering what may be the next bolus or capsule of unscriptural, unhistorical, unintelligible absurdity that will be administered by his holiness and a Vatican council to the docile and much-believing children of Holy Mother Church. At this point we sit back in Dr. Whedon's iron-framed chair to reflect, to take a momentary survey of this modern world, to ask the *Zeitgeist* a few questions; and, glancing up at the hands on the dial of human history to see what time it is, and noting that the twentieth Christian century is about to strike, we cannot help having grave doubts whether the method of unsupported assertion is likely to prove the best for any Church to practice that hopes for success in competing for the respect and trust of mankind to-day. Each sunrise diminishes the utility and feasibility of such methods.

Lying open before us is the authentic papal encyclical issued from St. Peter's, June 20, 1894, "to the rulers and nations of the world;" not the forged one referred to by Dr. Carroll. It is a yearning appeal from a man who, therein, writes of himself, "We hold upon this earth the place of God Almighty." It is an urgent invitation to us all to make haste to submit ourselves to the authority of the see of Rome, to the successor of Peter and vicar of Jesus Christ. While we are reading, analyzing, and weighing the invitation, Cardinal Gibbons thinks it necessary to assure us that, if we accept it, we will not enter "into a servile and abject condition, unworthy of men endowed with reasoning faculties," but will find a blessed state where all our beliefs will be decided for us and all our problems settled, and wherein we "will never experience any anxiety or doubt," but "will rest in contentment, and the angels of peace will hover around." His eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, thinks this invitation "deserves to be widely answered." We have heard no response of the kind he desires. Our own answer is that we have an innate fondness for liberty of in-

terpretation and opinion; we find Protestant freedom agreeable, wholesome, and precious. We are unwilling to surrender it. We could not live without it. With it, freedom and progress of every kind are bound up; and the Roman Church must continue increasingly to acquiesce, and more and more to adjust itself to the independence of free thought, or it must drop out and fall behind the procession. We belong to the number of those who are not so constituted as to make good subjects of a gentleman who introduces himself as God Almighty's deputy, on what seem to us insufficient credentials, and expects us to receive, as unquestionable truth and extra-scriptural, unsupported historical assertions for which it is demonstrable that there is not anywhere the slightest historic evidence. With due appreciation of the offer to relieve us of all anxiety and doubt, we do not care to lose any of our doubts by having the liberty to doubt taken away from us. Acknowledging the courtesy of the gracious, compendious, and commodious hospitality proffered by Leo XIII and pressed upon us by his Baltimore cardinal, we must reply that constitutional disabilities and other circumstances beyond our control oblige us to decline. We are unable to find rest for our souls in unsupported human assertions of whatever kind.

POPULAR NULLIFICATION OF LAW.

Popular nullification of law has long been one of the most alarming symptoms of disease in the national body politic. It indicates perverted conceptions of right and duty, preference of illegal remedies, raging passions not amenable to sound reason, and deadly injury to the moral order and best interests of society. It has been, and still is, apparent in inhuman treatment of the Indians, denial of political rights guaranteed by the national constitution to citizens of African descent, outrages on person and property—notably by dealers in intoxicants—and murderous assault on Mongolian strangers domiciled within our limits. It has been, and still is obvious in hostility to white citizens who exemplify by word and deed their faith in the doctrines fundamental to American institutions. The lawlessness of the impecunious vagrants who, in the year of grace 1894, appropriated railroad trains as means of conveyance, impeded traffic, and defied local authority, terrorizing the communities through which they passed while on the way to Washington with the avowed purpose of dictating legislation worthy only of a lunatic asylum, is only a

specimen of that common to a numerous and widely diffused class of nullifiers. The labor strikes which began in the shops of the Pullman Palace Car Company, which were sustained by the American Railway Union, and were countenanced to some extent by sundry members of the trades unions—strikes attended by the stoppage and destruction of freight and passenger trains, pillage and arson, bloodshed and murder, detention of the United States mails, inconvenience and loss to the entire commonwealth—all indicate the same abnormal condition. Fraudulent registration, repeating at the polls, stuffing the ballot boxes, intimidation of legal voters, mendacious returns of the votes cast, and political assassinations, like that of Robert Ross in the city of Troy, spring from the same troubled source. White Cap indignities, floggings, woundings, and expulsions, inflicted on objectionable persons of native and foreign birth, are outbursts of the same ailment. So are the lynchings of white and colored people—of colored more than of white—known, suspected, or alleged to be guilty of theft, murder, or rape. These fall with peculiar severity on negroes charged with crimes against Caucasians; while like crimes committed by the latter against the former are frequently either condoned by public sentiment or punished by comparatively mild reprobation.

In the period between January 1, 1888, and October 15, 1893, no less than 1,045 lynchings occurred within the United States and Territories. The phenomena of unlawful killing for alleged offenses has become so common that recurrence fails to occasion surprise. Fifty-two accused negroes were murdered by mobs in 1882. In subsequent years the number of victims intermittently increased—to 169 in 1891. In the latter year 26 whites—a number 143 less than that for the negroes—were summarily lynched by sanguinary mobs. Not one of these 1,045 atrocities was committed in New England, Delaware, or New Jersey, and only one in each of the States of New York and Pennsylvania. Yet the evil spirit which culminated in them has been more or less rampant in all the States, and particularly in the Western ones. In the South, the number varies from 26 in North Carolina to 104 in Mississippi. In ten years, the mob-murder of negroes included 269 charged with rape, 253 with murder, and 179 with lesser transgressions. As communities sow, so they reap. Crime against criminals multiplies crime. This is the lesson of the ages. The *vendetta*, whether in Corsica or America, is the malignant parent of assassin broods. It is a consuming fire, scorching religion and good morals,

blotching civilization, and impairing social welfare. Criminals must be held to account, but not by infuriated mobs. Wrongs must be redressed, but not by maddened crowds. Otherwise, no limits can be assigned to the mischiefs and calamities that must inevitably ensue.

One of the most reassuring signs is the well-nigh universal commendation of the check not long ago given to popular nullification of law by the State troops of Ohio. The miscreant endangered in this instance was a vile negro just released from jail, who had fiendishly outraged a woman of whom he had begged food and whom he left as dead on the floor of her dwelling. Arrested, confessing his guilt, and sentenced to suffer extreme penalty in twenty years imprisonment, the popular anger against him waxed so fierce that the sheriff applied for State aid to protect the miserable life while on the way to the State prison. Two companies of militia, under the command of a brave and resolute officer, were sent for that purpose, and also to vindicate the supremacy of law. The mob attacked the jail, refused to desist when entreatingly warned, and were fired upon by the soldiers. Three were slain by the volley, and fifteen, including two women, were wounded. The troops did not fire in defense of the villain, but of Christian civilization. Governor McKinley and all law-abiding citizens applauded their deed. Next day, the prisoner was safely incarcerated at Columbus. The lesson to intending lynchers was stern, but just and merciful. Lawless brutality, usurping the prerogatives of qualified authority, quailed before the majesty of law. The wretch was not worth saving, but the obligations of just and equal laws were. The wise, collective will of the people, and not the rage of insensate assemblages, should govern all executive procedure. All resistance to its mandates must necessarily be at the peril of rebels. Anarchy cannot be allowed to supplant civil government.

The Ohio tragedy, in common with all the widespread disquieting phenomena referred to, was the product of temporary reversion on the part of crude, excitable individuals, to primitive savagery—a reversion that threatened to sweep all the institutions and safeguards of society into chaos. Such retrogressions fill observant minds with forebodings of evil for the future of the republic. They show how imperfect is the evolution of individuals and of large sections of the people into ideal embodiments of intelligent self-control and patriotic action. Liberty gained to-day is lost to-morrow wherever the backward tide is not stayed. If, as in the era of the Israelitish judges, men do only what is

right in their own eyes, all the barriers to greed, lust, and barbarity are broken down, and might marches on unchecked to the destruction of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Contempt of established law, habitual infraction of its rules, and unrestrained indulgence of brutal instincts, have in all communities been fatal to equity, justice, and philanthropy, and, no less certainly, the precursors of despotism and slavery.

The general approval of civil and military administration in Ohio is by no means the only gleam of light relieving the gloom of our national landscape. The judicious and rightful exercise of governmental powers by President Cleveland and sundry State chief magistrates; the cooperation of the best elements in American citizenship; the patient, but firm and measured, determination to enforce the laws; the stern front exhibited to insubordination; the intense desire to understand and remedy the evils in which outbursts of popular discontent originate, evidenced by the writings of Christian sociologists and the labors of Congressional and State committees—are all prophecies fraught with significance and cheer. They voice the conviction, gendered by long experience, that wise laws, kindly and firmly enforced, are of prime importance to the welfare and progress of the race. They mark an advance on the policy of noninterference with lawlessness, which has been so conspicuous in the past as to attract close attention from students of the American commonwealth, like Professor James Bryce. He, in 1889, remarked that "homicide is hardly a crime in some parts of the South," that private war and brigandage in some States were regarded with somewhat of sympathy, and that lynch law was held to be simpler, cheaper, and more effective than judicial process. Yet even then the Molly Maguire conspiracy in Pennsylvania, the Pittsburg riots of 1877, and the Cincinnati riots of 1884 alarmingly pointed to "those volcanic forces which lie smoldering in all ignorant masses, ready to burst forth upon sufficient excitement." They also demonstrated that democracy "must be prepared, no less than other governments, to maintain order by the prompt and stern application of physical force." It does maintain order when occasions of sufficient magnitude require it. But such occasions would be less in frequency and force were the claim, that "probably more laws are quietly suffered to be broken in America than in either England or Germany," farther from the truth. Accepting the compliment that "so far, indeed, is insubordination from being a characteristic of the native Americans that they are con-

spicuously the one free people of the world which, owing to its superior intelligence, has recognized the permanent value of order and observes it on every occasion, not least when a sudden alarm arises," it clearly follows that such perception and practice should be cultivated diligently in native citizens, and also implanted and fostered in citizens and strangers of foreign birth. Growth toward perfection is the condition of stability, health, and fruitfulness—a truth more distinctly perceived and deeply felt by the nation now than in any previous era.

Absolute regard for historic and contemporaneous facts is of first necessity to legislation and administration. "The general and perpetual voice of men is as the sentence of God himself. For that which all men have at all times learned Nature herself must needs have taught; and God, being the author of Nature, her voice is but his instrument." Obeying the dictates of that voice by striving to reach that perfection of personal and collective being which is "a triple perfection—first, a sensual, consisting in those things which very life itself requireth, either as necessary supplements, or as beauties or ornaments thereof; then, an intellectual, consisting in those things which none underneath man is either capable of or acquainted with; lastly, a spiritual or divine, consisting in those things whereunto we tend by supernatural means here, but cannot here attain unto them"—the laws of men adopted for self-guidance are conformable to that all-embracing law "whose seat is the bosom of God, whose voice the harmony of the world."

The evolution of beneficent law, organic and statutory, is commensurate with that of ethics; the evolution of ethics with that of religion; and the evolution of religion with that of oneness with Christ. His spirit, permeating and guiding moral life and thus making it one with his own, is the essential and eternal force that works in us unto individual and collective perfection. As the expositor of this force, as the ambassador of the divine-human Saviour to a perishing, but salvable, world, the great apostle to the Gentiles intelligently and worthily magnified his office. So does every minister in the true following of the apostles. He preaches the law of God, as does the author of the 119th Psalm, as the touchingly benignant expression of his infinite knowledge, wisdom, and love, as the solvent of providential mystery, as the infallible leader to wholeness of being, fullness of peace, and eternity of bliss. In the sanctions of that law, in the fulfillment of promise and penalty, the divine goodness is no less obvious. If the blessing be refused and the curse

be chosen, the choice is one of moral freedom and reflects no discredit on the Lawgiver, whose mind and will in respect of his subjects are not unto death, but unto eternal life. "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes. The fear of the Lord is clear, enduring forever: the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold: sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb. Moreover by them is thy servant warned: and in keeping of them there is great reward." (Psalm xix, 7–11.) They, in the fullest development of them by the Great Teacher, constitute an inerrant and all-sufficing rule of faith and practice. "The moral law, properly so-called, is the law of the perfect man, is the law of ideal conduct, is the statement in all cases of that which should be." Generalizations of universal human experience, crystallizing into ethical laws, under the skillfulest manipulation of patientest, most laborious, and gifted men, are confessedly inadequate to human need. The law of Christ lays down complete principles of conduct, and intrusts application of them to men. Wisely and benevolently applied, the law of Christ solves all difficulties, properly adjusts the relations of men to each other, and uplifts them most nearly to ideal life. Perfection, save of love, is not of this world. It will be the characteristic glory of that world which shall be when the Lord shall have made all things new. But this assurance does not relieve mankind from the keenest scrutiny of facts and causes, search for effective means of melioration, faithful trial of what seems best at the time, diffusion of knowledge, and concerted effort for the greatest good of the greatest number. The art of government in all its branches demands the highest qualifications of those to whom its practice is intrusted. The legislator, the jurist, the executive official hold public office as a public trust, and that for the good of the public, and not of themselves primarily. When this patent truth is ingrained in the public consciousness, voices itself in the election of unstained candidates, and actuates the public conduct of all servants of the people, then most of the unrest, violence, and fear of the nineteenth century will have passed away. The upward pathway of the nation will, for aught we can see to the contrary, be through friction, toil, and trial; but popular nullification of law will be wholly among the phenomena of the past.

THE ARENA.

PUL, JAREB, TIGLATH, AND THE CORRECTIONS.

In the "Arena" of the January *Review* appears a kindly paper on my article of November for which I render to Professor Rogers, of Drew Theological Seminary, sincere thanks. In response, I submit the following:

1. That Tiglath-pileser III and Pul are names for one and the same person was absolutely determined to my complete and perfect satisfaction by the biblical historian in 1 Chron. v, 26, accepting the interpretation of Sir Henry Rawlinson. This, and that Jareb is simply another name for the same king, is not now new, but largely accepted. The latter idea, however, when years ago it first occurred to me, was original, having at that time, so far as I know, nowhere been published. What I supposed to be new, and what it was my purpose to subject to scrutiny, was the method of accounting for the apparent discrepancies between the biblical account and this identification, without discrediting either the Hebrew or Assyrian records. That Pul and Tiglath were one and the same person is the absolutely essential fact upon which my solution of the chronological problem proceeds. The identity of Poros with Pul is of no manner of consequence to my purpose. The name—introduced with a *caveat*, in an incidental way—became in some sort an apology for not inserting Poros as a fourth appellative of the great Tiglath. It is probable, perhaps (hardly yet certain), that Pul and Poros refer to the same person; but why Poros should be used, instead of either Pul or, especially, Tiglath-pileser III, so well known and renowned, and that by an Egyptian so late as the second century of our era, passes my comprehension, at least, and awaits explanation. Neither is it very satisfactory to be told that *Pul* is the Persian form of *Poros*, since the query arises as to how it happened that one who bore a Persian name should be king of Assyria in the time of Menahem, since at that time the Persians had hardly come to the surface, the same being largely true even at the date of the usurpation of the Tiglath (745) who for so long a time was known to Assyriologists as the second, but now as the third, king of that name. I have no complaint to make against any who may think the identification absolutely certain, it being matter of utter indifference to me, not in the least affecting any purpose or result that I have in view. It has sometimes happened, however, that so-called certainties have been subsequently recognized as uncertainties or mistakes, positive contradictions being by no means *raræ aves* in Assyriological investigations. I repeat, what I have always held, that I accept as true in regard to dates and, for the most part, as to facts clear statements in the Assyrian records when these are consistent with themselves, and hold that supposed or apparent discrepancies in synchronization with the historical records of other peoples—especially the Hebrews—are due either to misreading or to mistaken interpretation or application, and not to the

records themselves. Of course, when Shalmaneser is so read as in one account of the battle of Karkar to be made to say that he slew 14,000 men, and in another account 20,500, and in still another 25,000, one can hardly think all these numbers accurate; but that does not invalidate the actuality of the battle or the date when it took place.

2. As to the paragraph referring to Asshur-lush (or nirari) and Asshur-dayan (or dan) there is no mistake, except a typographical one—*e* for *i* in the first syllable of *nirari*, my letterpress copy being correct. Dates were intentionally omitted, as not necessary for my purpose, the only date needed—that of the eleventh year of Assur-dan, the eighth year of Menahem—B. C. 763, being given in the subsequent paragraph. It may be well to add that dates in both the Assyrian and Hebrew chronology are for the most part dependent upon the years and successions of the rulers—aided, in the Assyrian, by the succession of certain subordinates, chiefly by the eponym, whose official term seems to have had a fixed limit. Neither knew anything of our eras; and the transfer to our figures may or may not fairly represent their meaning or date.

3. As to authorities, Professor Rogers seems to me somewhat too broad in his disparagement of Rawlinson and Smith. At all events my quotations from them were sufficient for my purpose and are not shown to be erroneous, and thousands can verify them who never have access to Schrader, Winckler, Rost, or Pinches. Yet I did not rely exclusively upon them, since before naming them at all I had quoted from Schrader his exact words. So, also, other authorities are given.

4. I now venture to affirm that it is not clear to me that Shalmaneser IV is the same person as Ululai, nor that Asshurbanipal "was known as Kandalanu at Babylon;" and that I am more and more inclined to the belief that the list of rulers of Babylon enumerated in the Ptolemaic canon, down to the fall of Nineveh (B. C. 607–606, Schrader), were, with few, if any, exceptions, simply rulers (viceroys or governors, as were the satraps of the Persian period) appointed by and subordinate to the Assyrian kings; at times in rebellion; sometimes, as when the Assyrian monarch was elsewhere engaged or hardly pressed, exercising a quasi-independence. That seems incontestably the case as to Nabopolassar, the last-named ruler of the series prior to the fall of Nineveh, who ruled from 625 to 604. The taking of the year B. C. 625 for the beginning of his rule and Schrader's date for the destruction of Nineveh justifies the title of viceroy, and also favors the story that his treachery, when in command of a division of the forces of the king, Saracus, precipitated the siege and destruction of the city and the disintegration of the Assyrian empire. As to the first ruler in this list, whose rule began two years before Tiglath ascended the Ninevite throne and continued until 733, it is incredible that so enterprising a king as Tiglath, who in 745 marched his army into Babylonia, should have passed the chief city without molestation if it had not been already subject to his power and ruled by a subordinate. If, then, the indications are that the first and the last of this series were viceroys or governors under the Assyrian kings, why should not those intermediate be the same?

Exceptions there may possibly be, as in the case where the Assyrian king administered directly, as did, perhaps, Sargon (Sarrukin) and Esarhaddon. Until after Kandalanu—Kineladanou—(626) the names familiar to historians and Assyriologists do not appear either in the Greek or the Babylono-Assyrian or Persian form, while the pregnant fact remains that, from the fall of Nineveh, the names of the historic rulers are recognized in all these forms as the kings common to all histories of that period.

5. As to my "main thesis," I assume that Professor Rogers found the facts on which I rely to be as stated—as far as necessary for my purpose, which is to give a reason why the proved and admitted identity of Pul and Tiglath-pileser III can be accepted without necessitating any violence to either the Hebrew or Assyrian chronological statements. My hypothesis, deduced, as I think, from the two histories, simply suggests that, during not fewer than eighteen years, Pul, having assumed the title of King of Assyria, was in rebellion, his revolt beginning in the city of Asshur; that early in this struggle or combat with the reigning dynasty he exacted tribute from Menahem; and that he finally succeeded in his usurpation. If, in perfect accord with the Bible, Assyriologists teach us that Merodach-baladan could thus rebel, struggle, and combat for thirty years to secure a less valuable prize—the throne of Babylon—is there anything incredible in the hypothesis, which contradicts no known fact, that for eighteen years another rebel should in like manner contest for the greater prize—supremacy in the most powerful *imperium* in the Orient?

6. I beg space for a brief *credo*. (1) I believe that both the Hebrew and Assyrian chronologies will synchronize without violence to either. (2) I believe it necessary, to this end, to reject (*a*) the identification of *A-ha-ab-bu* as "Ahab," the son of Omri. The name is different in orthography, the dates of the two conflict, and Shalmaneser declares that, except Dadidri, the kings with whom he was at war were Hittites. We must reject, also, (*b*) the identity of *Sir-'-lai* with "Israel." "Sirlite" (Schrader, p. 189) is not "Israelite." *Sir*, as a proper name, is not found elsewhere for "Israelite," the names used being, *Mat bit Hu-um-ri*, or Samaria. If the kings were Hittites, Sir must be sought in their territory; and it may be identical with Es Sir, still existent near the battlefield of Karkar, the vicinity to which may have caused the marshaling of the entire population for the war. We must reject, also, (*c*) the identity of *Ja-u-a-a-bal Hu-um-ri-i* with "Jehu," the son of Nemshi. Instead of this, it is suggested that *Jau* is the Assyrian form of an affix or suffix which was used with the names of all but a few kings, both of Judah and Israel, from about Ahab's time downward. To Ahaz, one of these exceptions, the Assyrian added it. So familiar was it to the foreign ear that Necho, on deposing Jeho-Ahaz, elevated El-iakim to royalty by dropping the *El-* and adding *Jeho*—making his name "Jeho-iakim." (3) I believe that the tribute was paid by Jehoahaz to Shalmaneser, and that the Benhadad who commanded the Syrian contingent in the battle of Karkar was the son of Hazael, and not the Ben-hadad contemporary with Ahab.

Pittsburg, Pa. JOSEPH HORNER.

PUL, JAREB, TIGLATH-PILESER III—A REPLY.

By the courtesy of the editor I am permitted to make reply to Dr. Horner in the same number of the *Review* in which his note is printed. I am very glad that Dr. Horner understood so well the spirit of friendliness in which my criticisms were offered. My respect for his great services to the Church during a very useful life and my estimate of his solid ability and undoubted acuteness make me hesitate to say anything more in the way of criticism of his former paper. But to his reply it is unfortunately necessary to take some positive, but equally friendly, exceptions:

1. As to authorities. I repeat that Rawlinson and Smith have been long since superseded in the progress of Assyrian studies, and that their use as authorities in Assyrian history must be abandoned.

2. If Dr. Horner does not believe that Shalmaneser IV is the same person as Ululai, and that Asshurbanipal is the same person as Kandalanu, he is absolutely without any support for his skepticism by a solitary modern Assyriologist who has written on Assyrian history. The modern authorities on Assyrian history are Tiele, Winckler, Hommel, and Delitzsch. The references to their books need not be given here. It is sufficient to refer to them in general, and to say that in every one of their histories the facts are found which Assyrian scholars universally accept as proving these identifications.

3. I am sorry that Dr. Horner felt it necessary to recur to the thesis of his article published in the *Methodist Review* in 1889. He has stated it again above under a *credo*. He denies that *A-kha-ab-bu Sir-'-lai* is "Ahab the Israelite." (*a*) He says that the name is "different in its orthography." On the contrary, it is exactly the same in its orthography. Dr. Horner knows well enough that the second consonant is *chêth* in Hebrew. Does he not know that the second sign in the Assyrian word is written with the hard guttural which is identically the same? (*b*) He has misunderstood the sense in which "Hittites" is used by Shalmaneser. (*c*) He also denies that *Sir-'-lai* is "Israelite," and quotes Schrader as translating it "Sirlite;" then he suggests that "Sirlite" is connected with Es Sir. In reply, let it be said simply that *Sir-'-lai* represents accurately every one of the consonants in the word "Israel," save only the *yodh*, and *there is no yodh in Assyrian*. When Dr. Horner derives *Sir-'-lai* from *Sir* he casts away both an *aleph* and a *lamedh*. The gentilic adjective formed from *Sir* would be in Assyrian *Sirai*, and in English would be "Sirite," not "Sirlite." Of course, this is simply a slip on his part, for he knows that in the Semitic languages one may not drop consonants in that way. In my article which appears elsewhere in the *Review* there is a footnote dealing with this theory of Dr. Horner. It was written before I had seen his "Arena" note to which I am now replying. I feel sure that Dr. Horner has not read Schrader's discussion to which I there refer, else would he never have subscribed his honored name to the impossible philological statements written above. (*d*) Dr. Horner calls *Jau* "the

Assyrian form of an affix or suffix." There is no such "affix or suffix" in Assyrian. *Ja-u-a* is the Assyrian method of writing "Jehu," for there is no *hē* in Assyrian.

4. I am sorry that Dr. Horner's insistence upon his "main thesis" compels me to say plainly that which I only hinted in the last number of the *Review*. His theory sets at defiance the plain statements in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III and in the eponym canon. The king states explicitly his share in the great campaigns and locates them in his reign. (See the inscriptions published by Rost.) Dr. Horner asks us to believe that the campaign took place before Tiglath-pileser became king at all.

5. Dr. Horner is seeking to reconcile the Ussherian chronology with the facts as we know them. In order to carry out his scheme he is compelled to deny that Ahab and Jehu are mentioned in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser. All Assyriologists believe that these two kings are mentioned by name in these inscriptions. I have pointed out above that these names are accurately represented by the Assyrian signs which occur in the Shalmaneser texts, published elsewhere in this copy of the *Review*. Dr. Horner, in the further carrying out of his scheme, is compelled to suppose that Tiglath-pileser III invaded Palestine eighteen years before that king's own inscriptions and the eponym canon show that the invasion took place. It pains me to have to say that—in the face of the facts that I have here written down, and in the face of the other facts that are set down in Schrader's *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung* (Giessen, 1878), pp. 356–371 and 422–460, and in Winckler's *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 121, *ff.*, 221, *ff.*, and 192, *ff.*—Dr. Horner's entire scheme of reconciliation breaks down. I am sorry that this is so, for we sadly need some help on these evident chronological difficulties. I should have been very glad to have learned from him on this point. I have spoken with a little more positiveness than in my first note; but it is all written in a spirit of cordial appreciation of his zeal and excellent spirit.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

Madison, N. J.

THE HAWTHORNE RENAISSANCE.

THE Hawthorne *renaissance* comes like a breeze from the mountains into our thick literary atmosphere—refreshing, exhilarating, the breath of a new life. Much of the literature of our generation is like the toxical garden of Rappaccini, which grew plants of sinister and perilous beauty. Their flowers exhale poisonous odors. To inhale the noxious fragrance is to share the fate of the Paduan botanist's daughter and ourselves become living poisons. Among these mephitic growths we would place Tolstoi's *Kreutzer Sonata*, a brilliant bloom which has a vile smell; Beatrice Harraden's *Ships that Pass in the Night*, which has the deadly fascination of the irony of despair; Mrs. Humphrey Ward's *Robert Elsmere*, which deepens the gloom of doubt in a soul that aches for the light of faith; Haggard's *She*, a portraiture of whimsical and terrible impossibilities; and Du Maurier's *Trilby*, a transplanted upas which distills the fetid juices of

French romance. Besides these conspicuous plants there are thousands of smaller growth, but of equal peril, and a great mass of dead-born literature that makes the air rank with pestilential odors. Into this heavy atmosphere Hawthorne breathes again; and already is seen the promise of a more healthful tone.

We believe that Hawthorne's remarkable popularity at this time is not due to the exquisite finish of his style. None, indeed, of New England's geniuses wielded so graceful a pen, and none had a truer literary conscience. But a finished style is not appreciated by the mass of readers. It is an enjoyment which is the luxury of the few. Nor is it any cheerfulness in his stories that attracts. They are usually shadowed. The gloom of crime or some inexplicable mystery produces an intense and melancholy effect, sometimes a dreadful presentiment, which haunts the mind like a ghost of evil purpose. Nor is there anything in his stories to minister to a depraved heart. It is the spice of wickedness that often flavors the ordinary novel. And when it is removed, as was the case, in a measure, with George Sand in her later years, the charm is gone. It is said that with the elevation of moral tone there came a deterioration of her matchless style. Few men can tell the story of crime without either glorifying the wrong or making the suffering wrongdoer detestable. Hawthorne has done neither. He who reads the career of Hester or of Donatello and then suspects the writer of kindred wrongs knows not the mystery of a soul's clear vision. Such a sight is not given to corrupt hearts. Mrs. Hawthorne, who knew her husband's inner life, gives the only philosophical interpretation when she says: "He has always seemed to me, in his remote moods, like a stray seraph, who had experienced in his own life no evil, but by the intuition of a divine intellect saw and sorrowed over all evil."

We believe that the magnetism of Hawthorne's writings for the popular mind is the quality of mystery with which he endows nature and all life. That very feature of his work which has been most severely criticised is the actual possession of every soul. There is no man but feels that the visible world has meanings infinitely beyond what it reveals to the senses. The soul is wrapped in mists, portensions—vague, but potent with destiny. Wedded to ignorance, it expresses itself in ghostly superstition. It haunts a carnal life, and thunders its protest against the animalism of man. Scholarship recognizes it, but in searching for its meanings often loses its way in the pathless deserts of spiritism, theosophy, or some other "high imagination." We believe that the secret of our real life lies somewhere in these misty uncertainties, and not in the hard actualities of our daily existence. Aside from the inspired teachers, no man has accentuated this fact, and with a more healthful voice, than Hawthorne. He conducts the willing reader into this mystery as into the real.

In describing the reflection of the banks of the Concord in the mirror of the sluggish water he says: "The river has a dream picture in its bosom. Which, after all, was the most real—the picture or the original? —the objects palpable to our grosser senses, or their apotheosis in the

stream beneath? Surely, the disembodied images stand in closer relation to the soul." Whether it was his conscious aim or not, this is certainly the result of his appearance in the realm of literature. He has exhibited men and things, not as they appear in the outward actual, but as they are reflected in the stream of the soul's inner life. The whole world is to us as were the picture galleries of Rome to Hilda. Viewing them in the calm of her own innocence, she saw their divine glories. When her poor heart was weary with the commotion of her dreadful secret those same canvases had lost their color and warmth. Her acquaintance with sin threw great moral blotches on pictures which formerly were luminous only with divinity. It is the inward character that gives truth or falsehood to the outward life. This truth our author emphasizes in every story. Mother Rigby's scarecrow, vitalized by smoke from her pipe which was kindled with coals by old Dickon, is real enough in those pumpkin-headed and straw-hearted dudes who infest our homes. The man with a snaky nature, scarcely hidden under the guise of humanity, is reproduced before our very eyes in egotism and jealousy. There is no actual Faun; but who does not feel the strength of the great fact which is purposely portrayed in the story? Life is too sadly serious for such unrestrained simplicity of nature. Dull Salem is idealized with the charm of romance when we see the passion and struggle, the virtue and sin, of the souls that there lived. And so we hail the return of Hawthorne to the reading world. In an age of so-called realism and a strong materialistic drift he emphasizes the spirituality of man, the verity of the unseen.

Newark, N. J. A. H. Tuttle.

"DIVINE REVELATION."

Upon reading in the *Review* for January the article on the above theme by my friend, Dr. J. F. Chaffee, I was compelled, while admiring its many excellencies, to wonder why there should be such indefiniteness on the main point of the paper. If his meaning is that in this nineteenth century holy men have spoken "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" and, therefore, could say with Isaiah, "Thus saith the Lord," why did not he say so? If he did not mean quite this, is there anything new in the points for which he so earnestly contends, and which he announces as if they might strike some, at least, of his readers unfavorably?

Did not Paul say a good while since, "Every one of you . . . hath a revelation?" And have not the songs and sermons of almost every age breathed the same expectation, and demonstrated that not a few of the Church in every age have expected just the guidance and instruction which our brother affirms? That there is a possible revelation to every man and in every age no one should doubt; but to say that to-day any is authorized to declare his personal utterance to be the word of God, in the same sense that Paul or Daniel were, either, on the one hand, declares in rank fanaticism that which does not exist or, on the other, empties the Bible revelation of all its authority over the conscience, its reliability as a standard of morals, and its value as a basis for our faith and hope.

If even we had proof that Washington or Lincoln was "superior as a specimen of Christian manhood" to Moses or Daniel or John, does it logically follow that his inspiration was of superior, or even of equal, authority to theirs? God has in all ages authenticated his prophets, and so emphasized his direct messages that no mistake need be made with regard to any alleged revelation of this grade. The Ten Commandments were given to the people amid the light of supernatural fire, and in such a manner that every one of the nation became a witness to their source; while even Gideon was vouchsafed the token of a fleece. So we may reasonably expect that, if new law should be promulgated or new truth authoritatively uttered now, the man thus inspired would himself recognize the fact, would so declare, and would be amply able so to prove.

Owatonna, Minn. HENRY G. BILBIE.

GOD MANIFEST IN THE FLESH.

WITHOUT controversy, but for the man Christ Jesus great would be the mystery of godliness. Because of him the mystery disappears. Godliness is possible only as the fallen human nature is displaced by the reborn, or divine, nature. In no sense did Jesus take on him the fallen human nature, but rather the regenerated human nature, which is by him revealed and demonstrated to be none other than the divine nature. His generation was of God in the womb of a virgin; but he was not half divine and half human. No part of him was of Jewish human generating. He was by the human to identify him with the human, but he was not of the human. Being the second Adam, he was as completely of God as was Adam. Melchizedek, by the loss of knowledge of his pedigree, was made like unto the Son of God, who was actually "without father, without mother." Mary was no more the mother of Jesus than Joseph was his father. He himself never recognized that she was his mother. He invariably called her "woman;" and when one announced her as his mother he specifically ignored the claim. He was Son of man, not by being born of the flesh, but, as all redeemed men ought to be, by being born of God. To be a son of man, that is, a redeemed man, not by natural generation, but by supernatural generation, is to be a son of God.

God's type of man is divine. In his own image created and recreates he him. What kind of masters in Israel are they who do not see all this? The old dispensation was a failure, not that the law was not perfect, but that men did not apprehend. Shall men persistently misapprehend now that God has set forth his Son? Apostolic identification of Jesus with humanity was with regenerated humanity. Peter saw this realized—men made partakers of the divine nature. John's first epistle is a statement of generation by Jehovah, as against all who, like Nicodemus, ask how these things can be? "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new" describes a new creation or nothing. W. S. H. HERMANS.

Homer, N. Y.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

HOW TO WIN CONGREGATIONS.

ONE of the great problems of the Church concerns the best methods of attracting the people to the house of God. The desire on the part of the preacher to have a crowded house is a commendable one. If he is in full sympathy with the Gospel, as the only remedy for humanity and as a necessity for the world's salvation, he should not be contented without addressing as many people as he can reach. This desire has led many to adopt certain methods of attracting the people which deserve special consideration.

The main difficulty is in securing an evening congregation, especially in our large cities and among what are recognized as our stronger churches. The members of the church and the regular attendants are in their places in the morning; but in the evening they are disposed to leave the church with which they are connected and yield to some special attraction which is offered elsewhere. This is especially true of the young people. They are not so much identified with their home congregation by habit or desire as the older people, and they are more easily inclined to change. It is important that they be reached, for their own sake and for the prosperity of the individual churches.

Any method of securing a congregation which, in the mind of the preacher, is of questionable propriety should be avoided. In other words, if a doubt arise in his mind whether the end justifies the means it should lead to the adoption of some plan which he can fully approve. No one can profitably employ a mode of work concerning the propriety of which he has any mental reservation. He becomes weak from the start when he lacks simplicity of purpose. His work has not the inspiration of sincerity which is essential to success.

Among these doubtful methods is that of sensational advertisements. A glance at the advertisements of Sunday services in our city newspapers will reveal many which come under this class. Sometimes topics are advertised which are purely worldly or, if not worldly, are expressed in exaggerated style. They must strike the reader as a desperate attempt to secure a congregation by adventitious methods rather than by the proclamation of the Gospel. The general defense for these advertisements is that in this way people can be drawn to the house of God, where they will hear the Gospel and be saved. Surely, they should be drawn to the house of God by fair representations. To present as a theme some trivial subject which will be attractive to the frivolous, and then to make the theme the basis of a solemn discussion, as is sometimes done, is not right; for had the attendant known that the text announced was to be used as a pretext he would not have come. He is, therefore, often harmed more than helped, feeling that the announcement was merely a bait to get him

there. He thus loses confidence, not only in the particular minister he has been listening to, but in the veracity of the whole body to which he belongs. The Church is in this way damaged by its own friends.

Again, worldly methods of attracting congregations have created a false appetite among the people. They have learned to look for something else than the pure Gospel when they come to the house of God. Such perverted tastes have been of great damage to our congregations. They have caused spasmodic, instead of steady, attendance. When some striking topic is announced the house is crowded; but when no such announcement is made it is assumed that there is nothing of interest to be heard, and so many do not attend or go elsewhere. If the minister adhered to Gospel topics when announcements were made, and held the congregation sacredly to Christian truth, there would be an inducement for going to church rather than to other places. The Church should be the depository of Christian truth. It should keep prominent the fact that the margin between the Church and the world is not narrow, but broad. There is no one who does not sometimes long to hear concerning the great salvation and how to attain it, who will not visit the church where he is most likely to learn most about it. A careful study of the congregations of our great cities will reveal the fact that the largest congregations are found in those churches where the methods to which exception has been taken are avoided.

Besides, there is danger of placing an exaggerated estimate upon the necessity of large congregations for the spread of the Gospel. Men are not usually converted in masses, but one by one; and he who devotes himself to those who come to the house of God through the ordinary ministrations of the Church will often win more souls to the Master than those who address the crowds. This is not intended as an argument against the large congregations, but simply shows that they are not essential to high usefulness. The great attraction of the church of Christ must ever be the truth that is proclaimed therein and the services of worship that are practiced there. There can be no substitute for the truth; nor can there be any substitute for the special truth which belongs to the house of God. It is not correct to say that all kinds of truth must be proclaimed by the minister of the Gospel. He is limited by the command of Christ himself, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." Whatever is properly included in the Gospel forms a part of the message of God's ambassador.

The best way to ascertain what is meant by the Gospel is by the study of the gospels and of the other writings of the New Testament. How broad its range will be apparent from a consideration of the subjects on which Christ gave instruction. The philanthropies of Christ were so all-embracing, covering all kinds of human need, that there is no proper movement of human reform or of legitimate human aspiration whose roots are not found in his teachings. When we come to the epistles, which are, in fact, commentaries upon and formulations of the gospels, the wide range of truth which belongs to the pulpit is manifest.

The truth, then, which the preacher must supply is the Gospel. It is a safe proposition that no topic for a sermon is legitimate which is not found in the Scriptures or is not clearly deducible from them. Subjects for sermons which grow out of the close and spiritual study of the book itself will be the most fruitful for good and, on the whole, the most interesting to the people. It is sometimes said that the people are tired of the Gospel. Not so. People never weary of Gospel preaching; for "it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

THE MINISTER AS AN EDUCATOR.

EDUCATION is not restricted in its meaning to the mere acquisition of knowledge and the development of the intellectual powers. It may properly include those attainments which are gained from constant familiarity with modes of thinking and forms of expression by which one person, and sometimes one community, is distinguished from another. In many parts of the country the Church is not only the spiritual center, but also the intellectual center. The pastor is, by virtue of his training and position, regarded as the standard of the proprieties of address and of social intercourse. The Church in that case is a kind of university center, molding the community in the midst of which it is placed. The minister's business as a spiritual educator is admitted. He is recognized as one who has had special opportunities to become acquainted with the Holy Scriptures and their theological formulation, as well as with the history of the Church of God. He is, also, believed to possess a rich spiritual experience, from which he can draw to comfort and instruct those who seek his aid. He is an educator in his modes of looking at the truth. He becomes an unconscious factor in determining the intellectual attitude of his people.

On a Sabbath, not long ago, the writer visited three prominent city churches and heard three excellent sermons. Each sermon was marked by peculiarities which were partly the result of the preacher's mental and spiritual character, and partly were due to his environments. In other words, each preacher was such as he was by virtue of qualities and powers inherent in him, and, also, of influences which came upon him from his congregation. Each one had been modified by his surroundings, as well as by his growth in knowledge and in religious experience. The morning sermon was written in full and delivered from manuscript. It was ethical in its character rather than devotional or doctrinal, and the preacher sought to arouse in his audience a conviction which would insure right living and devotion to human welfare. It was chaste in style, easy and natural in delivery, and from a purely critical standpoint might be regarded as almost faultless. It was in an Episcopal church, of High Church tendencies, and the preaching, both in matter and manner, was in harmony with the audience and the services.

The afternoon sermon was by a Presbyterian minister. The service was characterized by extreme simplicity. There was the absence of

ritual or of extended ceremonial of any kind. It is said that the opposition of the people to formalists of any sort, and even to special services for Christmas and Easter, is very marked. On these festal days no special displays of flowers will be seen at this church, which is one of the most fashionable and wealthy in the denomination. The sermon was on the "Precious Blood of Christ," and consisted of a simple and direct exposition of the passage, with an earnest appeal to the hearers to turn from sin and seek deliverance from its power by personal faith in the atonement of the Saviour. The sermon was without notes and simply and forcibly delivered. Again we were impressed with the unity of the service and the harmony of its every part with the audience. They all listened to the story of the cross with as much interest as others do to the most thrilling announcement of some new disclosure.

The last service of the day was in the evening, at another prominent church of great influence. The preacher was well known and popular. This sermon was read and sparkled with rich thought felicitously expressed. The appeal was to righteousness, especially in public life. It was an arraignment of wrongdoers, whether in high places or in low, and was listened to by a sympathetic audience. Again the sermon impressed the hearer as expressing the natural method of the preacher, modified by his environments. The sermon was excellent and unexceptionable, both in thought and method.

No criticism is here offered on either of these services; but they impressed the writer as fit illustrations of the preacher as an educator. The characteristic modes of thought and expression of these ministers were alike in some respects, yet the men were different in mental tone and in their way of looking at things. In the first, the æsthetic element predominated; in the second, the evangelical; in the last, the ethical. And yet all were permeated with the spirit and teachings of the Gospel. Each had his mission, and each was doing his work as seemed to him best for the advancement of Christ's kingdom. It has been said that the audiences seemed to be in harmony with the sermons. There is a sense in which, unconsciously, an audience molds the method of their minister; but more frequently the minister molds his audience. The pastors above referred to had each occupied the same pulpit for many years, two of them for a quarter of a century. In all these years the educating process had been going on. The general tone and the preacher's mode of looking at things had been influencing the people. These teachings had made the first of these congregations a people of æsthetic ideas; and so each of the others had taken on the general ideas of the minister.

If the preacher is thoroughly given up to the spiritual side of the Christian life and to pure evangelical thought he will become an educator of his people in this regard. If his attitude is critical, attacking all existing things in the Church, or if he is a destructionist rather than a constructionist, these tendencies will soon appear in his people also. If reformatory movements have absorbed him, an interest in these needs for Christian effort will also be communicated to his hearers. If he be an

expounder of the word, digging the pure gold from the great mine in which it has so long been stored, his people will grow in love of the word until they can say with the psalmist, "The law of thy mouth is better unto me than thousands of gold and silver." When the minister adopts either mode of address exclusively he will educate his people narrowly; but the true pastor will not cling to any one method of instruction. He will train his people in both the ethical and devotional ideas of Christianity, he will maintain the doctrinal and the practical. Out of the word he will bring things new and old; and thus, by God's grace, he will present himself, "approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, handling aright the word of truth."

THE PULPIT THE CONSERVATOR OF ETERNAL HOPE.

THE destruction of the teachings concerning a future for man would, viewed from whatever standpoint, prove a loss of boundless magnitude to the world. Yet we are not fully aware of the great necessity for the proclamation of the Gospel in order to preserve in the world "life and immortality."

This thought is suggested by a meeting, recently held in New York, to pay tribute to the memory of the late eminent novelist, Robert Louis Stevenson. The gathering, as was fitting, was addressed by some of the foremost literary men of our country. The point to be noted in the reports was the entire absence of any reference to a future life. The only immortality hinted at or suggested was that which should come from the permanent influence of his writings. The service was intended to do full justice to Stevenson's merits; and that was well done. This case is but a sample of the cases constantly occurring in which the present life is the entire boundary of the horizon of the speaker or writer who is paying tribute to the departed.

We are thus reminded of the necessity of the Gospel and of the Gospel ministry. Life and immortality are Gospel truths. They had been in the world before; but Christ made them clear, and they are the great heritage of our faith. This "blessed hope" had been declared in the Old Testament. The old philosophers had, with hesitancy, expressed the hope of a future life. But Christ first taught it clearly and demonstrated it by his own resurrection. He is "the resurrection and the life." The spirit of secularism has so pervaded modern thought that we may not expect that purely scientific and literary men will present this great hope so that it will be ever fresh to the people. The poets here and there will allude to it, and orators will speak of it; but unless they are permeated by the Gospel it will be dimly represented. What a glorious mission is here found for the minister of Christ! What a privilege to remind a world, in the midst of its cares and sorrows, that death is the gateway to a blessed immortality for all God's people! This is the preacher's sacred trust. If it is not proclaimed by him, humanity is in danger of losing sight of this most precious hope.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

THE *Book of the Dead* has been called the Bible of the old Egyptians. Such an appellation, however, is quite misleading, since it has little or nothing resembling the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, commonly known as the Bible. Champollion, before the contents of the book were fully known, called it a funerary ritual, and Lepsius, for the lack of a better name, the *Book of the Dead.* "A Guidebook for the Disembodied Spirit through Hades" would have been a more philosophical title. This sacred book of Egypt is to a large extent pictorial, being made up of representations of sacred animals, gods, and scenes illustrating the experiences of the soul in Amenti, that is, the nether world. Along with these pictorial representations we find hieroglyphic and hieratic inscriptions, containing minute details of the land beyond through which the soul had to make its dreary pilgrimage in order to reach Sechit-Aarru, or the fields of the blest. These representations and inscriptions are found carved or painted upon the walls of tombs, on sarcophagi, on the inside and outside of coffins, or written on papyri which were hidden in some vessel or niche in the burial chamber, placed in the coffin along with the mummy, and sometimes securely wrapped under the bandages.

It is important, at the outset, to bear in mind that the inscriptions thus found were not copied from the *Book of the Dead*, as, in our day, verses from the Bible are carved on tombstones; but, rather, the *Book of the Dead* is composed of inscriptions from various tombs and coffins. Accordingly, the sacred literature of Egypt, like that of most nations, shows a growth. Unfortunately, however, for the destructive critic, if the best Egyptologists are to be trusted, the older the text the purer and profounder the thought; retrogression, rather than progress, is very apparent. Not only were new chapters added from time to time, but old ones were rewritten, various explanations of words and difficult phrases were inserted, and what was simply intended as explanatory became, in the course of ages, incorporated in the text, so that it is often almost impossible to decide which is the original and which is the gloss or commentary. The *Book of the Dead* boasts of great antiquity. Perhaps it would be going too far to assert, with Maspero, that it "must have existed from prehistoric times;" yet there can be no doubt that portions of it date back to the first dynasty. It is a significant fact that much of the text was so corrupt as to be unintelligible as early as the eleventh dynasty. The oldest part of any length yet discovered is that found on what is believed to have been the coffin of Mycerinus, of the fourth dynasty, or B. C. 3633. It is now well known that several long chapters have been taken from the tombs of the fifth and sixth dynasties. These were, of course, in hieroglyphics, though hieratic writing is found in the sepulchral

chambers of the eleventh dynasty. According to Budge, one of the best authorities, there are in the British Museum fragments of the book written on papyrus which were found with the mummy of An-Antef, likewise of the eleventh dynasty.

The *Book of the Dead* is not a treatise on ethics, or in any sense a code of laws for the government of men in this life; neither is it a collection of prayers for use in the temples, nor even a ritual for funeral occasions. It is, rather, a collection of prayers or hymns for the guidance of the soul in Amenti. Amenti was no myth to the Egyptian, but, much more, a very real country, with its towering mountains, barren sands, and dangerous torrents full of boiling waters. The topography of this land was as well known to the priests as that of Egypt itself. According to the teaching of the hierarchy, the journey through Amenti, lasting for millenniads, was beset with untold difficulties; for not only hostile demons and evil genii, but many subterranean beasts and reptiles as well, conspired to hinder the safe passage of the soul. Even the burning sand, all but destitute of life, was infested with horned vipers. The *Book of the Dead* was to aid the soul in overcoming all obstacles between himself and final bliss. The rubric at the end of the seventy-second chapter defines the object of the book so fully as to justify its insertion in this place: "If this book is learned upon earth or executed in writing upon the coffin he will come forth by day in all the forms he pleaseth, with entrance into his house without repulse. And there shall be given to him bread and beer and flesh-meat upon the table of Osiris. He will come forth to Sechit-Aarru, and there shall be given to him wheat and barley there; for he will flourish as though he were upon earth, and he will do all that pleaseth him, like those gods who are there, undeviatingly, for times infinite."

Not only was the soul able to assume the form of any animal or god, but the gods came to his immediate aid whenever he could speak the right word or formula. Hathor, the sacred cow, carried him on her back at full gallop over the highest hills and most dangerous places; Thoth, in the form of an ibis, bore the soul on his wings; and still other gods met him with the solar bark to convey him safely over the turbulent waters separating this world from paradise. As we see from the first line of the above rubric the prayers might be learned in this life. So great, however, were the difficulties to be encountered and the dangers to be avoided and so minute the directions for overcoming them that few, if any, Egyptians cared to trust the memory on so momentous a question. Even Ani, the great scribe of Amen-Ra, at Thebes, provided his tomb with a copy of these talismanic incantations and magical formulas.

The *Book of the Dead*, being a loose collection of inscriptions from various sources, gathered together into a whole something after the fashion of a modern hymnal, only with very much less care, would vary in size according to the time, place, and tastes of the collector. Naville has well said that the arrangement is purely artificial, without regard to doctrine, or even chronology. The number of chapters inscribed on a tomb or written in a papyri would also greatly depend upon the ability or affec-

tions of the deceased's relatives. Some burial chambers contain almost the entire collection and are, in other regards, genuine works of art. Some papyri are likewise complete and very costly, beautifully executed, containing not only the text, but illuminations, vignettes, and rubrics, and are elegantly painted, sometimes in more than a dozen colors. We have every reason for believing that the preparation of the tomb, with all its furnishings, inscriptions, and papyri included, if not directly managed by the priests, was yet under their direct control. The burial guilds would naturally keep a large selection of copies of the sacred book in stock, like other necessary articles for a decent burial, at prices to suit the customer. The carelessness with which many papyri have been made proves clearly that they are the work of unskilled men, ignorant not only of the subject, but of the very language, and that they were written for gain, and not from a sense of sacred duty.

Copies of the *Book of the Dead*, more or less complete, have been found in a thousand tombs or coffins. New ones are constantly coming to light. Grébaut, not long ago, found no less than fifty at Thebes. There are over a thousand papyri containing a portion of the book in different museums. Indeed, of the papyri hitherto discovered, fully nine tenths, according to Maspero, are manuscripts of this work. Two copies have been known for many years—the one in hieratic at the Louvre, published in part by De Rougé, and the other in hieroglyphic at Turin. The latter, so thoroughly studied by Lepsius and divided by him into one hundred and sixty-five chapters, is one of the longest. Lengthy, however, as the Turin papyrus is, there are quite a number of chapters found in other recensions which it does not contain. It is not easy to account for this, since several of the chapters omitted are among the most ancient. The most plausible explanation is that there were rival sects and several editions. These missing parts, called supplementary chapters, have been published by Pleyte, Leyden, 1881. The Turin papyrus, though in a very corrupt text and full of errors of various kinds, and though not as ancient and trustworthy as that of Ani, Nebset, or Nebseni, is, nevertheless, the one most frequently quoted, as in our day the Authorized Version of the Bible leads all others in the English language. This Turin papyrus was fully described and partially translated into German by Lepsius. Dr. Birch's English version from this papyrus has been known for many years. A few months ago Dr. Davis, of Meriden, Conn., published another translation, not directly from the original, but from the French of Pierret. Neither of the above English translations is entirely trustworthy. The Theban recensions are regarded as much more reliable than any others. In 1886, after many years of great labor in collating texts and inscriptions from sarcophagi, coffins, and other resources, Naville published his critical edition of the Theban period (B. C. 1700–1200). This excellent work is now in course of translation into our language by that eminent Egyptologist, P. Le Page Renouf. One hundred and six chapters have already appeared in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology. The work is elucidated by copious notes, comparison of variants,

and explanation of difficult words. Renouf's edition when completed will be the finest translation into any modern language.

Like the sacred literature of most nations, the *Book of the Dead* has been regarded as inspired; indeed, we are assured that some parts of it were written by the finger of Thoth, the god of letters. Unlike the Old Testament, which has so little to say of the future life, and still less of an intermediate state, the *Book of the Dead* is devoted almost exclusively to the experiences of the soul on its tedious and toilsome journey to paradise. No one can study a page of this most ancient book or, indeed, any of the funeral customs of the Egyptians, without being fully convinced of their belief in the immortality of the soul and the final revivification of the mummy. Grotesque and crude as were these notions, they were, none the less, sacred truth to them. Moses, no doubt, was well versed in the sacred literature and theology of Egypt. So were the more intelligent Hebrews who, with their great leader, left Egypt for Canaan. How ridiculous, therefore, the assertion often made that the Jews knew nothing of a life beyond the grave until, at least, several centuries after the exodus! Since, however, the Egyptians held such distorted views and encouraged such needless expenses on the mummy and sepulture, and since they taught that Amenti was a middle place where reparations might be made for neglect in this world, it is not wonderful that Moses emphasized the present life, since he well knew that correct living in this world would be the best preparation for the life beyond. It will be conceded readily that silence on this subject is far better than the wild vagaries and extravagant teachings of the priests of Heliopolis or Thebes.

We should do the ancient Egyptians great injustice were we to say that they placed no stress upon a moral life on earth. Such an assertion is fully contradicted by chapter cxxv, sometimes called "the negative confessions." It portrays the last stage of the soul's probation, when about to enter the glorified state. The soul appears before Osiris, the judge of Amenti, and his forty-two associate judges. The heart is weighed in this august presence. The plate in the Turin papyrus describing the judgment day, in connection with this chapter, is the largest, completest, and most vividly real of any in the book. Some of the most notable asseverations are the following: "I did no witchcraft;" "I did not use too many words;" "I did not lie;" "I did not steal;" "I did not commit fornication, adultery, or self-pollution;" "I did not rob graves;" "I neither blasphemed nor robbed the gods;" "In short, I did no evil;" "I am pure, I am pure." It is then added, "I gave bread to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, a boat to the detained traveler, gifts to the gods, and funeral offerings to the glorified one; I am pure of mouth, I am clean of hands." The heart having balanced, the image of truth is now placed in the body of the deceased. This act is "a signal of the resurrection" and the beginning of everlasting life. The four parts of man, separated by death, are reunited, and the perfect being, in obedience to the welcome words, "Come, come in peace," takes his place among the immortal gods.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

JAPAN'S FIRST "HERETIC."

WHETHER the Japanese Christians are to prove themselves competent to develop a well-balanced Christian Church is still quite a serious problem. The antagonism to everything foreign, which has recently become the dominant sentiment of the entire population, has resulted in an effort to establish a wholly indigenous native Christian Church. They have attempted to formulate a creed of their own, which should not be borrowed from any existing organization of Christians outside of Japan, ancient or modern, and which should be independent of any symbols, even of the early Church. Some have gone so far as to antagonize the acceptance of the Apostles' Creed. Now that native Christians have organized a Church which they recognize as "Japanese," it looks as if they would adopt an ecclesiastical discipline as original as history records.

Already large attention has been called to the trial and humiliation of the Rev. Naomi Tamura, the pastor of a large city church in Tokio. He is described as a thickset, energetic man thirty-five years old, who graduated at Princeton, who has written commentaries, translated Cruden's *Concordance*, and started an industrial school for boys. He came to America to raise funds for this last enterprise, and in his lectures while here made some statements concerning his people which did not tally with Mr. Arnold's representations. Urgently requested to publish these lectures, he at last sold the manuscript to an American publishing house, and they appeared in book form, with the title *The Japanese Bride*. The volume contained some things not complimentary to his countrymen. Learning of this, they flew into a rage and, though few of them had ever seen the book, furiously condemned its author as unpatriotic. The Christians evidently thought that they must resist any implication of a lack of patriotism, and became furious too. They summoned Mr. Tamura for ecclesiastical trial before his presbytery. By the casting vote of the moderator he was condemned for "slandering his country." He appealed from the decision. Public discussion ensued in the press, which did not mend matters; and the synod, to whom appeal was taken, it has been alleged, was packed with men of one mind. Instead of suspending they deposed him, changing the accusation at the time they were about to read his sentence and admitting no protest to be entered on the record. Mr. Tamura's church instantly withdrew its connection with the synod; and, declining to acknowledge the authority of the synod, he continues to be the pastor of an independent church. There are seven cooperating missions from abroad in Japan, which constitute a "council" to the "Church of Christ in Japan," which has given this anomalous exhibit of churchly order. This "council" declared by resolution their regret at the course of the Church. Nobody has alleged that Mr. Tamura's book

is untrue in its statements, except in minor particulars. His countrymen merely denounced him for giving publicity to family secrets. Dr. W. A. P. Martin, of the Imperial University of Peking, a man of vast acquaintance with everything in eastern Asia, pronounces the book to be a "faithful and graphic picture of Japanese domestic life, by a man whose eyes are open to see its defects." He sees its beauties, however, as well, and eulogizes them in contrast with certain things in the West.

It is not Mr. Tamura that concerns us, nor his book, which has had perhaps as much notoriety as it deserves; but it is this sample of what is to be hoped for from the nascent Church of Japan—a Church which claims that it has no further need for the guidance or help of Western Christendom, but which still wants foreign missionary money to flow into its hands, to be managed by it as it sees best. This "Church" has furnished a monstrous sample of incompetency for self-control and self-development in thus degrading a man from the ministry who is charged with no untruth, nor even with overstatement, but with unpatriotic conduct in stating things which all acknowledge to exist, and stating them as they exist. The "Church of Christ in Japan" stands itself arraigned at the bar of the civilized world, of which it seems so ambitious to prove itself a part.

THE MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS.

THE Christian world has been shocked by reported barbarities of the Kurds toward the Armenians, consisting of the outrageous butchery, and worse, of women and children—outrages so gross that even Turkish soldiers could only be brought to commit them by threats of punishment if they refused; outrages against which the Turkish governor himself is said to have protested and, in consequence, was removed; outrages whose perpetrator, Zekki Pasha, has been honored by the sultan's government. Two things have increased the indignation of Christendom in the premises:

I. The political violence done to the Treaty of Berlin of 1878. The Turk, at the time of that treaty, desired to be defended against Russia, and England promised such protection. The condition required of Turkey was that she should introduce reforms in the treatment of her Armenian subjects. Turkey agreed to this, and also that the great powers of Europe should "superintend their application" (*Berlin Treaty*, article 61). Sixteen years afterward the Armenians found that it had yielded them nothing; they were still under the uncontrolled, unregulated rule of the Turk. Great Britain asked them to accept, on her guarantee, the Turk's promises of better treatment; but it is not clear that she has made her guarantee of any avail. Meanwhile, Armenians had lost the protection of their only friend, the Russian.

II. The Armenians are, nominally, at least, Christian, and have been from a very early period. Since A. D. 301 their national Church has been known as the Armenian, or the Gregorian, Church. It is not held to be orthodox in some of its leading tenets, such as its belief in the

single nature of Christ, the procession of the Spirit from the Father only, transubstantiation, purgatory, and prayer to the Virgin and the saints; but it was hoped that it might be reformed and made a great missionary power in the midst of Moslem communities. At any rate, the Armenians were accessible, and there was no legal disability in the way of their accepting a purer form of Christianity. Under missionary teaching there has been a gradual rejection of their superstitions and a marked awakening in the line of education. In spite of the oppressions they have suffered, they have been gradually increasing in wealth, amid the general extension of poverty around them in the empire at large. The thing that specially renders them obnoxious to their rulers is that they have gained possession of much of the land. They hold their own far better than other races in Asiatic Turkey, the Greek only comparing with them in business ability and general intelligence.

According to Turkish law every person must remain connected with the ecclesiastico-civil community in which he was born. When the evangelical movement began in Armenia it met with opposition from the authorities of the ancient Armenian Church, who refused the adherents of the evangelical bodies burial and excommunicated them with anathemas. They were cut off and cast off, but endured all with martyrlike submission, and were ultimately recognized as native Protestants, with a civil head, and he a layman. But the Protestant Armenian Church has suffered much from emigration of its members to Western countries, as well as from obstructions on the part of the Turkish authorities in the way of the progress of its educational institutions.

THE STATUS OF ARMENIANS IN PERSIA.

THE Armenians are so widely distributed over Asia, Europe, and America that one naturally turns at this juncture to ask of their fate in the Mohammedan land of Persia. Julfa is a suburb of Ispahan inhabited by a colony of Armenian Christians who have a very interesting history. Their ancestors were brought hither, as long ago as the time of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Shah Abbas. Dr. Bruce, who has been at Ispahan for a quarter of a century, tells of the conditions under which this community of Christians has existed. A river called the Zaindehrood, or "life-giving" river, flows between the Christian suburb and the Mohammedan city. Forty years ago, or less, no Christian was allowed to cross the bridge over this river mounted on any beast of burden. This is but a slight illustration of the application of what is known as the "thirteen rules of Omar," the object of which was to degrade every non-Moslem, making him feel that he was nothing better than a dog in the eyes of the rulers of the land. One of these laws bestowed on a pervert to Islam the property of any of his near kindred to which he might please to lay claim. Dr. Bruce illustrates the application of this law with an instance, which came under his own knowledge, of an Armenian Christian whose "great-grandmother's sister's great-granddaughter" had become a Moslem, had

taken sums of money from him under the law, and had then laid claim to the house which he had inherited from his father and on which he himself had spent large sums of money. He besought Dr. Bruce to become his tenant, because he, being a British subject, could not be disturbed on the premises. Dr. Bruce rented the property, and ultimately it became the first mission house of the Church of England mission in Persia. The same woman who annoyed the doctor's landlord took property belonging to other Armenian relatives as distantly related to her as was he. The present shah having put an end to all these customs, the Armenian Christian colony in Julfa has progressed in a marvelous manner and increased in self-respect, as well as in the esteem of Moslems, among whom some of the Armenian Christians have been most effective evangelists.

APPLICANTS FOR MISSION SERVICE IN DISPROPORTION TO MEANS.

It is certainly a matter for serious thought what is the duty of the Church in view of two things: we have prayed for open doors, and all doors are wide open; we have prayed God to raise up workers, and they stand ready in ranks far beyond the capacity of the boards to send them forward. What is to be done under such conditions? The Church of England Missionary Society, October, 1887, initiated a policy, which has ever since been acted upon, of accepting and sending forward all duly qualified missionaries, trusting God for means of supporting them and their work, rather than of limiting their new force to the money they had in sight. They did not say that such a policy was always right; but they thought it expedient for them at that time. Some friends of the society doubt the wisdom of the course, thinking it fanatical. The whole question was reopened at the general committee meeting in November last, when one of the most respected of the members moved to rescind the action of seven years before. Archbishop, prebendary, and generals among the laity, were found to oppose the proposal, and it was withdrawn, to the great satisfaction of the large company present. We give some of the figures which were laid before the committee. The total number of missionaries, not counting missionaries' wives, has increased as follows: clergymen, from 247 to 344; laymen, from 40 to 82; women, from 22 to 193—total, from 309 to 619, more than doubling in the seven years. It was at the end of 1887 that the new plans for associated evangelists were formed. It was at the same time that the large extension of woman's work began. Since 1887 medical missions have much developed, and the number of medical missionaries has more than doubled. In 1887 there were four honorary missionaries; in 1894 there were over seventy, besides eighty supported in whole or in part by special gifts. In the year ending March, 1887, the General Fund Income was £200,777. In the year ending March, 1894, it was £237,797. A token of the approval with which the committee's action, referred to above, is regarded was received in a check for £250, sent by one friend in thankfulness for their decision.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Raymond de Girard. A geologist by profession, he has so repeatedly, and for so long a time, studied the question of the flood that his utterances on that subject may not be overlooked by the theologian. He has recently published the first part of a work entitled, *Le Déluge devant la Critique Historique*, in which he discusses the historical school, leaving the mythical school, that is, the school which regards the stories of the flood as myths, for a second volume. He subdivides the historical school into three minor schools: first, the universalist; second, the mixed; third, the nonuniversalist. The universalist school holds that all nations originally had a knowledge of the flood, but that where no traces of such knowledge are now found it is to be presumed that the tradition was by some means lost, and that wherever such traditions are to be found they refer to the same fact of which Genesis treats. The only difference of opinion which exists in this school is whether the flood was geographically, or only ethnically, universal. The mixed school distinguishes between real flood traditions and psuedo flood traditions. Under the former, it distinguishes again between those that are aboriginal and those which are imported or borrowed. The Chinese and American flood traditions are regarded as pseudo-diluvian, and the Negroes are held to be without the slightest trace of a flood tradition. The nonuniversalist school only carries the principles of the mixed school to their logical results when it avers that the Chaldean is the only real and aboriginal flood tradition. The source of the account in Genesis is supposed by this school to be Chaldaic. Although the tradition is thus narrowed down to the one source, yet it is regarded as sufficiently strong to establish the fact. The only question is whether the flood was universal or local. With this survey, the historical evidence concerning the flood is brought to an end; but Girard adds a discussion of the evidence from archæology and geology. The geological investigation leads to the result that there are no material traces of such a flood as that described in Genesis, although Girard thinks it possible that the theory which confines the flood to Mesopotamia, and attributes it to seismic disturbances, would not be contradicted by the geological evidence. Girard, by his studies, has done the cause of learning, and especially the theologian, a service here which is of great value. He has the true spirit of scholarship, which prompts him to give the representatives of all schools of opinion an opportunity to express their peculiar views and to be fair himself toward all of them.

Professor Dr. F. Kattenbusch. It is always instructive to observe how a great thinker proceeds in his labors. Kattenbusch has published works chiefly on questions relating to early or little known confessions of

faith. His latest work, begun away back in the seventies, long before the recent German controversy began, has been in the investigation of the Apostles' Creed. He follows the geographical division into occidental and oriental forms of the Creed. In studying the occidental forms, for example, he takes them up province after province, and shows that all the provincial forms are variations from the old original Roman symbol, and that, included in the occidental, are three typical provincial forms, the Italian, the African, and the west European. The inexhaustible patience of a true scholar is exhibited in the minute researches he makes into disputed questions in the hope of throwing some light upon their settlement. Nothing is so small as to be overlooked, nothing is hastily done. In studying the oriental forms of the Creed he was obliged to gather his own materials, and students of Church history will ever be under obligation to him for his labors in this respect. Here, still more completely, his method of study becomes apparent. As in the Occident a comparison of the provincial forms led to the conclusion that they all had their origin in the old Roman symbol, so here he raises the questions whether the oriental forms are original and independent, and where the beginnings of the symbol in the Orient are to be found. To the first question he gives a negative answer; in answer to the second he names Syria and Palestine. But if there is no original type in the Orient, whence did their various symbols spring? By a comparison it is discovered that the old Roman symbol is not only the mother of the occidental forms, but the oriental also. These are weighty conclusions; and we mention them, not for their own sake, but because they are inseparably connected with the method pursued by Kattenbusch in his investigations, which is the main thought to be emphasized here. Kattenbusch has already published a book of four hundred and twenty-four pages on this subject, and it is but the first volume. It will require another volume to complete the publication of his researches. Many Americans are inclined to ridicule the minuteness of German research. But it is just because Kattenbusch has gone into the *minutiæ* of this question that he is an authority upon it. And those who wish to know anything well must follow his example.

Professor Dr. Clemen. As a scholar he has distinguished himself by his studies of the relation between the Old and New Testaments. He believes that the Bible, in both the Old and New Testaments, is an organic whole. The Old Testament points to the facts later recorded in the New. The Old Testament, he thinks, is not to be looked at from the standpoint of the historian merely. He would emphasize the higher, the ideal, the eternal and enduring contents of the Old Testament, which had a reference to Christ and his kingdom, while applied originally to current events. He regards this higher sense of the Old Testament, designed by the Spirit of God, as the true sense. It must not be represented as capriciously read into the Old Testament, but as necessarily connected with all its contents. When the writers of the New Testament applied language of

the Old Testament to events in the life of Christ, they did it in the prophetic consciousness that those passages were originally designed to have a prophetic significance. By holding these opinions Clemen comes very close to maintaining the double sense of the Old Testament. In fact, it is impossible to see any practical distinction between his view and that of the double sense. As some one has said of him, he admits the double-sense conception of the Old Testament by the back door. On the one hand, Clemen does not believe in verbal inspiration. The inspiration of the Old Testament writers had to do rather with what they taught than how they expressed it. If we may coin a word, he believes in a "factual," rather than in a verbal, inspiration. To him the citations of the Old Testament in the New are not mere illustrations of the fixed facts of the Christian faith; but rather they were used by the New Testament writers under the inspiration of the same Spirit which prompted their reduction to writing by the Old Testament authors, and in the same sense which the inspiring Spirit intended them to have when originally written. On the other hand, Clemen maintains more than a mere enlightenment of the writers of the New Testament, having for its effect a sharpening of their perceptions for the deepest contents of the Old Testament. The Spirit of God was with these writers, not designating the words, but inspiring them in the choice of the facts recorded and in the choice of the citations from the Old Testament. Thus it is he explains the want of verbal accuracy, together with the identity of the original and the New Testament applications.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Das Weltelend und der Welterlösung (The Redemption of the World from its Misery). By K. Hollensteiner. The book proposes to discuss the spiritualization of man. The first part, which describes the misery of the world, has for its motto, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh," while the second part, which deals with redemption, is founded upon the suggestions contained in the passage, "If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit." And the textual division, as one may say, is followed by the treatment of the life in the Spirit, distinctly from the walking in the Spirit. The book proposes to discuss from this standpoint the whole range of dogmatics and ethics. The book holds to the trichotomous division of the nature of man. It denies that sin springs from the sensuous side of man or from his weakness. Rather does it spring from the fact that the soul leans toward the body, rather than toward the spirit. The inference from this must be that if the soul had turned toward the spirit human sin would have had no existence. So that according to this, while it does not make the body essentially sinful, it is our bodies which have made sin possible in us, and which occasioned, if they did not cause, sin in the human race. Such a doctrine gives to the body more influence over the soul than the spirit has over the soul. This would be a remarkable phenomenon, and could not be explained except on the sup-

position of an inherent and powerful tendency of the body toward moral evil. This view of the case practically leads to the assertion of the evil of matter. The only true view is that sin is primarily of the spirit of man. The body cannot sin without the consent of the spirit, and originally had no more predisposition to sin than did the spirit. So far as sin originated in man, his body had no participation in it. Though he be fallen, the body is not responsibly active in prompting to, or executing, the purpose of sin. Sin can only be committed by a conscious agent. Interesting is the discussion of regeneration, which is represented as consisting of enlightenment, justification (including pardon), and sanctification. It is well to include thus both the preparatory stages and the subsequent results in the work of regeneration. The spiritualization of man as the redemption of the world from its misery is the thought of the book, and is worthy of its author and of careful consideration by all its readers.

Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum (The Influence of the Ancient Mysteries upon Christianity). By G. Anrich. There being no work which sets forth the character, development, and religious significance of the mysteries, together with a presentation of their position and influence upon the mental and moral development of the Christian centuries, this book proposes briefly, and in a preliminary way, to supply the lack. This is, indeed, one of the most valuable features of the work, and constitutes the first part. The second part follows the investigation of the main problem from the first, to the beginning of the fifth, century A. D. The titles of the eight chapters are as follows: "Gnosticism in its Relation to the Mysteries;" "Preparations and Beginnings of the Mysteries in Relation to Worship;" "Christianity as Mystery—the Alexandrian Gnosis;" "The Terminology of the Mysteries and the Secret Discipline;" "The Contrast between the Initiated and the Uninitiated—Catechetical and Baptismal Instruction;" "The Specific Effects of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, with the Manner of their Production;" "Baptism and Eucharist, according to their Ritualistic Development;" "Ancient Purism in Christianity." These eight chapters, as will be seen at a glance, cover the field thoroughly. The principal conclusion reached is that no direct influence of the mysteries upon Christianity, that is, no conscious adoption of the forms and institutions of the mysteries on the part of Christianity, found place, nor even an accommodation of those forms and institutions to the needs of Christianity. But, on the other hand, the Church was more and more influenced, though unconsciously, by the mystery element which prevailed in the intellectual atmosphere. Furthermore, the book shows that, while in gnosticism the mysteries early exercised a profound influence, it was only from the beginning of the fourth century that the mysteries completely ruled the ecclesiastical consciousness. The entire process is represented as religious—psychological. The religious feelings, impressions, and desires of the Church were more and more governed by the departing antique, until, in the necessities of the case and unconsciously, the process began by which religious conceptions, forms, and institutions

parallel to the mysteries arose. The book does not pretend that primitive Christianity was influenced by the mysteries. It is a good specimen of the kind of studies demanded by the times, and of which many scores could be conducted without exhausting the range of topics which, in early Church history alone, deserve to be treated.

Der Viercapitalbrief im zweiten Korinthesbrief des Apostels Paulus (The Four-chapter Letter within Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians). By Anton Halmel. The unity of Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians has been long and hotly disputed. Halmel would allow the correctness of the separation of chaps. x–xiii from the former part. But he also denies the unity of the first part of the epistle, making a four-chapter letter to begin at chap. ii, 14, and end with chap. vi, 10. The supposition is that between verse 13 of chap. ii and verse 14 of the same chapter there is a break; that a similar break in the sense is found between verse 9 of chap. vi and verse 10 of the same chapter; that the part that he regards as an interpolation was written by Paul, but on another occasion, and inserted here by an editor after Paul's death; that this part makes complete sense when separated from the original letter; and that if this part were removed the remainder would read more continuously than it does when this part is read between. Thus there are three letters in one, in the following order: (1) Chap. i, 1–ii, 13; vi, 11–13–vii, 2–16. (2) Chaps. x–xiii. (3) Chap. ii, 14–vi, 10. They are all from Paul, and by mistake have been combined into one, and that in a most confusing way. If the book represented chap. vii, 5, as the direct continuation of chap. ii, 13, it would seem more plausible. For chap. vi, 11, is no more appropriate as a continuation of chap. ii, 13, than is verse 14, of chap. ii. But chap. vii, 5, is. Besides, the break is just as apparent between chap. vii, 4 and verse 5 of the same chapter as it is in the supposed place in chap. ii or in chap. vi. That these chasms do appear, at least upon the surface, we admit. But it by no means follows that there is any interpolation or combination of Pauline letters. It is not easy to account for the breaks in the connection with certainty. But one simple fact of frequent experience may furnish the solution. A letter is not always written at one sitting, especially if it is long. When we are interrupted in writing we go back to the letter in an entirely different frame of mind, and anxious, while it is in our mind, to give expression to a thought not before us at the former sitting. Paul's letters, being, in fact, epistolary treatises having practical ends in view, could very easily admit a somewhat illogical order and a somewhat unsystematic development, such as we have supposed.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The Seventh Day Adventists in Switzerland. Several times this class of religionists has come under the ban of the law in Switzerland. They

have a book-printing establishment in Basel, which is under the operation of a State law forbidding Sunday labor. Yet time after time they have violated this law and have been fined for the offense. They defend themselves on the plea that they must obey God rather than man. But the last time they were before the court the judge imposed upon the manager of the concern a fine of $40 and sixty days in prison. While liberty of conscience must always be respected, yet questions of Sunday rest cannot be left by the State to individual opinion. In observing the seventh day, while working upon the first, these people violate the principles of charity which are the most essential features of Christianity; for in so doing they wound the feelings of the vast majority, whose integrity, intelligence, and soundness of judgment are equal to their own.

German Society for Ethical Culture. The fourth general assembly was held in Berlin recently, with twenty-two members present. The proposition to establish an academy for ethical culture was discussed at length, and finally the plan of Professor Tönnies, of Hamburg, was adopted, whereby several courses of reading and study are to be mapped out, which shall be suitable for both men and women, and shall cover questions of ethics and social science, for the purpose of testing the effects. The experiment will be watched with interest. A proposition to issue an official paper, containing nothing but news and governed by a due regard to decency, was rejected as impractical. An attempt was made to have the society adopt a resolution recommending the eight-hour law as an ethical necessity, but it also failed. However, on account of the importance of the abbreviation of the hours of labor as it is related to ethical progress, it was determined to institute special investigations upon which report is hereafter to be made. It was, also, decided to raise funds for the support of what, in the Christian Church, would be called itinerant preachers—men whose constant business it is to travel from place to place preaching the gospel of ethics to the people.

Church Doings in Germany. At the recent session of the General Synod in Berlin that body was received by the emperor, who addressed the members concerning their duties and rights. The proposed revision of the ritual, the emperor said, was the most important question to be submitted for their consideration. Some had feared that its use would be compulsory. But this would not be the case. He expressed the wish that the churches might be opened constantly, and advised the Synod to proceed with their work in a spirit of conciliation. One of the problems which the Synod found it most important to consider was how to prevent the rapid increase of mixed marriages between Jews and Christians. The Synod took action requesting the government to be more careful in the administration of oaths, and asking that the confessional form of oath be reinstated, and that Christians be excused from taking oaths, except before Christian judges.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE diagnosis of the doctors as to the financial prostration of the nation is given in the *North American Review* for February. Under the title of "The Financial Muddle," the Hon. J. Sterling Morton, Secretary of Agriculture, declares himself as believing in a gold unit as a measure of value, "because that metal has been tested and approved for five hundred years by the domestic and foreign trade of all the commercial nations of Europe." The Hon. William M. Springer, Chairman of the Congressional Committee on Banking and Currency, on the other hand, argues for the issue of national bank notes as proposed in the Carlisle bill. A third opinion is that of Henry W. Cannon, President of the Chase National Bank, New York city, who affirms that "the embarrassment of our financial situation is occasioned by the necessity of maintaining the paper money issued by the government upon a gold basis, and this embarrassment is intensified by the fact that more than one half of the currency issued by the government is based upon silver." For, "whatever may be the opinion of the citizens of the United States in the matter, gold is to-day the sole money of full debt-paying power among the principal civilized nations." Though these utterances disagree, it is well to have confidence in the skill of the physicians and the largest faith in the recuperative power of the sufferer. "The New Pulpit," by the Rev. H. R. Haweis, is another striking article. Though radical, it is readable. The old pulpit, says the distinguished writer, "is stricken with dogmatic ague; it is palsied with fear; it would persecute if it could, but it can't, for it has ceased to inspire convictions worth persecuting." As for the new pulpit, however, it "should stand for the freedom of Christ's utterance, the reach of his sympathy, and that discernment of the signs of the times without which no ministry can be prophetical and no pulpit alive. The age waits." In a charming strain of reminiscence Andrew Lang writes his "Recollections of Robert Louis Stevenson." Senator Platt, of Connecticut, follows with a discussion of "Problems in the Indian Territory," calling attention to the existence there of four Indian republics, within the boundaries of our greater republic, which are virtually "white oligarchies." The situation to be remedied is summed up in the statement that "the white men who, going through the farce of Indian marriage, have become Indian citizens, and the half-breeds have already despoiled the real Indian of his land." H. H. Boyesen next writes on "The Matrimonial Puzzle;" Professor Simon Newcomb shows "Why We Need a National University;" and Charles Sedgwick Minot, in "The Psychical Comedy," punctures the claims of esoteric Buddhism and telepathy.

A SIMILAR thrust at modern scientific attempts, particularly in England, to discover the supernatural, is given in "Modern Magic," in the January number of the *Edinburgh Review*. The article is particularly a notice of

the "Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research," issued in London in 1894. Table V of that report is quoted, classifying in some detail 1,112 apparitions seen, and particular instances of apparition after the usual order are given in their usually thrilling verbiage. The thorough skepticism of the reviewer is seen in his closing utterance: "Many strange stories are recorded in the bulky 'Proceedings' of the last thirteen years; yet perhaps some of those who have read them may think that, after all, there is nothing there half so difficult to understand as the existence amongst us to-day of the Society for Psychical Research." The seventh article of the number is entitled "Erasmus, by the late Professor Froude." This work by Froude, whose loss the world of letters now deplores, is termed by the reviewer an "interesting and brilliant monograph; whose "moral," "animating spirit and teaching, as set forth by the most remarkable thinker of the sixteenth, are now attested and indorsed by one of the most noteworthy teachers in our England of the nineteenth, century." In the eighth article is found a study of "Early Christian Monuments," which is both careful and entertaining. "The history of the wondrous growth of Christianity is not to be founded on mediæval tradition, but on extant writings of the centuries preceding the Council of Nicæa, on the grudging witness of non-Christian writers, and on the scattered monuments, which bear witness to the persecutions of poor and humble converts, to the rites and vestments of pagan religions, and to the original simplicity of Christian practice and belief."

THE *Presbyterian Quarterly* for January has: 1. "Idealistic Monism," by R. L. Dabney, D.D.; 2. "The Latest Phase of Historical Rationalism," by Dr. B. B. Warfield; 3. "The Inspired Anticipation of the Valid Conclusions of Modern Science," by S. S. Laws, D.D.; 4. "The Doctrine of Judgment in the Fourth Gospel," by J. Ritchie Smith; 5. "The Gospel and the Revelation of Peter," by R. B. Woodworth; 6. "Earlier Licensure," by P. H. Hoge, D.D.; 7. "Licensure and Ordination—The Proposed Changes," by Eugene Daniel, D.D. The first three articles are scientific, philosophical, profound. In reply to the claim that "the eschatology of the fourth gospel is irreconcilably at variance with that of the other gospels and of Paul," the writer of the next article proves that John's "teaching upon this theme, as upon every other, blends in harmony with the teaching of all Scripture." The sixth and seventh articles treat of the proposed changes in the licensing of candidates for the Presbyterian ministry, and take opposite sides in the discussion.

THE *Methodist Review* of the Church, South, has as its January contents: 1. "A King of the Brambles," by Maurice Thompson; 2. "The Work of the Commission," by R. H. Mahon, D.D.; 3. "The Report of the Committee of Seven," by Paul Whitehead, D.D.; 4. "The Higher Criticism," by W. F. Tillett, D.D.; 5. "The Study of History and Political Science for Southern Youths," by J. S. Bassett, Ph.D.; 6. "Oliver Wendell

Holmes," by W. M. Baskervill, Ph.D.; 7. "Old Japan," by J. C. Calhoun Newton, D.D.; 8. "Christian Liberty and Church Organization," by E. L. T. Blake, D.D.; 9. "Thomas Osmond Summers, D.D., LL.D," by the editor. The first article exalts the catbird to kingship in charming phrase. The fifth paper concludes that "of all the men of the nation the Southern statesman is best situated to advocate wise measures without regard to votes. He can be a patriot with least sacrifice. It is a grand opportunity to regain our old position in national affairs. May we have the trained men to take it when it is offered!" The last article reviews the life of one of the most distinguished men of Southern Methodism.

THE *Review of Reviews* for February has, as "Special Features," articles on the International Exposition at Atlanta, civil government in Manitoba, Anton Rubinstein, and Robert Louis Stevenson. A sketch of Stevenson's life and work is given by C. D. Lanier, and a forecast as to his successors by Jeanette L. Gilder. In the latter the writer quotes Stevenson's acknowledgment of Crockett's dedication to himself of "The Stickit Minister"—an acknowledgment which, in view of Stevenson's death so far from his dear Scotland, breathes a most tender sadness:

> Be it granted to me to behold you again in dying,
> Hills of home! and to hear again the call—
> Hear about the graves of the martyrs the pewees crying,
> And hear no more at all.

THE *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, among its attractive articles, has a paper on "Close Communion," by an unknown writer who signs himself "A Baptist Divine." His opening statement runs: "The proposition I undertake to establish is that close communion, as represented by its ablest apologists, is a jumble of false assumptions and bad logic; and that self-consistency, reason, and Scripture require Baptists either to abandon the practice in favor of open communion or else to withdraw Christian fellowship from pedobaptists—which I would not presume to suggest." Along this line of argument the writer has constructed a challenge of close communion which is logical, and wholesome. Its spirit and conclusions show that the religious world is marching fast along.

No ultra churchman will enjoy the estimate of "Puseyism and the Church of England" which is found in the *London Quarterly Review* for January. Its closing judgment is severe in its finding: "Ecclesiastical arrogance and intolerance—the intolerance of a curiously ignorant bigotry—coupled with irrational and degrading superstitions, weigh, like a sentence of doom, on Anglicanism in modern England." In "Manxland and 'the Manxman'" a most appreciative estimate is given of Methodism, to the effect that for more than a century it "has been the main factor in the religion of the isle. We might easily fill whole pages with tales of insular Methodist worthies. One of the most remarkable was John Cowle, parish clerk at St. George's and local preacher all over the island.... Manx

Methodism, and indeed Manx Christianity, cannot let the name of Nellie Brennan die. A woman in very humble life, she became the devoted nurse and teacher of those as poor as herself. Her heroism and utter self-sacrifice during the cholera visitation of 1832 are still remembered with admiration and affection."

In the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for January is found a weighty table of contents, as follows: 1. "Origin and Composition of Genesis," by E. C. Bissell; 2. "Apostolical Sanction the Test of Canonicity," by W. M. McPheeters; 3. "The Testimony of the Holy Spirit to the Bible," by John De Witt; 4. "The Mind of a Child," by D. W. Fisher; 5. "The Relation of Science and Faith," by George Macloskie.——*The Quarterly Review of the United Brethren* for January opens with a paper asking, "Shall We Regulate the Liquor Traffic by License or Taxation?" Its author is Dr. C. L. Work, its spirit is one of uncompromising hostility to the traffic, and its argument is that counterfeiting, burglary, and horse stealing might be legalized in a similar way. Another practical article in the same number, by Rev. W. F. McCauley, is on "Sabbath Observance."——The fourth paper in the *American Catholic Quarterly* for January notices "The Catholic Educational Exhibit at the Columbian Exhibition." It is written by General John Eaton and is self-congratulatory.——*The Lutheran Quarterly* for January opens with an article by Dr. D. H. Bauslin on "The Missionary Spirit in the Home Churches." Other papers are on "The Spiritual Talents of a Child," by Rev. T. F. Dornblaser; "The Inertness of Society," by Professor M. H. Richards, D.D.; "The Man of Sin," by Dr. G. U. Wenner; and "Whence is Sin?" by Rev. W. E. Fischer. It is a valuable number of this quarterly.——*The Missionary Review* for February opens with an article by Dr. Pierson on "The Pentecost at Hilo," describing the great revival in the Hawaiian Islands a half century since. All the departments of this issue are rich in missionary suggestions.——*The Chautauquan* for February has, under "Required Reading," papers on "The Life of a British Soldier," by Lance Corporal Seyley; "What We Know about the Planets," by G. P. Serviss; "The Beginning and the Ending," by Bishop Vincent; "The World's Debt to Electricity," by Professor John Trowbridge; and "Count Moltke, Field Marshal—Second Article," by Sidney Whitman. In "Journalism in the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches," by Dr. A. P. Foster, the portraits of the chief editors of these great denominations enrich the descriptive article.——*The Church at Home and Abroad* for February is attractive in contents and illustrations. It contains among its articles a most entertaining sketch of Rev. Daniel Baker, D.D., whose pulpit power and sacrifice in home missionary work are among the precious memories of the Presbyterian Church.——*Our Day* for February has besides all else a character study of Walter Besant, with his photogravure.——*The Gospel in All Lands* for February is largely devoted to Chinese life and the progress of missions in China. The monthly is a tribute to the careful editorship of Dr. Smith.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology. On the Basis of Hagenbach. By GEORGE R. CROOKS, D.D., and JOHN F. HURST, D.D. New and Revised Edition. 8vo, pp. 627. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $3.50.

A standard work by two foremost Methodist scholars, completely revised and brought up to date by the eminently capable hand of Dr. Crooks. It might be called the minister's guide to book-buying. In the revision much new matter has been added, and, to make room for additional English and American theological literature, titles of untranslated German works have been displaced. The book has been made more orderly, extensive, and homogeneous. The whole field of theological study is divided into its departments, exegetical, historical, systematic, and practical, and the proper contents of each department are described and surveyed by themselves and in their mutual relations. A full catalogue of available literature relating to each department is given. In addition to strictly theological discussion, many related topics are treated; the relations of philosophy, philology, ethics, psychology, logic, art, and natural science to theology are included. The history, results, and present condition of rationalism, biblical criticism, and biblical archæology are presented clearly, concisely, frankly, and the literature *pro* and *con*, destructive as well as defensive, containing the debates and the materials of scholarship on these disputed subjects, is pointed out in the lists of works following each section. It is so obvious as hardly to need statement that this encyclopædia and methodology is simply indispensable to every studious minister. It is the only work in English that undertakes the task which it so completely fulfills. A thousand questions that are often asked by young men of their seniors are answered in this book; and the preacher or student of theology and its cognate topics, who wishes to know what books to buy in order that he may be saved from wasting his money and gathering a library that will not meet his wants, will find this volume to be an invaluable guide to what he needs. It is only natural that in a cyclopædia coming from Crooks and Hurst there should be especially the most complete bibliography of the "English and American Literature of Church History." The value of the work is increased by the list of books on "Religion and Science," and the "Histories of the Christian Church in the United States," contained in the Appendix. The full and fresh intelligence, clear and comprehensive view, judicious poise, evangelical and scholarly wisdom which characterize the book, are not absent from its dealing with the subject of biblical criticism, as to which much misunderstanding and confusion exist. Referring our readers to the book itself for the full presentation and treatment of this subject, we may make some quotations which will correctly intimate the spirit and atti-

tude of our authors. The reverence we owe to the Bible invites to conscientious investigation of the Scriptures. Biblical criticism, rightly understood, is simply an examination of the text as it exists, either in its parts or as a whole, for the purpose of settling its authenticity and integrity and to restore the true reading where it has been lost or crowded out. "The thought that God has always watched over the Bible is, in this general form, the presumption of a pious consciousness, which may be sustained at the bar of science, and even find sits justification at the hands of science. But to decide beforehand how God should have watched, what things he must have guarded against, to prevent the Bible from becoming a book like other books, is an arrogant assumption equal to that of rationalistic criticism in the other direction. It is an historical fact to which we are, in all humility, to assent, that God has chosen to permit the Bible to pass through the same human processes by which other written monuments have been, and are being, tested. This will be apparent to every person who has looked with an unprejudiced eye into the history and fortunes of the canon." Herder is quoted: "Banish the last remains of the leaven of the opinion that this book is unlike other books in its outward form and matter, so that, for instance, no various readings can occur in it, because it is a divine book. Various readings do occur (and yet but one can be the correct reading); this is fact, not opinion . . . Whether a person who makes a copy of the Bible thereby becomes at once a faultless God? . . . No parchment acquires a firmer nature because it bears the Bible, and no ink becomes thereby indelible." While "criticism has been often employed for perverse and frivolous ends," and the Bible has been greatly abused, yet it will not do to "oppose uncritical to hypercritical arbitrariness. Only a strictly scientific procedure, unbiased by dogmatic preconceptions of any kind, will meet the demands of the case." Bunsen is quoted: "I am convinced that in order to renew the Christian faith we need not less, but more, investigation." J. P. Lange is quoted: "On its bright side, criticism is the self-rejuvenating element of the Church as a whole, the boast of the evangelical Church and theology; on the darker side, criticism has, by its deformity, filled one of the most pungent pages in the history of the Protestant Church." Rothe is quoted: "There assuredly exists a criticism that springs from the full confidence of faith, as well as one that takes its rise in doubt; and the former is inborn with Christian piety, at least with that of the evangelical type. God has not made, and did not intend to make, the task a trifling one for us. He gives nothing whatever to man in its finished state; all his gifts are imparted in such a way as to abundantly tax human energy—this for the reason that we are human. This applies also to the Scriptures; and if we consent to undertake the labor imposed on us by God and subject the Bible to historical criticism, it does not follow that we thereby exalt ourselves above and constrain it, but rather that we are sincerely endeavoring to learn its true meaning." The book points out that not a single Bible truth is deprived of support when the account of the adulterous woman (John viii) is assigned to a different

gospel, or a doxology (Rom. xvi) assigned to a different place, or even when "the genuineness of Second Peter is by some surrendered." Referring to the laborious study sometimes bestowed on the transposition of a word or the place and force of a particle, the authors say: "Precisely this devotion to the letter of the Scriptures (which was cultivated 'for the glory of Jesus Christ' by the pious Bengel) constitutes, with all its apparent dryness, the finest flower of scientific earnestness and the most effectual restraint upon recklessness; while, on the contrary, uncritical ignorance, which, for instance, would, in order to possess an additional proof-text, retain passages like 1 John v, 7, though known to be not genuine, is rendering but poor service to the interests of piety. The glory of science is this, that it presses onward in the course marked out by an incorruptible love of truth, without yielding to the power of outside influences." No other position than this would be taken by accredited scholars like Dr. Crooks and Bishop Hurst. The authors ask whether the religious worth of certain psalms would be destroyed if it were proven that they "were not composed by the royal singer himself, but merely *ad modum Davidis*," and answer: "We should no more exclude them from the canon than we should exclude from the hymn book a beautiful poem, by an unknown author of the seventeenth century, concerning which we learn that it has been erroneously attributed to Paul Gerhard. Is the description of God's servant in Isa. liii less applicable to Christ on the supposition that Isa. xl–lx was written by another (later) than Isaiah, a deutero-Esaias? Who, moreover, would find the Book of Job to be less impressive because its author is unknown?" Umbreit is quoted: "The auroral light of grace and salvation breaks forth from the joyously animated discourses which are appended to the Book of Isaiah in a well-ordered succession. We hear the voice of one of the greatest prophets at the close of the Babylonish exile. Even though his name is not Isaiah, his high importance is apparent from every word proclaimed by him. . . . Well may we term him (this anonymous) the evangelist of the old covenant, for no one of the prophets has declared, like him, the glad tidings of the day-star from on high." Upon such questions even Pope Gregory I, who died March 12, 604, held a freer mind and "was able to form a more independent judgment than many Protestants living ten [or twelve] centuries later. It follows that the canonicity of a book may be maintained, even when its authorship is left in doubt, provided the book itself contains nothing that conflicts with the normal character of the theocracy in the Old, or of the Gospel in the New, Testament. But should criticism extend its investigations to the question of canonicity also? If so, to what extent? That it did so in the ancient Church is a matter of fact, and it is to the exercise of such criticism that we owe the rejection of apocryphal writings. Whether the exclusion of such writings was absolute, or whether the boundary line between canonical and apocryphal is still in dispute, is a different question. The recognition of a distinct class of *ἀντιλεγόμενα* and the distinction between proto- and deutero-canonical writings are of themselves evidence that such criticism was exercised. The Reformation

asserted in its own behalf this right of the ancient Church; and more recent times have likewise recognized it as a right and so employed it. We readily admit that the common feeling of the Church is not likely to consent that the slightest alteration in the canon be attempted, and cannot even desire it for ourselves; . . . but the right of judgment must be considered, and science must steadily respect it." We would add that the Church, as well, must steadily respect this right of judgment. If anybody demurs at this he should make haste to place himself under the *ægis* of the Roman pontificate. There is no other safe and quiet refuge for him. Our authors refer to Luther's criticisms of the Epistle of James and of the Apocalypse, and quote other similar views, not in approval of the opinions themselves, but in proof that independent views respecting even the elements of the canon may consist with a decided and orthodox faith in the divine nature of Christianity. The book says that "a very correct and much more intelligent view than that entertained by many pious people of to-day was advanced by Richard Baxter (died 1691)," and then quotes his statement that if some book, like the Epistle of Jude, for example, should be lost or put in doubt, it would not follow that all true faith and hope of salvation would be lost, and more to similar effect. Of positive and negative criticism the authors say: "The negative criticism endeavors simply to ascertain and cast out what is spurious as a whole or in part; while the positive criticism seeks, with reference to authenticity, to discover the real authors of anonymous and pseudonymous works, and, with reference to integrity, to restore the text to its original condition. The former, when sufficient external evidence is wanting, is done by hypothesis; the latter, by conjecture. It is generally more easy to determine with certainty that a work was not written by the author to whom tradition has attributed it than to discover who the real author was; and it is likewise more easy to arrive at the conclusion that a passage has been corrupted or mutilated than at a definite result in settling the true reading. Positive criticism receives occasional aid from external helps, however, even though they be not wholly adequate. Thus, for example, the testimony of Tertullian (*De Pudic.*, c. 20) led many to adopt the theory that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by Barnabas. Sometimes, however, hypothesis puts forth claims based solely upon possibilities, as in the case of Eichhorn's assumption of a primitive gospel, and in many other instances of recent times. . . . Similar considerations apply to conjectures relating to the readings. A former age was entirely too prone to apply conjecture, at first, in the department of profane, and, subsequently, also, in that of sacred, literature; but they are likewise wrong who unconditionally reject conjecture, for it is known that conjectures have occasionally been confirmed by readings that were afterward discovered." By way of balanced caution the words of Herder are quoted: "Conjecture, in the critical sense, resembles the scalpel of the surgeon. It may, unfortunately, become necessary and beneficial, but only terribly necessary, terribly advantageous; and the wretch who plays and whittles with it, cutting away at pleasure, now an ear, now an eye, now a nose, that does not suit his

fancy, but mutilates himself." Similarly Lücke: "Divinatorial criticism involves a dangerous element and is, least of all, the concern of everybody; but it is needed for complementing the theological science of the canon." On page 214 is this veracious and important remark: "Nothing has done more to damage criticism in the estimation of pious people than the ill-timed and superficial dabbling with it of persons who, before having properly read a single book in the Bible or having been tested in the work of exposition, undertake to deal exclusively with the surface results of criticism"—a remark which looks in several directions. Crooks's and Hurst's *Encyclopædia and Methodology*, wherever it goes, brings honor to its authors and to the Methodist Book Concern. Its scholarship knows the weapons that are in the Christian arsenal for warfare, defensive and offensive, against the enemies of the faith and abides in quietness and assurance forever. To such questions as "Is the New Testament safe?" "Is the Bible secure?" such scholarship would probably answer, "We know of no time since the canon was completed when the holy book has been in serious danger. Assailants it has always had and doubtless always will have, and their devices are numerous; but the Scriptures, by their own nature and contents, by divine guardianship, by the fruits they produce, and by the valor, wisdom, and high capacity of the friends they make, stand secure." The idealists have impeached the existence of an external universe, but it remains, nevertheless, in spite of its assailants, a somewhat substantial and widely accepted reality, and seems not likely to be dissolved by anybody's impeachment so long as the human race has any need of it. In this respect, as in some others, the Bible and the universe are on the same footing. "Let not your heart be troubled."

Prolegomena to the Eighth Larger Edition of the Greek New Testament of Constantin Tischendorf. Prepared by CASPAR RENI GREGORY, Professor in the University of Leipzig. Part III, pp. xii, 801-1,428. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. New York: B. Westermann & Co. Price, in paper, $4.50, or the three parts complete, $10.60; half-bound, $11.50.

Constantin von Tischendorf stands easily at the head of the brilliant list of New Testament critics of the century. Dr. Philip Schaff calls him "the Columbus of the textual department in the New Testament literature." For thirty-five years, from 1839 to 1874, he labored incessantly in his chosen field, and so fruitful were the results that the mere catalogue of his publications, most of them of a highly critical character, covers nearly fifteen pages in the first volume of Gregory's *Prolegomena*. At the time of Tischendorf's death our own Ezra Abbott, than whom America has produced no superior in New Testament scholarship, was called to edit the *Prolegomena* to the great German's *Editio Octava Critica Major*. At the instance of Dr. Abbott, one of his pupils, then residing in Leipzig and working in the university, Caspar Reni Gregory, was charged with the chief burden of the work, and for twenty years has given himself faithfully to the task. In the first part, issued at Leipzig in 1884, he had the assistance of Abbott. It contained an account of the life and works of Tischendorf, the principles of editing the text, grammatical forms, order

of books, history of the text, and a description of the uncial manuscripts thus far found, together with full and trustworthy references to the bibliography. The second part, which appeared in 1890 and carried the work through eight hundred octavo pages, treats almost entirely of the cursive manuscripts. In its preparation Dr. Gregory exhaustively examined the libraries of Europe and the East. We now have the last, or third, part of this monumental work, dealing with the ancient versions and, also, containing the *Addenda et Emendanda* and *Indices*. In this volume of more than six hundred pages Dr. Gregory has accomplished a work unique for its comprehensiveness in the New Testament world. One has but to compare it with any of the great standards to recognize how complete, from a scientific standpoint, this, the most important portion of the work, has been made. It is most gratifying to note that acknowledgment is here made for the first time, in any adequate measure, of the treasures already accumulated in the libraries of America which belong to this department of biblical research. And, among these, the description of the five chief New Testament manuscripts at Drew Theological Seminary holds a prominent place. Thus, Dr. Gregory has gleaned from all fields and amassed a wealth of material such as the careful scholar for many years to come will draw from to his profit. The entire work of 1,428 pages forms, beyond doubt, the most complete critical apparatus for the study of the New Testament thus far published.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Five Books of Song. By RICHARD WATSON GILDER. 12mo, pp. 240. New York: The Century Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The poems which have appeared at intervals during twenty years, in five small volumes, entitled *The New Day*, *The Celestial Passion*, *Lyrics*, *Two Worlds*, and *The Great Remembrance*, are here, with others, bound into one, in which we have before us the range and product of a true poet's muse; for this is, as Professor Winchester wrote years ago, "genuine poetry." Maurice Thompson's opinion is that if Gilder's poetry were two hundred years old everybody would be talking about it. It is not unappreciated and unpraised by his contemporaries, and it is quite possible, some would say certain, that if a vote were taken in cultivated circles he would be named the leading living poet of our land to-day. His work, if fairly analyzed and tabulated, aggregates many merits. His muse is not monotonous, but sings to different keys on varying themes. To say that his poetry is uneven in quality is only to say what is true of every poet that ever wrote. He inclines to brevity, as one who, living a crowded life in a crowded center, has not time for long lucubrations. He excels in brief, gem-like poems in which a single thought lies in pure light—a clean-cut statement in a finished form. Quatrains and sonnets and lyrics abound, some of them as perfect as if Herrick, the master, had molded them. The longest poems are those written for occasions, like the "Ode" at the public meeting of the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Harvard University in

1890, and "The Great Remembrance," read at the annual reunion of the Society of the Army of the Potomac in Faneuil Hall, Boston, in 1893. Gilder may be called the bard of the metropolis. New York is the town that he loves best. His joy and his pride are in it. Thus he sings of "The City:"

Oh, dear is the song of the pine
  When the wind of the nighttime blows,
And dear is the murmuring river
  That afar through my childhood flows;
And soft is the raindrop's beat
  And the fountain's lyric play;
But to me no music is half so sweet
  As the thunder of Broadway.

Stream of the living world
  Where dash the billows of strife!—
One plunge in the mighty torrent
  Is a year of tamer life!
City of glorious days,
  Of hope and labor and mirth,
With room, and to spare, on thy splendid bays
  For the ships of all the earth!

But Gilder is something more than the city's bard; he is an active force in its large, strenuous life. This singer wears the heavy yoke of service. He might be said to have taken George William Curtis's place as a patriotic citizen, and especially as a leader in fostering all forms of art, were it not more correct to say that he has made a place which is unique and all his own, filling it with, not inferior taste nor smaller influence, but with even more definite results. Nor is he a mere art-promoter. Even his poetry is something more than art. Born with the artist temperament, marked by the refinement which belongs to its native delicacy, he is no effeminate *diletante;* his poetry is not æsthetic fooling, but a part of life's downright and superior business. The lines throb with arterial blood, fresh from the heart, and manifest an earnest man who feels the marvel and the mystery, the pathos and profundity, the responsibility and glory of our human life. On all his work is that spiritual touch which saves from sensuousness and imparts dignity and elevation. Ever present is a deep sense of the sanctity which clothes both nature and man—the sense which is the basis of reverence and seriousness. Ever present, also, are those high ethical ideals without which no noble literature exists. His musings upon scenes of nature are mostly as grave as Bryant's "Water-Fowl." An exception is "A Midsummer Song," with mother standing at the end of each verse, calling from the farmhouse kitchen door, "Polly! Polly! The cows are in the corn!" as also that rhymed letter to John Burroughs, his "friend old and true," entitled "The Building of the Chimney." The story of "John Carman" is a warning to theologians against teaching that God is responsible for all the sorrow of the earth, and a good poem for quotation in

Charles Cuthbert Hall's book, *Does God Send Trouble?* A suggestion of Browning's style is in "The Prisoner's Thought," which ends with the convict's clinging to the notion that it may somehow be possible for the soul to get away from its old self, to wash the earth all off, so that even a criminal may be new-born and find himself a regenerate creature,

> With all a woman's love for all things pure,
> And all a grown man's strength to do the right.

Mr. Gilder's life permits him little seclusion. The wonder is that he continues singing in so high and fine a fashion while editing a great magazine, mingling constantly in social, literary, and artistic circles, nowhere a mere onlooker, active in many worthy enterprises, a public-spirited citizen, a working factor for the city's betterment, anxious about the slums, chairman of a commission appointed by the governor of the State to investigate the condition of tenement houses, spending his Christmas Eve, in company with a detective, making a midnight tour of inspection among the Bowery and East-side lodging houses. He has furnished New York with the spectacle of a poet mounted, perhaps, on a dray in some narrow street in the slums, the delicate features of his pensive face lit with the glow of spiritual earnestness, speaking to the rough and wondering crowd in brotherly spirit and manner, trying to give them some glimpses of saving ideals which might refine the courseness, regulate the disorder, and lift the lowness of their lives. Evidently, the ancestral preaching strain is not absent from Gilder's blood. It is a strain which has helped to make many lives pure and powerful, noble and unselfish, even to the third and fourth generation. In great part, it is the secret of his lofty ideals, aggressive moral enthusiasm, reverent faith, and the binding obligation which holds him a laborious captive to his sense of human brotherhood. His latest verse, in the *Century Magazine* for December, 1894, sounds as if he had overheard us wondering how poems can keep coming to such a busy man; and, repeating our question, "How to the singer comes the song?" he answers, in substance, "As flowers to summer fields, as dawn to dark, as stars to night, as love and light leap at the loved one's sound and sight." A well-preserved simplicity of heart, a spirit unharmed, unstained, unworn by life's contacts and attrition, in the world, but not of it—such are the sources of this poetry. On bustling pavements densely alive with the human dash and drive he is aware of heaven. Threading the narrow street at nightfall he catches sight of the sky above roofs and chimneys and sings, "The Star in the City." Turning the leaves of Longfellow's "Book of Sonnets," as he walks along Broadway in the noon noise and tumult, he holds a peaceful Sabbath in his mind, where church bells peal and chime. Musing at evening in Washington Square, and looking north on the white marble memorial arch which is the city's finest monument and which he was a chief agent in building, he does not fail to note on the south the holy hint given by the cross of light shining from the tower of Edward Judson's church. Tempted almost beyond resistance to quote many exquisite things, we

limit quotation to this true artist's earnest word of warrant for a man's speaking out what is in him:

This is my creed,
This be my deed:
"Hide not thy heart!"
Soon we depart;
Mortals are all;
A breath, then the pall;
A flash on the dark—
All's done—stiff and stark.
No time for a lie;
The truth, and then die.
Hide not thy heart!

Forth with thy thought!
Soon 'twill be naught,
And thou in thy tomb.
Now is air, now is room.
Down with false shame;
Reck not of fame;
Dread not man's spite;
Quench not thy light.
This be thy creed,
This be thy deed:
"Hide not thy heart!"

We put these lines here, passing by others more beautiful, in the practical hope that some true man, reading them, may be made the braver and swifter to utter his God-given soul, to put forth into word and deed what is in him—not rashly, but wisely, without hesitation, procrastination, or timidity, and with all his might.

Towards Utopia. Being Speculations in Social Evolution. By a Free Lance. 12mo, pp. 262. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

The author has a sound theory that the road to Utopia requires careful study, and that we must discipline and educate our troops before we can enter that happy country as conquerors. He is, also, sound in his notion that Utopia is not the best imaginable world, but simply the best possible world. This better human world must be won with the aid of science and a true philosophy. The various conditions of our success, in a Utopian sense, are well discriminated. A great growth of honesty, a better adjustment of the servant question, an immense reduction of waste in producing luxuries and in the cost of taking goods from the mills to our homes, effective cooperation, the destruction of caste feeling, and sundry other topics are discussed in an attractive way. The author views his theme in English light, and that is more dim in many respects than ours. Besides, some of his *desiderata* are not *desiderata* on our side of the water. One is his reform of cab service. In an honest Utopia the cab drivers would be needless. Each customer would take his carriage

at the cab stand, return it, and leave the right sum in payment. Very few Americans care anything about a cab question; and some kind of a one-cent-fare electric car would be our Utopian device. To dispense with luxury is a noble ideal largely considered in this book. The usual difficulty is encountered as to what is luxury. Our author, like his predecessors, has followed his own tastes, with at least one comical result. He smokes a pipe, he tells us, and so pipe-smoking is not luxurious; but he does not smoke cigars, and cigar-smoking is, therefore, luxurious. Most people define luxury by some such method of self-measurement. Happily, however, we could all agree to lop off a good deal of luxury, some of it from our own consumption, if the general well-being were promoted by it. But we fear that something more must be done to seriously reduce the wastes of modern life. Luxury needs a better definition. A French writer suggests that a luxurious expenditure is simply one in which cost is large and resulting pleasure small, and that it is this disproportion which constitutes luxury. This is better than our author's implied definition: "It is what I do not want." His heart is in the right place, but his head is hardly competent to solve the problem of luxury, if there is one. The tendencies toward simplicity are not unimportant. Gentlemen dress less expensively than they did a hundred years ago, and the common street car is a gain over the cab. Perhaps, after all, we are getting on toward Utopia, and might travel fast in that direction if we knew enough and were good enough. Education and religion will have to be depended upon as our effective forces for the conquest of Utopia.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Travels in Three Continents—Europe, Asia, Africa. By J. M. BUCKLEY, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 614. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $3.50.

This work of Dr. Buckley's is far from solitary in its department. So long ago as when the distinguished Wilbur Fisk published his volume of European travels he felt that there was an excess of such literature. In the introduction to his work, which bears the date of 1838, he exclaims: "What! another book of travels! and that, too, describing the ground over which so many have traveled before! What good reason can a man of principle and of sound judgment give for such a publication?" The possible surplus of 1838 would seem to have grown to an overwhelming surfeit in 1895. Without lingering, however, to enumerate the many additional volumes of travel which have been issued since 1838, or stopping to notice the reasons of Dr. Fisk for venturing his now well-nigh forgotten publication, the ground which Dr. Buckley gives for his new volume in his "Prefatory Note" invites our immediate attention. "In reading accounts of the same regions by different travelers," he says, "I have often been struck with the dissimilarities resulting from the personal equation. Each sees what he takes with him, so that several views are more illuminating than one. Because of this I hope that there will be a

place for another record of travel in many of the most interesting parts of the world." A new description of well-trodden scenes and a new interpretation of old-world life are what one, therefore, expects as the result of Dr. Buckley's "personal equation." Having carefully noted the contents of this volume, we are led to say that the reader will not be disappointed in this expectation, and that, for its independent study of Eastern conditions, the book fully justifies its right to be. It goes without the saying that Dr. Buckley has traveled with open eyes. Sweeping in his itinerary through Spain, Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, Turkey, Roumelia, Bulgaria, Servia, and Hungary, he sees and notes so much that we must despair of noticing in detail an iota of his observations. Of the Alhambra he says: "I have read Irving, De Amicis—whose emotion and imagination make him so absorbing and misleading—and many other writers on the Alhambra, and gazed upon numberless photographs and paintings; but the result has been as though photographs of the separate parts of the human body were exhibited to an inhabitant of another sphere, as the materials from which he must form an estimate of a living human being, for the Alhambra is not one building, but many. In the deepest valley or the most gloomy desert on the globe it would intoxicate and enthrall; but its situation increases its fascination immeasurably. I doubt if earth contains a grander natural setting for a more astonishing human creation." The only rival of Gibraltar in the author's estimate is the North Cape. "That has the midnight sun; the boundless unexplored mystery of the Arctic Ocean; the silence, solemnity, and severity of an uninhabitable promontory which, though enveloped half the year in a flood of light, is during the other engulfed in an abyss of darkness. But it has no history. It is a type of eternity rather than of time. Gibraltar, equally grand, as commanding a view of two continents, the scene of pivotal conflicts, and the center of various civilizations, presents to the physical eye a spectacle worthy of comparison with any natural scene; while the mind's eye beholds the adventurous Phœnicians, pioneers of commerce and discovery, followed by the Greeks, the Romans, the Spaniards, the Moors, and the English, in irregular but well-defined order, so that the rugged rock is engraven with invisible hieroglyphics, the records of human progress." As for the 184 pages given to the cities, pyramids, mausoleums, and civilization of Egypt, we are forced to condense our comment into the single statement that we believe it as entertaining and accurate a description of the Nile land as any traveler has lately crowded into so small a compass. The 138 pages devoted to the Holy Land are a no less worthy compendium. By the "ancient thoroughfare" from Jaffa the author enters Jerusalem—the road over which "filed the long processions carrying materials for the temple! Kings, prophets, apostles, and countless pilgrims have traversed it; great armies, pagan, Jewish, Mohammedan; pilgrims and Crusaders!" Jerusalem itself he studies as "the amateur explorer, the enthusiastic historian, the devoted antiquarian, the ardent believer, the cautious skeptic, the son of Abraham, the Gentile, the Mohammedan, without forgetting" that he is "a Chris-

tian and an American." Thence northward, under the Syrian sky, the traveler leads us, through the successive cities and regions where the great Master walked, in a pilgrimage most stimulating to Christian faith. Making his exit from the Lord's land by Dan and Hermon, "the Mont Blanc of Palestine," he passes in his itinerary to beautiful Damascus, cosmopolitan Smyrna, and ruined Ephesus; to Athens, the sight of which "accomplishes for Grecian history what a visit to Palestine performs for Jewish—transforms it from dead literature into a living form;" to Corinth; and to Constantinople, whose approach is "marvelous," whose Santa Sophia he regards as "more magnificent than St. Peter's at Rome," and whose College has scattered its students "all over the world." Under the guise of a traveler's pleasant jottings Dr. Buckley has in reality written a philosophic study of the ethnology, traditions, customs, and social conditions of the Eastern lands he traversed. He is not too discursive. If here and there his chapters lack the touches of pleasantry which have marked his letters in *The Christian Advocate*, it is probably because he has preferred to record upon the more permanent page that "certain amount of information" which is "necessary to the interpretation of what one sees and hears." In description his book is vivid and forcible; as to typography and photo-engraving it is a rare illustration of the publishers' skill; for general merit it deserves a permanent place among modern volumes of travel.

Biography of the Rev. Daniel Parish Kidder, D.D., LL.D. By his Son-in-Law, Rev. G. E. STROBRIDGE, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 357. New York: Printed by Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Among the workmen of the last half century who have labored with patience and success upon the colossal structure of our Methodism, the subject of this memoir stands conspicuous. So versatile in his powers was he, and so diligent in the application of his gifts to his allotted work, that it is difficult to trace the full extent of his influence throughout the Church. Were the present biography, therefore, little more than a chronological record of his official work it would be valuable, for he enjoyed a most varied career, enriched as a pastor, missionary in South America, Secretary of the Sunday School Union, professor at the Garrett Biblical Institute and Drew Theological Seminary, author, and Secretary of the Board of Education. Yet this memoir does far more than present these facts, which may, after all, be learned by application to the records of an Annual Conference. Its charm, on the other hand—and it is the charm of every valuable biography—lies in the delineation to the reader of the inner and real man. We are thus permitted to see the beating heart of the workman whose toil enriched the Church, to hear his voice in the unrestricted associations of private life, and to mark those hidden motives which shaped his official acts; and he loses nothing in such a close scrutiny. His high conscientiousness, his unwavering conviction of the holiness of his mission, his belief in God and in man, his serene reliance upon the truths of Christianity are all set forth by the biographer with such clearness as to impress the reader with the nobility of the man whom God has now called home. We have only commendation for Dr. Strobridge's

work. The memoir he has written seems an unbiased, symmetrical estimate of its subject, and, for its literary excellence as well, is a valuable addition to the rapidly increasing biographical records of our great and holy dead.

The Land of the Veda. Being Personal Reminiscences of India, its People, Castes, Thugs, and Fakirs, its Religions, Mythology, Principal Monuments, Palaces, and Mausoleums, together with Incidents of the Great Sepoy Rebellion. Illustrated. New Edition. By WILLIAM BUTLER, D.D. 8vo, pp. 575. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $2.

This thrilling book describes a crisis in missionary history. Not only were the interests of Christianity jeopardized in India during those cruel days of which Dr. Butler writes, but its overthrow there by Sepoy malignity, it is well assumed, might have shaken its security throughout the East, and possibly have led to its absolute overthrow. "We felt assured," says the author, in words that no careful reader of the volume will call visionary, "that the successful effort of the India Sepoy would have found cruel imitation in Burmah, China, and Japan, and that it was possible that at that hour—in those terrible days of July and August, 1857—Christianity might have been extinguished in the blood of its last martyrs on the oriental hemisphere, and the clock of the world been put back for centuries. . . . The intervention of the civil war in this country necessarily, for the time, turned away attention from the horrors which were fourteen thousand miles distant; but the public interest in this subject has not ceased, nor will the story of the 'Sepoy Rebellion' ever be forgotten while men admire and honor heroic sufferings, Anglo-Saxon pluck, and sublime Christian courage, exhibited against the most fearful odds and in the face of certain death, in the center of a whole continent of raging foes, while the prince of the powers of the air marshaled the hosts of hell to annihilate the religion of the Son of God." With this assumption, therefore, as a starting point, that the Sepoy uprising was one of the most crucial epochs in the history of Christian missions, the reader will be doubly absorbed by this stirring, blood-chilling description of pagan assault and Christian resistance. Among the chapters of the volume are "The People of India—Caste and its Immunities," "Architectural Magnificence of India," "Originating Causes of the Sepoy Rebellion," "The Cawnpore Massacre and the Relief of Lucknow," "Results of the Rebellion to Christianity and Civilization," "The Condition of Woman under Hindoo Law," and "Our Christian Orphanages in Rohilcund." We would fain linger upon each in detail, were it possible, particularly upon those descriptive of the rebellion itself, when the gorgeous scenery of the Himalaya Mountains was the background of the drama and noble English men and women the actors in the cruel tragedy. In a sense, Dr. Butler's work can never grow old. The fact that a new generation has come to adult years since the rebellion should warrant a fresh, and no less eager, reading of this exceptional volume. The statistics now appended of our present phenomenal work in India will also help to show the exceeding contrast between the India that was and the India

that now is. The Church should again thank Dr. Butler for this history of missionary struggle in the Orient, as it has already given him its reverence for his bravery and success in pioneer work.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Threescore Years and Beyond; or Experiences of the Aged. A Book for Old People, Describing the Labors, Home Life, and Closing Experiences of a Large Number of Aged Representative Men and Women. New illustrated edition. By W. H. DE PUY, D.D., LL.D. 8vo, pp. 550. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.75.

Only Christianity can inspire such surpassing experiences as are depicted in this volume. The states of tranquillity and of joy which it records characterize no heathen religion, but are altogether peculiar to our holy faith. And the reader is not the least impressed with the similarity of these experiences, compiled so carefully and wisely by Dr. De Puy, though they cover many centuries and lands. The author has gathered together the rich testimonies of Old Testament worthies, reformers, founders, commentators, missionaries, martyrs, philanthropists, educators, pastors and evangelists, historians, distinguished women, poets, statesmen and orators, jurists, and philosophers; and all alike manifest that sweet serenity and even, overflowing gladness which Christian old age so frequently illustrates in our own observation. Incidentally, we might challenge the author's choice of a title for his work, were we in sportive mood. Threescore is not old, or even fourscore, in these latter days of stir and accomplishment. Yet this aside, the reader will be grateful for this faithful compilation, and will rejoice in the circumstances which make possible a second and enlarged edition. Both for the author and reader may there come such sweet experiences as they draw toward the sunset.

The Use of Life. By the Right Honorable Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M. P., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 316. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This volume is of the same quality and general character as the author's previous books, *The Beauties of Nature* and *The Pleasures of Life*, the latter of which has reached its eighty-fourth thousand. They all contain the ripe wisdom of a well-balanced mind, the meditations of a great man upon the things in nature, the world, and life which seem to a keen and careful observer most significant. Such topics as the following group the practical thoughts of this learned Christian scientist and wise thinker: "The Great Question" (How to live), "Tact," "On Money Matters," "Recreation," "Health," "National Education," "Self-Education," "On Libraries," "On Reading," "Patriotism," "Citizenship," "Social Life," "Industry," "Faith," "Hope," "Charity," "Character," "On Peace and Happiness," "Religion." The critic who said, "Quotation is a confession of one's own incapacity for statement," might speak slightingly of Lubbock's books, for they are full of the quoted wisdom of many of the sages of the ages, in prose and poetry, in fragments which the author who quotes them approves and values. This book is adapted to wide usefulness,

plain, sensible, judicious, and level to the ordinary comprehension. From Drummond is this bit: "Ten minutes spent in Christ's society every day, ay, two minutes, if it be face to face and heart to heart, will make the whole life different." This from Epictetus: "In the place of all other delights substitute this—that of being conscious that you are obeying God, and that, not in word, but in deed, you are performing the acts of a wise and good man." And a thousand others from all sorts of noble thinkers.

Manual for Church Officers. By G. H. DRYER, D.D. 12mo, pp. 216. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.

There could be no greater *desideratum* than that the official members in all the churches of our great Methodism should have an intelligent conception of our general polity and of their specific duties. To furnish them this instruction, in order that they may do their best work, is the purpose of this manual which Dr. Dryer edits. Part I we find devoted to the "Responsibilities and Rewards of Official Membership in the Christian Church," showing the relation of official members to the community, church, pastor, presiding elder, and each other. Part II discusses "The Specific Duties of Official Members," in which the obligations of local preachers and exhorters, superintendents, Epworth League presidents, class leaders, stewards, trustees, and others are outlined. The conduct of the official board meeting, leaders and stewards' meetings, Quarterly, District, and Lay Electoral Conferences is also outlined with sufficient fullness for practical use. Part III reviews "Lay Organization in the Christian Church," and includes papers on lay work in the Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Baptist denominations, as well as in the general Church, by different divines of prominence. Altogether, Dr. Dryer has written a most discriminating and excellent handbook. Church officers can use it to advantage and should avail themselves of it.

Three of Us—Barney, Cossack, and Rex. By Mrs. IZORA C. CHANDLER. Illustrated by the Author. 12mo, pp. 227. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $2.

Lucky dogs, indeed, these are, to be dressed up and introduced to the best society by such a gifted and gracious chaperon as Mrs. Chandler. Some dogs whom we have met are more interesting and agreeable than some men which we have known. "Beautiful Joe," Dr. John Brown's "Rab," and the rest, "Barney, Cossack, and Rex"—are we not glad to have them all on our list of friends? If all dogs were like these no one would ever raise the question, *Cur canis?* no, not even in dog days or in oriental villages. John Burroughs thinks the dog will be a man sooner than any other animal will. Barney, Cossack, and Rex show an amazing faculty for aping man's ways. We wish Mrs. Chandler would tell us in the next edition if this story is literally true.

The Burial of The Guns. By THOMAS NELSON PAGE. 12mo, pp. 256. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.25.

After Cable, Page is the most gifted of the Southern writers of to-day. He is a full-blooded, out and out, enthusiastic, apparently unreconstructed

Southerner. He gives us in his captivating stories the life of the South, before, during, and since, the war. The stately, hospitable old mansions, the plantation life, the negroes in days of slavery and since, the rebel soldiery, the heroisms and hardships of war, the suffering, starvation, and surrender which ended the fighting—all are here. An old colonel of artillery held a mountain pass with his battery for some days after the war was over, not knowing of Lee's surrender. When he heard of it he rolled his six cannon with military honors over the cliff into the river and disbanded his men, and that was the "burial of the guns." The book has five other stories.

Our Fight with Tammany. By REV. CHARLES H. PARKHURST, D.D. 12mo, pp. 296. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The story of the municipal battle which has attracted the world's gaze is here told by the chief commander. He writes with a detail that is sufficient, a caustic treatment that indicates inexhaustible fighting qualities in reserve, and a spirit of hope that is unbaffled by temporary defeat. The volume is most wholesome for the times, and should have a wide reading by those who sympathize with municipal reform.

Earthly Footsteps of the Man of Galilee. Being Five Hundred Original Photographic Views and Descriptions of the Places Connected with the Earthly Life of our Lord and His Apostles. Traced with Notebook and Camera, Showing where Christ was Born, Brought Up, Baptized, Tempted, Transfigured, and Crucified, together with the Scenes of His Prayers, Tears, Miracles, and Sermons, and also Places Made Sacred by the Labors of His Apostles, from Jerusalem to Rome. By Bishop JOHN H. VINCENT, D.D., LL.D., Chancellor of Chautauqua, and Rev. JAMES W. LEE, D.D., Author of *The Making of a Man*. R. E. M. BAIN, Photographic Artist. New York and St. Louis: N. D. Thompson Publishing Co. Complete in twenty-four parts. Price, per part, 25 cents.

It is doubtful if such a pictorial representation of the land of Palestine has ever before been published. The size of the illustrations herein contained, their remarkable mechanical excellence, and also the comprehensive maps put the Lord's land before the reader with a vividness that may not be described. We fail to see how human art could make more real the home of the "Man of Galilee." The authors, Bishop Vincent and Dr. Lee, whose names give standing to this issue, are both experienced travelers in Palestine, while Mr. Bain is no ordinary photographic artist. The opportunity is therefore unusual for securing at small expense a pictorial representation of the most interesting of all lands.

Little Mr. Thimblefinger and his Queer Country. What the Children Saw and Heard There. By JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS, Author of *Uncle Remus*, etc. Illustrated by OLIVER HERFORD. Crown 8vo, pp. 230. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

Under the guidance of a tiny sprite, who is known as Mr. Thimblefinger, Susan, John, and their nurse, Drusilla, take a journey to a strange country underneath a spring, see strange sights, and hear strange stories. In this excursion into the realm of the fanciful Mr. Harris seems at his best. Of the stories which he tells some, he writes, were gathered from the negroes, some are folklore stories of middle Georgia, and some are pure inventions.

Frederick Merrick.

METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1895.

ART. I.—FREDERICK MERRICK.

THE REV. FREDERICK MERRICK, ex-president of the Ohio Wesleyan University, was born at Wilbraham, Mass., January 29, 1810, and died March 5, 1894, a little more than eighty-four years old. He was born in the same house in which his ancestors for some generations had been born and had died. They were of the old Puritan faith and training, intelligent, religious, content with the quiet life of a New England village. Dr. Merrick's father was a farmer, and the son spent the early years of his life on the farm, working in the summer and going to the common school in the winter season. Sedate and industrious in his habits, the young Merrick, at the age of seventeen, entered a store as a clerk, and soon showed such qualities that, before reaching his majority, he was admitted to a partnership in the business. His training here gave him the skill and accuracy which afterward made his financial services so invaluable to the university, and which might well have led him to large commercial success.

But God had other plans for him. Though of a Congregational family, he was converted in a Methodist revival, and soon felt the call to a higher vocation. To prepare himself for the Christian ministry he entered the Wesleyan Academy, near his own home at Wilbraham, and afterward continued his studies at the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. He did not remain to graduate, having, upon the nomination of President Fisk, been elected in his senior year to the principalship of the Conference Seminary at Amenia, N. Y.; but the

university afterward conferred on him the honorary degree of master of arts. His leaving college an undergraduate was honorable to him; but he felt through life that he had lost something of the nice linguistic accuracy that comes from a complete university training. At Amenia he had a remarkable success as a teacher and administrator, and thus early settled in his own judgment, and that of the Church, that his true vocation for life was not in the pastorate, but in the school. He was then twenty-six years of age, and had already the characteristic self-command and the look of reserved power which gave him so large an influence over others.

After two years' service at Amenia he was elected, again upon the recommendation of President Fisk, to the chair of natural science in the Ohio University, at Athens, O. He was then in the prime of his manly vigor and enthusiasm. He was tall and lithe; his features were striking; he had dark eyes and a noble mass of dark hair, which reached back above his brow and which he never lost, but which the snows of many winters at last turned into a crown of glory. His bearing was self-collected and courteous, and his presence commanded notice in any assembly. Professor McCabe, who was then a student at Athens, says that in those days a group of the greatest lawyers in Ohio—Hunter, Vinton, Stanbery, and "Tom" Ewing—practiced in the courts of Athens County; and when it was known that these were to speak the courthouse was sure to be crowded. On one such occasion the young McCabe was asked by a distinguished visitor, "Who is that beautiful young man sitting within the bar?" "That," he replied, "is the newly elected professor of the Ohio University." Professor Merrick came to Athens in the palmy days of the administration of the distinguished Dr. William H. McGuffey. Both the State universities—the Miami and the Ohio—were then in the control of the Presbyterians. Professor Merrick was the only Methodist in the faculty, the first Methodist that had held such a position in the State of Ohio; and his coming was an epoch in the history of Methodism in Athens and of the Methodist Church in Ohio. The young professor brought success with him. His department was then almost new in college studies, and his enthusiasm made it and himself popular. Many marked men came under his instruction—among them the beloved and

honored Dr. McCabe, who afterward, for nearly fifty years, was his colleague in the Ohio Wesleyan University.

After four years' service at Athens Professor Merrick resigned his chair, in order to enter the pastoral work in the Ohio Conference; and in September, 1842, he was appointed pastor of the Methodist Church at Marietta, another of Ohio's many college towns. This was his only year of pastoral labor. In the spring of this year, 1842, the Ohio Wesleyan University was incorporated, though not yet opened for academic work. It began its history with the grounds, an empty building, a large debt, and was in want of everything. To supply these wants, to secure money, books, appliances, and, finally, students, the Ohio Conference in 1843 appointed two agents, one of whom was Professor Merrick. From that date until his death he remained in the continuous service of the university—for two years as agent, for fifteen as professor, for thirteen as president, and for twenty-one as professor *emeritus* and lecturer on natural and revealed religion—a consecutive period of fifty-one years. This was a noble and useful life. Said Dr. Moore, of the *Western Christian Advocate*, at the funeral:

> Not until the needle scorns the pole, and gravitation is robbed of its power, and God abdicates the throne of the universe, shall a life like this fail of its purpose. All about us behold the proofs that his life failed not of his purpose—laboratories, library, chapel, endowments, alumni, students, patrons, friends, and the fire falling from heaven to show the work approved of God!

His great and prolonged services to the university and to the Church make it proper that the historic pages of this *Review* should give some record of his life and of his life work. It is fortunate, however, that the inadequacy of this brief sketch will, at an early day, be compensated by a worthy biography from the pen of his endeared friend and chosen biographer, the Rev. Dr. John C. Jackson, of Columbus, O.

The aggregate results of the first year's agency for the university were not very great; and the agents, with others now from the North Ohio Conference, were continued in their work. Yet in 1844 the board of trustees thought it safe to open the school. The first faculty consisted of a nominal president and four active members, of whom two resigned at the end of the year. At the beginning of the second year, 1845, the board

filled the vacancies. Professor McCabe was elected, on Professor Merrick's recommendation, to the chair of mathematics; and the late Bishop Harris, then pastor in Delaware, O., was elected to a place in the preparatory department. The board also established a new chair of natural sciences; and Professor Merrick was appointed to this position, and was put in charge of the school for one year, until Dr. Thomson, the president elect, should assume his place. This chair of natural sciences Professor Merrick occupied for six years. There was no apparatus, no laboratory for experimentation; but the skill of the professor showed itself superior to mere mechanical appliances. With native ingenuity he extemporized the necessary illustrations, or made his oral instruction so vivid and realistic that it served as a substitute for the physical experiment. The "boys" caught up his oft-repeated phrase—and it was a long-continued saying of theirs—"It is sufficient to show." In 1851 he was transferred to the chair of moral philosophy, which he occupied for nine years more. In 1860, after President Thomson's resignation, Professor Merrick was elected president of the university, and held this position for thirteen years. In 1867 he traveled in Europe, spending some time in Rome, whence he came home with greatly impaired health. For a year he was prostrated, and he never regained his full strength; but he held bravely on to his work for seven years longer. In 1873 he resigned the presidency, and, in accordance with his own preference, he was appointed lecturer on natural and revealed religion, with the rank of *emeritus* professor. This position he held for twenty-one years. For the larger part of this period he had regular class work, delivering courses of lectures on natural theology, evidences of Christianity, and international law. He kept up his work in the university as long as his physical strength held out; but five or six years ago he relinquished all academic duties.

As an educator, Professor Merrick was not encyclopedic in his learning, nor yet a specialist in the subjects which he taught. His manifold duties did not permit him an exhaustive knowledge of the matters of modern science or modern thought, but he had an acquaintance with them adequate for class work; he was a competent instructor, he was skillful in exposition, and he had the untiring zeal of a true teacher. Above all, he was

stimulating in his influence over his students and abundantly successful in making helpful and lasting impressions on thousands of plastic minds and characters. Says Dr. Jackson:

> The one thing, however, which impressed me more than anything else was that he was a consecrated, holy man. While he was unconscious of exerting this silent influence, it seemed to me his most prominent characteristic.

No student ever passed through his classes without an inspiration toward all that is true and righteous and pure and of good report. Happy the teacher who writes such monumental records in the tablets of men's hearts!

As president of the university, Dr. Merrick administered its affairs happily and successfully. He had high ideals of character and work, and he possessed a great capacity for details. He held the students steadily and wisely in the path of patient duty and of noble aspirations. The institution grew in public esteem, in reputation, in usefulness, and in resources. Just at the beginning of his administration came the dark days of the national strife; and the halls of the university were almost emptied of its patriotic students, who sought the country's safety beyond the scholar's culture, many of them never to return. But, though with diminished numbers, the educational work was kept fully in hand; the university continued to deserve well; and as soon as peace returned the halls suddenly filled again with students, grateful for their opportunities and eager to improve them. The war left less than three hundred students on the ground; the first year of peace saw an enrollment of just twice that number, many scores of whom had served in the army of the republic. The class that entered in 1865 was long known as the war class; and there never was a class composed of better material than the soldier boys.

As a citizen and reformer, Professor Merrick held very decided and openly pronounced opinions. His voice and pen and services were unwearied in all good causes. In the fortunes of the anti-slavery agitation before the war, and especially in the cause of temperance agitation since, he was greatly interested. Says President Bashford, in his report for 1894 to the board of trustees:

> Underneath his Puritan exterior there was in him a predisposition toward sweetness and light, a largeness of sympathy, and a fullness of joy which characterize the higher types of Christianity. This second tend-

ency in his nature led him, on coming to Delaware, to organize at the court-house a union prayer meeting for the promotion of sympathy and fellowship between the churches. He called on every minister and attended every church in the town, including the Roman Catholic, and was to a large extent the creator of that mental and spiritual hospitality which is a characteristic of our city. While he was an uncompromising foe of the saloon, voting with the Prohibitionists from the first, no man was a more tender friend to the saloon keeper. He made an annual visit to each one of these men, treating each as a fellow-citizen and talking with him about his plans for time and eternity. As he made upon a saloon keeper some three years ago a call, which proved to be his last, he told him that his strength was failing, and added, with prophetic insight, "I may not be able to call upon you again, but I will pray for you so long as both of us shall live." . . . No citizen in Delaware made so many calls upon the poor. Faith Chapel, in South Delaware, is due to him; and it may be his finest monument in the sight of angels.

Professor Merrick's influence was marked among the leaders in these reforms, and he gave for their promotion freely of his personal effort and thought and money. His advice was often sought in great moral and social movements; and more than once he was almost thrust, against his protest, into the strife of political campaign.

Professor Merrick was always a man of affairs, as well as a teacher and administrator. During almost the entire period from 1845 to 1885, in addition to his academic duties, he acted as auditor of the university and had almost exclusive charge of its landed and moneyed interests. In every business emergency his help was invoked to secure the needed result. When, in 1851, the suddenly large increase in the number of students, consequent on the sale of cheap scholarships, made a new chapel indispensable Professor Merrick, in a few weeks of active agency, raised $16,000 for this purpose, and Thomson Chapel was thus erected. Again, in 1853, through the influence of Professor Merrick, a generous Presbyterian, Mr. Sturges, of Zanesville, offered $10,000 for a library, on condition that a library building, to cost $15,000 more, be erected; and in six weeks Professor Merrick had the amount secured. The university owes both these buildings largely to his efficiency. In 1859 Dr. Prescott, of Concord, N. H., offered his large and valuable cabinet of natural history to the university for $10,000; and, with the approval of the university authorities, Professor Merrick bought it on his own personal responsibility and raised

the money to pay for it. A few years later he bought for the university, in a similar way, a tract of a number of acres south of the campus and collected the money to pay the cost.

Professor Merrick was not a man of sudden and transient impulses. He possessed an abiding conviction of duty, a patient continuance in well-doing. No act of his life ever indicated self-seeking or personal ambitions. He lived for others. His disinterestedness was read of all men. He espoused the university to himself and became absorbed in its success. It might almost be said of him, as of his Master, that his zeal had eaten him up; and he was continually watching for opportunities to serve the institution, at whatever personal sacrifices. A little incident will illustrate this. At the time he came into the faculty the salaries were graded down to a bare subsistence and were never paid in full when due. In the second year that he was in Delaware he was offered the superintendency of one of the State institutions, at a salary three times as large as he was nominally receiving in Delaware; and he confidentially consulted his friends as to whether, for the sake of the university, for the sake of relief to the other men who were nearly starving there, he should not accept the new position, for a season, at least, and turn over this larger salary to the university until it could struggle out of its embarrassments. I think that had his friends approved he would have stood ready to do what was in his heart. Fortunately for the institution, they said "No;" it was not his money that the university wanted, but the good man who offered it. Yet the next year he found a way to accomplish nearly the same thing and still remain in service in Delaware. The professorship of chemistry in the Starling Medical College, Columbus, was offered him; and for five or six years he filled this position, without detriment to his work in Delaware, and turned over all his pay at Columbus to help in defraying his salary at the Ohio Wesleyan. Another illustration is given by one of my colleagues, Professor Nelson:

President Merrick took great interest in the work of the several departments. I recall many a visit made to the museum and to my class room during the days of his presidency, and his encouraging words uttered at such times. He greatly enjoyed the collections of shells and fossils, and, on one occasion, told me to give him information in regard to all additions, exchanges, and gifts as soon as they were received. For

some time I wondered greatly that I could obtain money for new cases and for the purchase of choice specimens, even when the salaries were unpaid. I afterward learned that all these funds came out of his own pocket.

This same disinterestedness, this same thoughtfulness for the future interests of the university for which he lived and planned and denied himself, found its final expression, some years ago, in the gift of his whole estate to the university for the endowment of an annual lecture course on experimental and practical religion. This foundation, when fully realized, will amount to twenty-five thousand dollars. The title given to his lectureship shows the practical and devout bent of his life and thoughts. In anticipation of the time when the university should control the income devoted to this purpose, the founder had four of these annual courses delivered, at his own private expense, by distinguished men of his own selection, namely, Dr. Daniel Curry, ex-President James McCosh, Bishop Randolph S. Foster, and Dr. James Stalker. The several courses have been issued in book form in attractive volumes. These "Merrick Lectures" thus far published, and the long series that will be published hereafter, will remain a worthy memorial of the founder's benevolence and benefaction.

One of Professor Merrick's most valuable services to the Church, for the time, was his work as a member of the commission on the revised Hymn Book, in 1848. He had a sound judgment in this matter and an exact literary taste, and he gave many months of earnest labor to the work. Though he was not known as a poet, he had a true poetical vein and wrote many religious hymns and songs, some of which have seen the light. He was in the habit of marking the anniversaries in his own life and those of his friends by some appropriate poetical effusion; and the complimentary addresses to his friends on these occasions were full of feeling and affection.

Professor Merrick held a license as local preacher when he was principal of Amenia Seminary. In 1841, after his coming to Ohio, he joined the Ohio Conference, of which he thereafter remained a member; and at the time of his death there were but three older members in the Conference. He three times represented this body in the General Conference—in 1860, 1864, and 1876; and in 1884 he was an appointed del-

egate to the Centennial Methodist Conference at Baltimore. The two most venerable men at that historic session were Dr. John B. McFerrin, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and Dr. Frederick Merrick, of our own Church. The first was, to the gratification of everybody, selected to respond for the Conference to the opening address of welcome, and the other to make the valedictory address at the closing session. How admirably they acquitted themselves! It would be difficult to name any in that gathering of distinguished men who were listened to with more respectful attention. Both Churches were justly proud, and equally proud, of these saintly veterans. Professor Merrick spent but one year in the pastorate; but for many years he preached almost constantly. He made no pretenses to the graces of oratory or eloquence; but his sermons were earnest, instructive, and impressive. He carried with him the tokens of a consecrated life. The signature of the Holy Spirit was on his preaching and gave him seals to his ministry. Says Professor Whitlock:

> He was not a student of eloquence, and did not always manifest magnetic or sympathetic influence in his sermons and addresses. There were times, however, when his whole nature was aflame, his words reached sublimity, and his power was overwhelming. . . . Once, in this city (Delaware, O.), the liquor interest became unusually aggressive and defiant. An assembly was called, and Dr. Merrick was requested to speak. In a moment it was seen that he was struggling beneath a weight of conviction, emotion, and determination. The assembly at once became breathless; his face, manner, and sentences seemed the embodiment and personification of power. The effect transcended description. Those present were fired with enthusiasm to do and to dare, and the enemies of order and sobriety, terror-stricken and cowering, retreated to their dens, feeling that the day of judgment had come.

Professor Merrick's preaching was at first without manuscript or notes; but when he became president, following college example, he wrote his college sermons and baccalaureates. Of these and of occasional lectures and addresses a large mass accumulated, the most of which he finally gave to the flames. Some of them, at least, his friends would have gladly preserved. But he had a humble opinion of his own writings. He was too busy for authorship, if not otherwise averse to it. Yet he wrote much, and he wrote well. Some of his addresses and lectures were published, and during his last years of enforced physical

inactivity he busied himself with brief religious and practical articles for our Church weeklies. The only book from his pen is a small volume on *Formalism in Religion*—a series of lectures delivered, first before the Central Ohio Conference in 1865, and then before his own Conference, and published at their joint request. The subject and the treatment show the staid and practical character of his mind.

Early in his presidency Professor Merrick had the honorary degrees of doctor of divinity and doctor of laws conferred on him, but for conscientious reasons he declined to wear them. His friends respected his scruples; but the title of doctor nevertheless fastened itself upon him, and he finally acquiesced in the inevitable.

He never repined at being laid aside from the active duties of his place in the university and from the busy occupations of life, and he cheerfully saw himself superseded in all the work of the school in whose founding and upbuilding he had borne so large a part. Once officially released from the responsibility, he never assumed to exert any influence, or even to make suggestions as to the duties of the place. Dr. Payne says that, instead of finding a jealous critic in the retiring president, "no successor ever had a more appreciative supporter and a more tender counselor than he found in Dr. Merrick." President Bashford thus describes his first interview with Dr. Merrick, after coming to assume the presidency:

> Dr. Merrick sent for me when I first came to the college. On entering his home he introduced me to several friends, and then asked them to excuse us and led the way to a private room. After we entered his bedroom, which seemed to be his holy of holies, he turned to me with such a look of tenderness and solicitude as can be given only by a father to a son or by one soul which has been praying for another soul. He said in substance: "I am so glad you have come to the college. The work is great. The responsibilities will be heavy. I have craved the privilege of praying with you." I shall never forget that prayer. It was full of reverence, like his public prayers which I heard later. But it was more tender and familiar than any other prayer which I ever heard him make. He talked with God. I realized for the first time how the university had become a part of his very life. At one moment I felt as if a dying man were committing his family to me, for the students were the children of his heart; the next moment I felt as if a prophet were ascending to his home, and I craved his mantle. That bedroom was a Bethel.

Professor Merrick married, in April, 1836, a lady whom he first met as a fellow-student at the Wesleyan Academy, in Wilbraham, Mass.—Miss Sarah Fidelia Griswold, of Suffolk, Conn. Their married life together of nearly fifty years was uneventful and happy. Mrs. Merrick died in July, 1883, deeply beloved and mourned by all who knew her, and most of all by her husband, to whom she was a guide and inspiration by her beautiful Christian life and a comfort and support in all his duties and anxieties.

Professor Merrick's Christian life was beautiful and exemplary. He was a man without guile, transparent, saintly, revered by all as a living demonstration of the truth and power of the Gospel. No one ever heard a reproach against his uprightness or any question of his motives. All voices, even of ungodly men, bore willing and emphatic testimony to the irreproachableness of his life. Professor Seeley, in that remarkable book, *Ecce Homo*, which so moved the Christian world a quarter of a century ago, said:

> Among all the men of the ancient heathen world there were scarcely one or two to whom we might venture to apply the epithet "holy." . . . Probably no one will deny that in Christian countries this higher-toned goodness, which we call holiness, has existed. Few will maintain that it has been exceedingly rare. Perhaps the truth is that there has scarcely been a town in any Christian country, since the time of Christ, when a century has passed without exhibiting a character of such elevation that his mere presence has shamed the bad and made the good better and has been felt at times like the presence of God himself.

I am sure that every one who knew our venerated and saintly Merrick feels that he completely filled out Seeley's conception of "this higher-toned goodness, which we call holiness." With his stanch New England training and convictions, he was scrupulously exact in the duties and services of religion. His piety was constant and consistent. He was habitual in his attendance upon public worship, even when his friends thought he ought to spare himself; and until he was past threescore and ten he kept his place as a teacher in the Sunday school. He was a man of thought on the verities of the faith; he never was a man of doubts. He believed in God with the simple faith of a child; and he accepted the Bible, the whole Bible, as God's revealed word. He was joyful in his religious ex-

perience and had no clouds above his pathway. A friend, who visited him almost daily during his invalid years, found him always on the delectable mountains. But, unlike Bunyan's pilgrim, he needed no perspective glass to catch a sight of heaven. His unclouded vision took in the gates of the celestial city and some of the glory of the place.

Though increasingly feeble as the years wore on, he kept himself cheerful and content with such occupations as he could find in his family circle, in his books, and in his pen. His infirmities prevented him from getting about, except as he was assisted; but it remained his greatest delight to be carried over to the college chapel, where he could look into the faces of the students and join in the devotions. At the last commencement he was present at almost all the exercises; and at the dedication of Gray Chapel he took part in the services, gratified that he had lived to see this noble consummation of a half century of working and of waiting. He took great delight in reading, and during the last few years he went over the entire Bible again and again. To the very last, before his prostration, he read much and wrote something every day, if nothing more than letters to his old friends. For many years it was his habit to write annually to each of the old students who had gone into the missionary fields abroad. He thus kept himself in touch with the choice spirits who had passed under his molding influence in the university. His students are found now in all lands, and the tidings of his death have carried grief to many homes where his name is gratefully remembered.

W. G. Williams.

[Judging that the long, useful, and saintly life of Frederick Merrick should have some memorial record in the *Review*, we invited Professor Williams to prepare a suitable biographical sketch. He has furnished the article here printed, a large part of which was delivered at Dr. Merrick's funeral.—ED.]

Art. II.—ETHICAL MONISM.

During the month of November last, and under the significant caption of "Ethical Monism," three articles appeared in the columns of the *Examiner*, of New York city. They were from the pen of Dr. A. H. Strong, who for twenty-two years has been the president and a theological professor of the Rochester Seminary, whose friends claim for it a certain preeminence among the Baptist theological schools of this country. He has always been known as a conservative thinker and theologian, as thoroughgoing in his Augustinianism and Calvinism as the late Professor Shedd. He is the author of one of the very best of handbooks of theology, which even Princeton recognizes as an authority and places in the hands of its students. The articles are startling in their significance, as coming from one who is not a novice, but a mature man, a man of disciplined intellect, who is not given to careless and hasty composition, who weighs his words, and whose judgment commands wide respect among his brethren. That they have been read with incredulous amazement is very plain; and that their influence is regarded with alarm, as likely to be very injurious, is evident from the criticism which they have already received. That criticism, it seems to me, cannot be too searching and incisive; and though the discussion properly belongs to the denomination with which the author is identified, yet, as a graduate of Rochester and for more than a decade of years afterward a Baptist pastor, it may not be presumption for me to subject the doctrine of these articles to a critical examination. Baptists have not, thus far in their religious history, disclosed any disposition to court the alliance of philosophical pantheism; but if these articles represent or secure any considerable following a theological revolution among the Baptists is impending. It is not likely that such will be their effect; and they are more apt to find sympathetic readers in other denominations than in the one to which their author belongs.

In the caption the noun plays the prominent part. The adjective appears throughout the discussion as subordinate. The emphasis is on "monism." A thorough discussion would demand a careful and critical eview of all systems of philosoph-

ical monism, for which there is no space in this article. It must suffice to state that the word dates from the time of Wolf, and that for nearly two hundred years it has had a very definite meaning. Primarily, it represents a certain theory of knowledge—the relation which the conscious subject bears to the object of consciousness in every act of cognition. In every such act there is an I and a not-I. Is the I anything more than a modification of the not-I; or is the not-I anything more than a modification of the I; or are the I and the not-I anything more than dual modifications of an anterior and ultimate I or not-I, in which I or not-I, subject and object, coalesce in absolute identity; or are the I and the not-I distinct, separate, and irreducible by analysis? What is the relation between the *ego* and the *non-ego?* The debate, in the end, is an inquiry into the relation between matter and mind. Are these two, or are they one? The question does not concern their logical priority, but their essential identity. Consciousness refuses to identify them. It insists that the relation between matter and mind is one of difference; and if, in problems of philosophy, consciousness is the court of last resort monism is discredited.

But monism insists that reason cannot rest in the natural dualism which consciousness affirms, but must postulate an original and essential identity to satisfy the rational demand for unity. Some make matter basic, regarding mind as its evolution or secretion; and this is materialistic monism. Others regard mind as basic, and matter as its externalization, whatever that may mean; and this is idealistic monism. Materialistic monism eliminates the *ego;* idealistic monism eliminates the *non-ego.* The first makes mind, the second makes matter, an appearance and shadow. The first buries mind; the second sublimates matter. Others insist that equal justice must be done to matter and mind, but that both must be regarded as manifestations of the same primal energy, which is at once subject-object, as when Tyndall urged a new definition of matter which should, also, include mind, or as when a recent writer calls this primal being "dynamic reason"—for which we might as well substitute "rational dynamic." This may be called the monism of absolute identity. This is the prevailing monistic doctrine at present; and it gets rid of the dualism in consciousness simply by making it original and eternal. Its watchword

is, "There is no matter without mind, and there is no mind without matter; there is no world without God, and there is no God without the world." Instead of using two nouns, as natural realism does, this monism, in defining the primal being as "dynamic reason," uses an adjective and a noun. Matter is regarded as rational dynamic, and mind is regarded as dynamic reason. And the *tertium quid*, which it invests with primacy, is something that can neither be produced nor described nor conceived. There is certainly no philosophical idolatry in worshiping this nondescript; for the likeness of it is not to be found, either in heaven or on earth or under the earth. For one, I shall wait until it materializes before I take off my hat in its presence, meanwhile refusing to challenge the clear and emphatic testimony of consciousness, which declares that matter and mind are not identical or reducible to a common term, and insisting that reason must be content to say that they find their unity in the Primal Will, whose creative and causative energy is unfathomable.

Only four theories of knowledge are possible. The conscious subject may be merged in the object of consciousness; or the object of consciousness may be identified with the conscious subject; or the conscious subject and the object of consciousness may be regarded as the conscious or unconscious self-diremption of an original indifference and identity; or the conscious subject and the object of consciousness may be regarded as essentially distinct and separate—an ultimate *datum* of consciousness the denial of which undermines the entire fabric of knowledge. For when metaphysics subverts psychology the Samson tumbles the temple upon his own head. All thought may as well be suspended if consciousness cannot be implicitly trusted. Whatever difficulties its testimony presents, they are certainly not overcome and removed by discrediting the witness. These four theories give us materialistic monism, idealistic monism, the monism of original indifference or absolute identity, and natural realism. And for one I am a natural realist, because I am not prepared to bring the indictment of falsehood against the clear and uniform testimony of consciousness. There is a unity of creative will, but it does not obliterate the essential difference between the *ego* and the *non-ego*.

So much for monism as a theory of knowledge. It is plain

that it cannot stop here. Every theory of knowledge conducts to a theory of being. We cannot help assuming that things are as we know them. Our knowledge of them is the measure of their existence for us. And so monism passes into a theory of universal existence. The relation between matter and mind having been resolved into a relation of identity, the question arises, What is the relation of mind to mind, and of all finite minds to the Infinite Mind? And here, again, two courses are open to us. It may be said that finite mind is the only concrete reality, and that Infinite Mind is only a collective expression for the sum total of finite rationality. Or it may be said that the Infinite Mind is the only mind, and that finite minds are only its self-limitations and manifestations. The outcome, in the latter case, is that there is only one reality—the Infinite Mind—and that the universe of matter and mind is only the dual manifestation or localization of that Mind. This would seem to be pantheism; but there are many who insist that they are not pantheists, however pantheistic their speech may seem to be. That protest must be accepted as honestly made; but this cannot shield them from the criticism which insists, with justice, that the pantheism which they repudiate shall be absent from the statements in which they embody their creed. Dr. Strong is not a pantheist. He insists upon the reality of moral distinctions. He repudiates the idea that God is the author of sin. He affirms the creative origin of the universe in time. He repudiates the notion that matter is eternal. He rejects the doctrine of universal restoration. All this is squarely antipantheistic. But these statements appear as qualifications in a monistic theory of being, with which they cannot be made to agree. Consistency demands either the repudiation of the theory or the surrender of the qualifications. The logical outcome of the theory is pantheism. The following are the main positions which are maintained and defended, and which are accepted as, at least, provisionally true:

I. There is but one substance—God, of which nature is a self-limitation under the law of cause and effect, finite spirits a self-limitation under the law of freedom, and redemption a self-limitation under the law of grace.

II. There are no second causes in nature. The laws and the energies of nature are only the habits of God's action or his

generic volitions. An exception is made in favor of finite spirits, who are said to be the only real second causes, because they have freedom; but finite spirits are defined as "circumscriptions" of the divine substance—a phrase which reminds one of Leibnitz, who regarded monads as "born of the continual fulgurations of divinity from moment to moment."

III. Dr. Strong argues that, as in the Trinity there are three infinite personalities in one substance, so in the same numerical substance there may be multitudinous finite personalities; and he gives his adherence to the statement that God is the "integration of all finite consciousnesses in an all-embracing consciousness." God has but one infinite Son—Christ; but in the substance of the one infinite Son of God there are many finite sons of God.

IV. To all this the Christology of Dr. Strong's papers corresponds. Christ is the natural life of humanity, that is, its substance; and it follows that he was responsible for the sin committed by his own members. We are quoting the author's own words; and he adds that, because Christ was thus responsible, it was impossible that he should not suffer, not make reparation, not atone.

All this is defined as "ethical monism," to fight which may be found to be fighting against God. It is commended as a "mighty movement of the Spirit of God," leading to a deeper understanding of truth and preparing the way for the reconciliation of diverse parties and creeds, by disclosing their hidden ground of unity. I believe that it is so intended. I have known Dr. Strong for a quarter of a century, and I believe him to be as honest as he is able. When he says that he is not a pantheist I believe him; but in this, my confidence in his personal intentions, I am constrained to assume that his language does not fit his thought, and that he would and must repudiate the inevitable implications of his statements. From a trained theologian we have a right to demand that his language shall express his exact thought. And when I weigh, without prejudice or favor, what he has written I must say that to fight his doctrine is to fight for God, and that his *irenicon* is the disintegration and the death of all Christian faith. It will not do to let such bold propositions as I have enumerated above stand and then claim that not an article of Christian doctrine is contravened. Let

the reader judge for himself whether every article is not surrendered, that is, if language has any meaning and if logic has any force. Nor can it be seriously maintained that the doctrine propounded in these articles is a new discovery, though the author writes with all the enthusiasm of a new convert. The rhetorical garment is woven on a modern loom, but it covers a face and figure which have long been familiar. The leading philosophical concepts, and even much of the phraseology, may be found in the writings of Descartes, Leibnitz, Spinoza, and Malebranche; and the theological representative of the system is Schleiermacher, who, to say the least, is fearlessly consistent in accepting the results of his pantheistic scheme. Let us examine these four propositions very briefly, in the order of their enumeration:

I. "There is but one substance—God." Now, by this is not meant that God alone has his substance from himself, that he alone is *causa sui*, and that all other beings derive their existence from him and depend upon him for their continuance. It is not the old doctrine of the aseity of God upon which Dr. Strong fixes attention. He makes it perfectly plain what he does mean when he adds that the universe, through all its ranges and grades of being, is a self-limitation of the divine substance. He quietly assumes that the word "substance" can only mean the "*ens per se subsistens*," that which has independent existence, which constitutes the ground of all existence, other substances than which there cannot be—the common assumption of all pantheism. But the word "substance," as the equivalent of the Latin *substantia*, and of the Greek words *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*, which were used interchangeably, also means simply that which is or that which stands under—the essence of a thing, as distinguished from its properties. There may be existence which is not self-existence. There may be substance, which is not "*ens per se subsistens*." This old and familiar distinction Dr. Strong wholly ignores in affirming that there is but one substance. He maintains that God is transcendent; but the old doctrine of the divine transcendence assumes a very different form under his hands. In theology, the transcendence of God means that his personal being and life are absolutely independent of the universe, independent even of space and time, eternally untrammeled and unlimited. He limits the universe,

quickens it, and rules in it; but in doing that his eternal being retains its absolute poise, and his personal substance is not divided or communicated. All that Dr. Strong means by the transcendence of God is that the universe does not exhaust him. There is infinitely more in God than there is in the universe. But there is nothing in the universe which is not in God and which, in its limited form, is not God. The only substance which the universe has is the self-limited substance of God. Now, this does not identify the universe and God as coequal and coterminous; but it does more than make God the causative ground of the universe—it affirms that the universe is only the manifestation of the self-limited substance of God under the law of cause and effect, or under the law of freedom, or under the law of grace. So far as it has any substance, that substance is the substance of God; or, in other words, God is the substance of the cosmos. This may not be cosmological pantheism, but it is pantheistic cosmology; and there is not much to choose between them.

II. The denial of second causes in nature is a necessary part of Dr. Strong's ethical monism. He declares the laws and the energies of nature to be only the habits of God's action or his generic volitions. He is not content to say that the *laws* of nature simply represent God's habits of action, that God is the principle of universal order. Even this statement, that the order of nature is only another name for the personal action of God, I should be disposed to challenge as strenuously as I should oppose Fichte's identification of God with the moral order of the world. To make the natural and moral order of the universe only another name for the personal action of God may be so interpreted as either to personalize the universe or to depersonalize God. It would be easy to take the step that this natural and moral order is the only God of which we have, and can have, any knowledge. But Dr. Strong adds that the *energies* of nature are simply God's habit of action. The energy of God is the only energy there is. Force and personal will are assumed to be convertible terms.

The statement is plausible, but will not bear close and careful scrutiny. Our personal knowledge of what is involved in volition does not warrant the statement that energy is a form of personal will. He who does nothing but will, who has no physical

or moral agencies at his command, is as impotent as if he did not will at all. The increase of will action cannot overcome nervous or muscular paralysis; and that omnipotence of will can be a substitute for energy is very far from being self-evident. All we know of personal will is that it can direct energy; and to suppose that any increase in the power of direction can supply the energy which is directed is to make a tremendous leap in logic. Energy cannot be a generic volition. The energies of nature must be regarded either as posited by a peculiar act of creative divine power or as simply another name for that power itself which the will of God directs. An omnipotent will is simply a will which controls omnipotence of energy; the almightiness is not in the will as will. So that to speak of the energies of nature as habits of God's action or his generic volitions is to identify things which are as wide apart as the poles. Generic volitions may account for order, but they cannot account for energy; and if there are no second causes in nature its energies can be only forms of God's personal action, whose orderly movement is directed by his generic volitions.

Dr. Strong cannot be permitted to pass at pleasure from habits of action to generic volitions, however convenient it may be, for the two things are wholly distinct. Every one of us has as much will as God has, but no one of us has the power which God has; and if second causes in nature are denied we must be prepared for all the conclusions which follow from the doctrine that the energies of nature are the personal force of God, which his will directs. The energy of God is made to be the only energy there is. Gravity, chemical affinity, all the processes and powers of organic growth and decay are God's habits of personal action. All movement is God's direction of himself, not merely God's direction of created energies, whether in stars, or forests, or flowers, or fish, or bird, or beast. When the fish swim they are not second causes; all there is is God's personal action in swimming. When the birds fly they are not second causes; all there is is God's personal action in flying. God swims and God flies by self-limitation and direction of his personal energy. It passes my comprehension how such a theory can be seriously entertained. The logic needs only to be fairly pushed to its *reductio ad ridiculum* to become the sport

of earth and heaven. That such a notion can be accepted by one who believes in a personal God seems possible only by supposing that the denial of second causes and their conversion into habits of divine action has not been worked out in detail. It has been left to hang in air, and "distance lends enchantment to the view."

Generic volitions offer a convenient retreat when the critical cannonade becomes too heavy. Bring the notion within the range of concrete inspection, and its amazing incongruity discredits it. It may seem to bring unity and order into the cosmos, but it carries eternal chaos into the being of God. What a picture it gives of him! How multitudinous are his personal habits, in rushing stars, and exploding gases, and heaving fires, in frost, and heat, and dew, and rain, and snow, and ice, in crawling reptile, and winged motion, and prowling beast of prey, in hiss, and rattle, and bark, and growl, and infant prattle, and song of seraph! And, to make confusion worse confounded, these multiform habits of God's action are simultaneously performed! What becomes, under such a representation, of the simplicity of the essential life of God? Where is its eternal poise, where its infinite and holy harmony? I have not caricatured the theory. I have simply made it concrete, cutting off retreat into the convenient shelter of "generic volitions," which latter can account for nothing. And in making it concrete its repulsiveness appears. It may seem to exalt nature to deny second causes, but it degrades God. And if this theory be true human language is the greatest of all monstrosities, the most potent instrument of deception. For science, with all its refinements, talks of the properties and qualities of things, and it assumes that these are real entities—not merely generic volitions—in which real entities the properties inhere. We assume that the fish actually swim and that the birds actually fly—that they are not merely operated on or in. We assume that they are second causes. There never was a more groundless or more absurd theory than that there are no second causes in nature, that the laws and the energies of nature are the habits of God's personal action. And this denial of second causes in nature has been a cardinal doctrine in every system of pantheism.

And if there are no second causes in nature there can be no

second causes anywhere. True, an exception is made in favor of finite spirits, who are said to be the only true second causes, because they are free. But, in the first place, that finite spirits are free is known only in consciousness; and ethical monism discredits consciousness in its interpretation of nature. There is no better evidence that man is free than that fishes and birds are second causes. In the second place, man is not pure spirit, but spirit in body. His body is a part of nature, and the vitalized body, therefore, cannot be a second cause. Respiration, digestion, circulation, nervous sensibility, and muscular contraction can only be habits of God's personal action. My "generic volitions" may direct them, but they did not create the energy which my will directs. When I breathe, when I eat, when I walk, when I sleep, my body is not a second cause; and, as I do not do many of these things by any generic volitions of which I am conscious, as all these things were done by me long before I can remember, as many other similar things were done in my prenatal state, they must be placed under the category of divine habits of action. For it is impossible to draw any hard and fast line between nature and man. So far as my constitution is the precipitate of nature, so far must the laws and the energies of nature operate in me. Where do the divine habits stop? When I cough involuntarily, when my heart flutters, when sciatica makes me limp and groan, when my joints ache with rheumatic pain, when the gout torments me, or when I suffer the purgatory of dyspepsia, am I the subject of generic volitions of God, the vehicle of divine habits of action? And, in the third place, finite spirits are said to be "circumscriptions of the divine substance." Its essence and energy are the only essence and energy in them. Their freedom, even, can only be the self-limited freedom of God. This must apply even to the devil. He, too, must be a "circumscription of the divine substance"—a conclusion which it is needless to characterize. I accept the concession that finite spirits are second causes; but I insist that the concession is fatal to a theory of nature which makes no provision for second causes in its constitution.

There is no escape from the horns of this dilemma. If there are no second causes in nature, and if finite spirits are simply "circumscriptions of the divine substance," then man can-

not be a second cause, and his consciousness of freedom resolves itself into a constitutional self-delusion imposed upon him by the generic volition of God. God must be the author of sin, creating moral antagonism in the members who share in his personal substance. If, on the other hand, the consciousness of freedom and the sense of personal guilt, unshared by God, are accepted as ultimate and determining *data* in our judgment of any theory of being, if men are in sober reality second causes, then they have substantial existence in and for themselves, and they cannot be "circumscriptions of the divine substance;" while the corporeity of man, in virtue of which he is vitally linked to nature and a part of nature, invalidates the assumption that there are no second causes in nature.

III. We come next to the suggestion that in the one substance of God we exist as finite personalities, and that the all-embracing consciousness of God integrates all finite consciousnesses. There is not a particle of evidence for so amazing an assumption. All the evidence is squarely against it. The I in every thinker is a fixed point. Every thinker is conscious of his separate individuality. Impersonal thought, or alter-personal thought, is a contradiction in terms. I cannot do another's thinking, and another cannot do my thinking. I cannot do God's thinking, and God cannot do my thinking. There are laws of thought, laws which dominate all thought; and these point to an Original and Supreme Thinker, who makes his thought sovereign in all who think. But, whether I think rightly or wrongly, it is I who think, and not somebody else in me. There may be such a thing as the integration of multitudinous consciousnesses into a single self-consciousness. It may be that each living cell in the human body has its separate consciousness, though it can hardly be said that this physiological fancy has been demonstrated; and theologians have generally explained the Trinity in some such way, affirming the inexistence of three conscious persons in one self-conscious divine personality. But, in the case of finite spirits, the question concerns the integration of multitudinous self-consciousnesses into a single, all-embracing, divine self-consciousness. And self-consciousness is separateness in consciousness, which refuses to be eliminated or sublimated.

It is true that Sir William Hamilton identified consciousness

and self-consciousness. But in this he has not been widely followed. The identification cannot be maintained, unless we are prepared to invest all sentient being with self-consciousness, which would be equivalent to affirming that all sentient beings are personal, that is, moral and accountable. Sensation must involve consciousness. The brute knows when it suffers. But self-consciousness is a very different thing. In it the indivisible self distinguishes, compares, and coordinates the successive states of sentiency. It is not the precipitate or product of the sentient series, for the series cannot even be known as a series, except in memory, by the rational energy of a subject which overlooks and interprets the series, and which is, therefore, independent of the series. Such a power of reason brutes do not possess, unless all our observation is misleading. Brutes are conscious, but they are not self-conscious. They neither think nor say "I." They are not I's. And he who says "I" thereby affirms the separateness and the fixity of his own being. Human consciousness, by its constant and emphatic antithesis of self and God, never confounding the two in its highest moods—even in inspired ecstasy, as in prophetic or apostolic speech—repudiates the notion that finite personalities share in the substance of God, as do Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in the one divine essence. This analogy is a two-edged sword. It cuts both ways. It reduces the Trinity to the category of speculations and assumptions for which not a particle of solid evidence can be offered.

IV. What shall be said of the fourth suggestion, that Christ is responsible for man's sin and guilt, and that, therefore, he was bound to suffer and make atonement? I have known the author of the articles in the *Examiner* for many years to have been a strict Augustinian. He believes and teaches that every man sinned in Adam and is guilty of the original apostasy. And, for one, if I must have a theory of inherited depravity it must be the Augustinian theory or none. I cannot accept the Augustinian theory, and, therefore, I have none. I know that all men are sinners; but how they became such the Bible does not tell me, and the theologians have only muddled me. But it is enough to make even the Bishop of Hippo turn over in his grave to be told that, as Christ is the natural life of humanity, and that as Adam was only a "cir-

cumscription of the divine substance," which substance in its infinite fullness Christ possesses, therefore Christ is responsible for Adam's apostasy and is chargeable with its guilt! That amazing declaration I shall not undertake to criticise. It would be superfluous. I do not remember ever to have read anything like it. It certainly has the merit of originality in dogmatic theology; and its acceptance would revolutionize the traditional faith of the Church. It would disclose the deeper unity of the creeds by destroying every one of them. I do not see how universal restoration can be logically evaded, though Dr. Strong declines to push his Christology to this extreme. But others will do it even if he does not; and I do not see how they can be blamed.

One thing is plain—he who accepts the monism commended in these articles must be prepared to pay a heavy price. There are many things in the articles which are superbly said and which every devout man will most heartily indorse. But there is a dead fly in the precious ointment. The philosophical and theological assumptions constitute the framework of the logic, and I cannot regard them as anything but subversive. I dread their influence upon our young men, who will not stop where the author does. These articles will be read, and have been read, by others besides Baptists. They concern themes in which all Christendom is vitally interested; and this is my apology for passing them under review. I appreciate the irenical temper of the author; but I fear that in his desire for theological harmony he has made unguarded and fatal concessions. At all events, it seems to me that the resultant gospel is not "the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints."

I do not object to the phrase "ethical monism." I rather like it. It suggests a conception of the unity of being at once true and profound, the careful exposition of which would be in the highest degree helpful. It would be a monism constituted by ethical relations and conserved by ethical energies. But such is not the monism which Dr. Strong has expounded and which he commends. The monism of his articles is the monism of substance, to which certain ethical qualifications are appended. Ethics deals with moral personality, not with substance. And ethical monism should make

the infinite and absolute moral personality of God its point of departure—not the divine substance. When Dr. Strong elsewhere says that in creation man is "intellectually" united to God, and that in regeneration man is "spiritually" united to God, he more than commands my unqualified consent. Only I should add that in creation man is "ethically" united to God, as well as "intellectually," and that regeneration only makes effective in conscious personal life the intellectual and ethical relations established by creation and violated by sin. A union intellectually, ethically, and spiritually mediated, constituting identity of rational and moral life, is a profound and stimulating truth. It simply carries out the idea that man bears the image of God because he is the offspring of God. Stars are made, souls are born. The first are the product of God's dynamic energy; the second are the product of his generative energy. But a unity of substance is a very different thing; and, whatever the resultant monism may be, it can be called ethical only by courtesy. The ethical conception is not generative and determinant in such a system. It secures that place only when the unity of being is regarded as rational and moral, when the eternal base of the system is found in the infinite and absolute moral personality of God—in his rational and holy will, not in his substance. I like the text, but I do not like the sermon.

A. J. F. Behrends

ART. III.—THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE.

THE House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church adopted, in 1886, four principles of agreement as a condition of union with other Churches. Two years later, the Lambeth Conference of English Bishops, after some debate, adopted similar conditions. The fourth principle or condition of union in the platforms of both Churches was the acceptance of what is by them termed "the historic episcopate;" by which phrase is meant a recognition of the necessity of episcopal ordination to the validity of ministerial functions in the Christian Church. The *dictum* is that where there is no episcopal ordination there is no true ministry, therefore, no sacraments, and, consequently, no Church.

This interpretation of the historic episcopate by the Lambeth Conference, in opposition to another interpretation by a learned and respectable minority who certainly were as well versed in the history of the Church of England as their opponents, has been much regretted by many who believe in the organic union of Christendom, and who had cherished the hope that the separative forces of the Reformation period had been modified by the thought-drifts, the religious tolerances, and the liberalizing influences, political, social, and commercial, of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is not the first time in the history of the Church that a beautiful dream has faded away in the shadow of traditional dogma. The recent utterances of the Protestant Episcopal bishops in the New York *Independent* (March 8, 1894) are further accepted as rendering impossible the union of the Churches on any such basis as the historic episcopate. That any learned body of Protestant divines should now deliberately demand belief in apostolical succession, not of doctrine, but of touch as a condition of Christian union, and should affirm that their body alone possessed such tactual succession, is something extraordinary, and goes very far in confirmation of the supposition that the most primitive habits of thought and practice may exist and thrive side by side with the highest civilization.

Now, since the High Church party in the Church of England and in the Protestant Episcopal Church—by its insistence

upon this theory, which has been made a principle of belief equal in value to a revealed doctrine—rejects the validity of ordination in other Protestant Churches, the right to challenge, on Anglican principles, the validity of orders in the Established Church and its offshoot in the United States can neither be questioned nor denied. It cannot be quietly assumed that the Church of England is undoubtedly founded on a historic, legitimate episcopate and that, therefore, it possesses the right to lay down imperative conditions of union for other Churches. Before it or the Protestant Episcopal Church can lawfully presume to do this it must produce its own undoubted credentials or make good, without any element of incertitude in its evidence, its own high claims to tactual, authorized succession.

Upon what, then, does this claim to the historic episcopate in the Church of England rest? As a historic fact, it rests solely on the validity of Matthew Parker's consecration to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. From him the English episcopate is derived; he, and he only is the foundation of that hierarchical structure which now towers so loftily; and unless it can be demonstrated, as it has not been, without any suspicion of doubt that he was truly and canonically consecrated, then, on Anglican principles, this historic episcopate is a myth engendered of ecclesiastical pride, the claim of the Church of England is false, however venerable it may be and however agreeable it may be with its dignity and illustrious history, and its orders, on the same principles, like those of other Churches, are null and void. Once the issue is made, nothing can be taken for granted. Assumptions of what might have been done or of what may even seem probable from circumstances will be of no avail. The clean-cut historic facts will alone be admitted in evidence. In no instance will any degree of doubt be allowed. Nor, indeed, should Anglicans desire it; for if in the evidence there is reasonable ground for doubt, then, on the universal legal maxim, "*Nemo dat quod non habet*," the validity of all subsequent consecrations emanating from that source would be doubtful. Such uncertainty would be death to the historic episcopate and annihilation to the affirmations and demands of Anglican prelates.

What are the facts? When Elizabeth, on the death of Queen Mary, ascended the throne of England, in 1558, the Roman Catholic faith was the established religion of the realm. Such

ministers as had preached the pure word of God under Edward VI had fled to the Continent when Mary became queen, and at the accession of Elizabeth were for the most part still exiles. Catholic bishops filled the sees, and all laws, civil and ecclesiastical, enacted under Mary for the protection or enrichment of the Roman Church were still in legal force. The Parliament of 1st Elizabeth changed all this and made possible a new era. By repealing the laws of Queen Mary, which had restored the Catholic religion, and by reviving certain acts of Henry VIII and Edward VI, the reformed religion obtained a legal status over its rival, and was established in the place of the Roman Church as the religion of the nation.

The oath of supremacy to the new queen as head of the Church in England being tendered the Catholic bishops, they all, with one exception, refused to take it and, as a consequence, were ejected from their bishoprics by the High Court of Commission. In such manner were the episcopal sees of England emptied of their occupants—a mode quite as legal as had been practiced in the preceding reign; and there now remained no bishop who might lawfully exercise the functions of his office. The archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, the highest in England, being vacant by the death of Cardinal Pole, who died twenty-four hours after Queen Mary, his cousin, it was a matter of prime importance that it should be filled as soon as possible by one in harmony with the new order of things in Church and State. For this purpose Queen Elizabeth issued, according to her royal prerogative, a mandate, bearing date September 9, 1559, to four bishops of the old faith and to Doctors in Divinity Barlow and Scory, who had been deprived of their bishoprics under Queen Mary, commanding them to consecrate Matthew Parker, professor of sacred theology, archbishop of Canterbury. The four Catholic bishops, recognizing neither the spiritual authority of the queen nor the ecclesiastical character of Barlow and Scory, refused to obey the mandate. The failure of this commission produced, it is affirmed, a second royal mandate, dated December 6, 1559. This was addressed to Kitchin, of Llandaff, William Barlow, bishop-elect of Chichester, John Scory, bishop-elect of Hereford, Miles Coverdale, formerly bishop of Exeter, Richard, suffragan of Bedford, John, suffragan of Thetford, and John Bale, bishop of Ossory. It was in obedi-

ence to this mandate that Matthew Parker is declared, by those who insist upon the historic episcopate, to have been consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, December 17, A. D. 1559, by the persons mentioned, excepting Kitchin, Bale, of Ossory, and the suffragan of Thetford.

Now, it is a matter of history that this consecration has been questioned, both as to fact and form, by Romanist and Presbyterian, from the time it was first heard of to the present day. Neither Mason's *Vindiciæ* nor Godwin's *Præsulibus*, the efforts of Bramhall, or the editor of Bramhall, with all his learning, have been able to dispel the doubts which first clouded the announcement of the event.

The literature on the subject is voluminous. However, two works of recent date contain between them the best, perhaps, that can be said, or has been said, on the Anglican side—Haddan's *Apostolical Succession in the Church of England*, and Bailey's *Defense of Holy Orders in the Church of England.* Haddan is infallible. Mr. Bailey's valuable work is in another vein. It is a compilation of the documents in Lambeth Library upon the proofs of which Matthew Parker's consecration rests, and was undertaken, says the author, "in answer to a wish expressed by many clergy, both in England and America, who desire to possess the valuable documents attesting the validity of their orders." From the other side there have appeared some able volumes, on one of which we mainly rely for the *data* involving the genuineness of the Lambeth Register, the author having personally compared these documents with the State papers compiled and published under authority by Rymer, the royal historiographer. It is to these documents we direct our attention, and not to the worn-out arguments on apostolical succession, concerning which nothing new can be said, and which may now be given over to the innocent amusement of leisurely curates.

The first evidence offered in proof of Parker's consecration is the Lambeth Register containing the record of the fact. This record, says Haddan, "occupies from the second to the eleventh leaf of Parker's register, volume i. The volume is an entire volume, bound together before it was used; not a collection of separate documents, bound together after they were written." It is, therefore, either the original book in which

were recorded the facts related to the consecration at the time they transpired, or it is a book in which were copied the record of the facts from original documents. That it is not a book of copies, but the original record itself, is clearly the fact Haddan is desirous of stating. That there can be no doubt of this is evident from the statement by Archbishop Wake to Le Courayer, "You may depend upon it that the whole entry of the acts of M. Parker's consecration, with all the instruments relating to it, in my registers are written in the same hand with the other acts of what passed during his archiepiscopate, and all at the same time they were done."

But, what proof is there that this register is itself genuine? Has it been subjected to the test of those principles of literary and historical criticism which, for instance, are applied so rigorously to the New Testament manuscripts and the documents of early Christianity—the epistles of Ignatius, for example? Forgery, it is a well-known fact, was common in the days of Elizabeth; and in the reign of James I a general pardon was once granted to those who had forged State papers, charters, deeds, etc. Every important document, then, of that period must be accepted with caution by the critic, and such a valuable proof as this register is must have some unassailable verification of its genuineness. What is the internal and external evidence in its favor?

The consecration of Matthew Parker took place, it is affirmed, December 17, A. D. 1559. But, notwithstanding the fact that the announcement of the act was challenged and proofs demanded that the act had been performed, this register containing the record of the event was not produced till A. D. 1613, fifty-four years after the alleged act occurred. Among the Romanists, Harding pressed Jewel, one of Parker's bishops, to show the credentials of the new episcopacy. Others, as Sanders, Bristow, and Stapleton, lynx-eyed watchers of everything done by the new *régime*, repeatedly denied the fact of the consecration. But no register was ever produced to prove it; for which reason Romanists and Presbyterians declared that the new bishops were bishops only by appointment of the queen, according to the act 1st Elizabeth, and referred to them commonly as "Parliament bishops." Where was this register during these fifty-four years? Is it a fact that it is a contemporaneous record

of the event upon which the historic episcopate rests? It is something remarkable that neither Haddan nor Bailey nor any Anglican writer gives any contemporary evidence of its existence. Stowe, the friend and *protégé* of Parker, makes no mention of it in his chronological history; Godwin's work on Anglican prelates, published first in English in 1601, knows nothing of it; in fact, no writer or historian of the period mentions it. But in 1613 Mason, chaplain to Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, published his *Vindiciæ*, and then for the first time in fifty-four years this precious, all-essential document triumphantly saw the light. How could such an important volume, by no means small, containing, as Haddan says, the record of "the earliest acts of jurisdiction dated two and three days after Parker's confirmation," drop so completely out of the sight and memory of man so soon after the alleged consecration, notwithstanding the numerous records that were made and were to be made in it, that it could not be appealed to for half a century?

The critical inquirer would be justifiable, it would seem, in asking how it happened that the register was discovered at this particular time, the first year of James I. And, considering King James's distrust of English orders, his dangerous leaning toward Catholicism, his strong predilections for episcopacy, and his antipathy to Presbyterianism, this sympathetic but critical inquirer, and even those making high claims to the historic episcopate, might ask, "For the preservation of the established hierarchy recently founded, was there a necessity for the discovery of this precious document?" Such a question would be pushing things to the extreme; it would sound like a very stern suggestion of wrong doing, implying pious fraud for the safety of the Church of England and its episcopacy. To all of which it may be said, that to imagine that those who abandoned the ancient religion for the reformed were better in every respect than the ethics and theology in which they had been educated is to say that Calvin did not burn Servetus, that Cranmer sent no poor wretch to the stake for conscience' sake, that the historical facts proving that reformed and unreformed were both victimized by the thought of their age are fanciful flights or pitiful evidences of religious rancor.

But criticism has no weakness for sentiment. It has nothing

to do with the consequences resulting from its labors. Truth is the object of its search, the sole purpose of its labor, and for that, rather than shrines and wooden gods, has it genuine reverence. The Rev. Mr. Bailey quotes testimony to the fact, though he did not see it was two-edged, that when Sanders's book relating to the Nag's Head fable came to King James "it strattled him."

> Upon this he [the king] cald his privy council and shewed it them, and withal told 'em that he was a stranger among 'em and knew nothing of the matter; and, directing himself to the archbishop [Abbot], who was present, "My Lord (says he), I hope you can prove and make good your ordination, for by my sol, man (says he), if this story be true we are no Church."

The archbishop replies that by examining the Lambeth Register he could produce the record of Parker's consecration. Some time afterward the document is produced (it could have been shown the king the next day, for Mason, the archbishop's chaplain, had already discovered it among some musty papers in the Lambeth Library); and the Earl of Nottingham, perusing it, declared, "It was ye original he saw and read when Archbishop Parker was ordained," fifty-four years before.

But if this record was so easily found at this particular juncture at the beginning of King James's reign, on the appearance of Sanders's book, why was it not produced, in answer to the repeated demands of those who denied its existence and challenged the validity of the new episcopal orders, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth? Harding, who was contemporary with Parker and Barlow and the others and, like the rest of his co-religionists, watchful of every public act, challenged Jewel to show the record of the ordination. "We say to you, Mr. Jewel, and to each of your companions, 'Show us the register of your bishops; show us the letters of your orders.'" "If you cannot show your bishoply pedigree, if you can prove no succession, then whereby hold you? How can you prove your vocation? By what authority usurp you the administration of doctrine and sacraments? Who hath called you? Who hath laid hands on you? How and by whom were you consecrated?" But no register, no pedigree was ever forthcoming. Bishop Jewel returned an evasive answer. Not until fifty-four years after the event, when all who participated in it and all who

witnessed it were dead, except the earl of prodigious memory, was the register produced; and then at a time most providential for the continuity of the hierarchy established by law.

An examination of the register furnishes internal evidence, it is said by those contesting it, sufficient to awaken doubt of its authenticity. It mentions Parker's family as being among the aristocracy. A life of Parker, translated from the *Historiola* of the Masters of Corpus Christi College and published during Parker's lifetime (1574) by one who knew him, states that he was the son of an honest weaver at Norwich. It also affirms that at the consecration the ordinal of Edward VI was used, which ordinal at that time was illegal, it not having been restored. Elizabeth certainly expected that the Roman ritual would be employed in the service, for it cannot be supposed that she thought the Roman bishops to whom she sent her first mandate would use any other. Between the date of that mandate and the date of the consecration no act of Parliament was passed legally restoring the ordinal which had been outlawed in the preceding reign. The statement of Haddan, that "the volume is an entire volume, bound together before it was used; not a collection of separate documents, bound together after they were written," was intended to suggest the absurdity that such a volume could be a forgery. From a study of that part of it recording Parker's consecration we are compelled to say that that testimony is the most damaging against the genuineness of the register, or that part of it, that could be given by the defense. The nice precision, the painfully exact circumstantiality of the narrative, the direction of the doors, who went in and who came out, what each wore at each change of the scene, and that, too, at a time when everything pertaining to vestments was regarded as "Aaronic ornaments," "popish things," even by those who participated in the ceremony, the position of tables, the kind of cloth with which this and that was covered, not to mention other little precisions impressing one as being too trivial to have attracted attention at the inauguration of a new hierarchy of a great kingdom shaking off the incubus of papalism, while the presence of such a notable man as the Right Honorable Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham and High Admiral of England, at five o'clock on a cold winter's morning, is wholly ignored—all this, and much more that might

be mentioned, awakens the gravest suspicions that this realistic account of the ceremony, if such there was, is the fabrication of an ingenious hand, who thought that by the introduction of so many particularities of tables and stools and green baize cloth he would impress the record with the stamp of truth, because it seemed to be so exact.

There is other evidence of its doubtful origin. If this document is not spurious it bears upon its face the most unfortunate marks of guilt of any document ever depended upon for the support of a great cause. Archbishop Wake, it will be remembered, assured Le Courayer, who was writing in defense of English orders, that everything relating to Parker's consecration in the registers was "written in the same hand with the other acts of what passed during his archiepiscopate, and all at the same time they were done." This is confirmed by others who have examined the register. Now, what are the facts? Anthony Huse, the registrar, died in June, 1560, and was succeeded by John Incent. Huse is registrar to folio 221, John Incent from that to folio 299. The handwriting, then, ought to be different. But it is not. The very uniformity upon which Mr. Haddan relies is evidence against him. Or are we to believe that Anthony Huse wrote in the same hand the whole of this register after his death? for, as Archbishop Wake testifies, the writing is in the same hand and was done at the time of the events recorded. Again, in the *acta* of confirmation in this same register, as printed by Haddan, Francis Clarke acts as scribe in the absence of Anthony Huse. The writing in this instance also should be different. But it is not.

The crowning proof that that part of the register recording Parker's consecration is a probable forgery is seen in the fatal blunder of whoever wrote it in failing to keep correct time. In Haddan's Latin copy before us we read:

> The register of the most reverend father in Christ, his lordship Matthew Parker, elected archbishop of Canterbury, and confirmed by the reverend fathers their lordships William Barlow, lately bishop of Bath and Wells, *now* elect [*nunc electum*] of Chichester, John Scory, formerly bishop of Chichester, *now* elect [*nunc electum*] of Hereford, . . . likewise consecrated by the same reverend fathers, under the same authority, on the seventeenth day of the same month of December, Anthony Huse, Esquire, being *then* the chief registrar [*tunc registrario primario*] of the said most reverend father.

How can Anglican defenders of the register reconcile these different times and make them one and the same time? Astounding as it may be, here is an attempt to make it appear that this record was made at the time the event it records occurred —"now" (*nunc*)—while the fact drops out at the end that it was not written until some time after —"then" (*tunc*)—that is, after Huse had ceased to be registrar! And, as one of our authorities shows, the "now" comprised three days only, for Parker was consecrated December 17, and on the twentieth of the same month Barlow and Scory were confirmed in their sees and were no longer elect, but absolute, bishops of Chichester and Hereford. Of these facts, visible on the face of the register itself, Anglican learning and ingenuity have offered no explanation. "*Nemo dat quod non habet.*" There is no explanation that does not obscure the High Church theory and the whole elaborate scheme of evidence supporting the erroneous view of the historic episcopate in ever-thickening, darkening, doubt.

For brevity's sake we may omit several minor proofs of the doubtfulness of the register, and notice only in briefest manner possible the genuineness of the particular document itself by authority of which Parker is said to have been consecrated.

The royal historiographer, Rymer, compiled all State papers of the period in one great work, entitled *Fœdera, Conventiones, Literæ, et cujuscumque generis Acta Publica*, etc., giving to each paper copied the identical authentication possessed by the original. Those mandates, royal letters patent, etc., that bore the great seal are marked by Rymer "*Sub magno sigillo Angliæ;*" others are attested under the privy seal with the words "*Teste rege;*" some others are signed by the queen in person, and in Rymer all such have the conclusion, "*Teste regina*," etc., or "*Per ipsam Reginam.* The common formula, "*Teste rege*," on many papers is without special value unless followed by seal or signature. Now, the first mandate for the consecration of Parker, dated September 9, 1559, but which was disregarded, bears a proper authentication, "*Teste regina, per breve de privato sigillo.*" The second mandate, dated December 6, 1559, is the one under which it is affirmed Parker was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. What is the authentication? None! There is no seal, no signature. It is very strange and very unfortunate that this

particular document in this particular case should be without any evidence of royal authority. Those who deny its genuineness are of the opinion that Elizabeth, the mighty "Elizabeth of the iron maw," chagrined at the failure of her first mandate, was too high spirited to issue another when by a mere word, according to the teachings of the reformers in Edward VI's time and of her own appointments, it was lawful to make one a bishop or an archbishop. What validity such an argument has we will not stop to inquire; but the following evidence is given by those who make it. In Rymer (xv, 546) there is a royal commission, properly authenticated, authorizing certain ones to administer the oath of supremacy to Matthew Parker. The document is genuine. What is its date? October 20, 1559. Here, then, in this very commission, nearly two months before the date of the royal mandate of December 6, 1559, issued, it is said, for his consecration, the queen herself in a legal document styles him archbishop. Was he then archbishop? Mr. Bailey urges the fact that Barlow must have been consecrated bishop, because he was once so styled by Queen Mary; "therefore, from this very fact it must be admitted that he had been truly consecrated bishop and publicly accepted as such by the queen." He quotes Le Courayer at length to the same effect. Prior to December 17, 1559, Matthew Parker is styled archbishop in a legal document by the queen, in which document he is granted certain powers which he could not use were he not archbishop; therefore, we might say with Mr. Bailey, "from this very fact it must be admitted" that he was archbishop before that date, archbishop by royal authority, and as such accepted by the founders of the hierarchy in those "spacious times of great Elizabeth."

But, leaving Rymer and the register, it would be well to consider the corroborating evidence adduced by Anglicans in proof of the fact of the consecration of Parker and that the register is genuine. Between the reformers in England and those on the Continent a correspondence was maintained, which correspondence, known as the *Zurich Letters*, has been published by the Parker Society. High Church writers regard this correspondence as closing the case against all objectors. Haddan says, "These letters prove in detail, with the conclusiveness of undesigned, private, and casual allusions, the several

consecrations of the bishops, including Parker." It cannot be denied, nor is there any necessity for denying the fact, that the *Zurich Letters* furnish strong, if not conclusive, evidence that Parker was made archbishop. That he was was never doubted. The manner, the how he was made so, is the *pièce de résistance;* and the evidence is just as strong for the belief that he was archbishop by royal authority only, as others had been made bishops, for whose special benefit the act of 8th Elizabeth was passed confirming them in their appointment. This correspondence, so confidently appealed to by Anglicans, is not without its difficulties also, if these same Anglicans, between whose views and the teachings of the reformers there is no agreement at all, would but seriously consider them.

Mr. Bailey gives one of these letters, from Jewel to Peter Martyr, dated at London, July 20, 1559, in which Jewel writes, "Some of our friends are marked out for bishops, Parker for Canterbury," etc. But there is another letter from Jewel to Peter Martyr which Mr. Bailey does not give. It reads, "Yesterday, as soon as I returned to London, I heard from the archbishop of Canterbury that you are invited hither, and that your old lectureship is open to you." What is the date of this letter? November 2, 1559, six weeks before Parker's alleged consecration and two weeks after he had been styled archbishop by the queen in a legal document. Mr. Bailey quotes another letter, which he thinks is good evidence for his American brethren "who desire to possess the valuable documents attesting the validity of their orders." It is from Parkhurst to Josiah Simler, dated "Bishop's Cleeve, December 20, 1559," and reads, "When I was lately in London one of the privy councillors and Matthew Parker, the archbishop of Canterbury," etc. Bishop's Cleeve is in Gloucestershire. Now, when we reflect upon the distance and the mode of travel in those easy days it is clear as sunbeams that Parkhurst left London before December 17, the date of Parker's consecration, and that, therefore, as the queen had styled him and as the letter from Jewel to Peter Martyr has styled him, Parker was archbishop before December 17. Or will Anglicans assume that the elevation of Matthew Parker was so certain that he was considered already as archbishop? In any court the simple response would be, "Prove it." There is other testimony to the probability that

bishops were made by royal designation only, as, for instance, the petition of Parker, Cox, Grindal, Scory, and Barlow that Elizabeth should accept certain revenues from their sees. These worthy prelates were not confirmed, it will be remembered, until after the consecration of Parker. But this petition was not presented, according to Strype (*Annals*, chap. vi), later than September, 1559. How, then, could these gentlemen give away the revenues of sees they did not possess and over which they had no jurisdiction? The explanation is that they were recognized as bishops as soon as nominated by the royal prerogative.

Not pursuing this interesting sidepath further, the important questions press to the front, Who were Parker's consecrators? and, secondly, Did they hold to what is now known as Anglican belief concerning ministerial orders? If the reformers were not High Church men, representing such belief in the Church in the name of which they consecrated Matthew Parker, if they did not believe in the necessity of episcopal ordination at all, but recognized freely the ministerial character of ministers in other Churches not possessing or indorsing episcopal ordination, all of which are facts of history, then it is simply impossible to find in the Church of England by law established any intelligible basis for the notion of a historic episcopate which is now made a fundamental condition of ecclesiastical union.

From the "Order of Rites and Ceremonies" in Parker's register we learn that William Barlow, John Scory, Miles Coverdale, and John Hodgkins officiated. Barlow was the consecrator. This Anglicans deny, affirming that all the bishops were the consecrators. But, unfortunately for their desire, this same "Order of Rites" says:

> The gospels at length finished, the elect of Hereford, the suffragan of Bedford, and Miles Coverdale, of whom above, conducted the archbishop before the elect of Chichester [Barlow], seated in a chair at the table, with these words: "Reverend father in God, we offer and present to you this pious and learned man, that he may be consecrated archbishop."

Haddan remarks in a footnote, "It will be observed that no distinction is made between the presiding bishop and the assistant bishops"—a surprising statement in the face of the record before him. Was not Barlow the chief among those in this service, and was it not to him that the assistants presented the

archbishop? Was not this a distinction? An assistant bishop exercises no consecrating power, and if those with him are not bishops his individual act is null and void. Barlow, then, was consecrator. But had Barlow himself ever been consecrated bishop? That is the question. We are not surprised that Anglicans are anxious to deprive Barlow of the honor of being the consecrator of Matthew Parker—the first link in the chain of Anglican episcopacy. There is no positive evidence that William Barlow was ever consecrated bishop, while there is abundant and varied proof that he was never more than bishop-elect. Anglican writers never tire of asserting that he was ordained in the twenty-eighth year of Henry VIII. But where is the proof? He was elected to the see of St. Asaph, January 16, 1536. On the tenth of April following he is elected to St. Davids, where he settles on the July following, and, at that date, is still unconsecrated. The proof of this is a royal writ, dated May 29, and the documents of his successor at St. Asaph, who repeatedly styles him "bishop elect." But where is Barlow between these dates, that is, from January to July? Journeying to and fro from England to Scotland on an embassy to the king, James V. To Scotland he went bishop-elect of St. Asaph; and from Scotland he returned finally in July styled in reports and histories full-fledged bishop of St. Davids. The fact that he was ever consecrated has never been proved.

The belief of those who are said to have assisted in the consecration of Matthew Parker and the teachings of all the English reformers were antagonistic to the views on the ministry held by the Roman Church, and now adopted by the defenders of this theory of the historic episcopate. William Barlow was notoriously lax in his opinions. In July, 1536, after he had taken possession of St. Davids as bishop, articles were presented against him before the king for affirming, "if the king's grace, being supreme head of the Church in England, did choose, denominate, and elect any layman to be a bishop, that he so chosen should be as good a bishop as he is, or the best in England." Did he base this opinion on the fact that he had been made bishop solely by Henry's appointment? We might go over the list did space permit, not only of Parker's consecrators, but of all the bishops of that period without finding one representing the principles of this ultra Anglican party.

They were all in hearty sympathy with the ideas of the Continental reformers, and were restrained only by the semi-Romish sentiments of Elizabeth herself from impressing Genevan doctrine and usage on the Church of England. The Anglicans owe much to the sturdy, headstrong daughter of Henry VIII.

From an impartial study of the facts here presented, necessarily in abbreviated form, it is clear that the consecration of Matthew Parker is, on Anglican principles, very doubtful. The historic episcopate in the Church of England, and, therefore, in the Protestant Episcopal Church, is impossible of proof; and, were it true or even relieved of the incubus of doubt resting so heavily upon it, it is not worthy the importance that has been attached to it.

R J Cooke.

ART. IV.—"THE YOUNG MAN AND THE CHURCH."

MR. EDWARD W. BOK wrote an article for the January number of the *Cosmopolitan*, on "The Young Man and the Church," which has been widely read and has provoked much discussion. Mr. Bok is the editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, which publication under his editorship and management has reached, it is claimed, the largest circulation of any paper in the world. A man of his intelligence, integrity, keen knowledge of the world, friendliness to virtue and religion might have been expected to take a broader view of the subject and have reached other conclusions. To us he seems to have so fastened his eyes on one little section of the subject that the great sphere of truth escaped his vision. He wastes no words in laying down two propositions, which he makes the basis of his article: (1) that young men do not go to church; (2) that the reason young men do not go to church is that they get little or nothing from the pulpit when they go. We take exception to both of these statements. We do not believe they can be sustained by the facts. A certain king proposed this question to the scholars of his realm: "Why is it that, if a vessel be filled with water and a fish be dropped into it, the water will not run over?" The men of science returned elaborate and profound answers. The king replied, "When the fish is put into the vessel the water will run over." Mr. Bok employs a good many pages in solving the problem why young men do not go to church, when, in fact, they do go to church, and go to church in larger numbers than ever before in the history of this country. We do not say that all young men attend church; we do not claim that as many young men go to church as should. We do not say that the pulpit is perfect, that it attracts as many young men as it is privileged to do. We do say that there is not a growing dislike or neglect of the church upon the part of young men, and that there never was a time when they were more regular in their attendance on the church services or were more loyal to the cause of God.

While there are many young men who attend church, there are numbers who do not. This has always been the case. There are powerful influences calculated to drift men away

from the church. There is a growing disregard for the sanctity of the Lord's day—the disposition to make it a holiday, instead of a holy day. Foreigners bring wrong notions of Sunday observance to our shores, and the native Americans adopt them very easily. The young are fond of recreation and amusement, and Satan sets all kinds of snares for them on the Lord's day. The bicycle has gotten to be almost a necessity now. Many ministers find it indispensable to their work and health. The wheel is cutting to pieces the Christian Sabbath and carrying many a young man of good conscience and careful training away from the cross. A spin around the park or out to a neighboring village ten or twenty miles away is often a substitute for attendance on church service on Sunday. Mr. Bok, in his three years of almost fruitless search for ministers with tact and sense enough to attract and entertain young men, must have met scores of young men on the streets and parkways on Sunday, with their knee breeches and sweaters, whirling along from church and worship as rapidly as possible. It did not occur to him that it might be the eloquence of the wheel, rather than the dullness of the minister, that kept young men away from divine service.

The disposition to make Sunday a purely social day militates against church attendance. Numbers of plain people hail the return of the day because it will bring visits, excursions, picnics, social amusement, and even revelry. It has gotten to be quite the thing now for the rich to give the day over largely to riding, visiting, big dinners, and social entertainment of one kind or another. It is quite the custom among the four hundred and their imitators to go to their country seats on Saturday evening and spend the time till Monday in purely social recreation, with the slightest tincture, if any, of God or worship in it. In a conversation on this subject with Mr. Chauncey M. Depew the other day he said to us:

> The very rich are being weaned away from attendance upon the church and loyalty to it by the growing custom of making Sunday a day of social enjoyment. Riding, driving, big dinners, gay circles of invited guests are supplanting the church in the affections of the extremely rich. Some of the families of the very rich are constant in their attendance on all the services of the church, parents and children being intensely loyal to all its interests; but a larger number are letting the religious go for the social. It is the old story of the camel and the eye of the needle.

Having heard that Dr. John Hall, pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York, had preached on a recent Sunday on some of the social dangers of high life, we called on him to ascertain his views on the general subject. He said:

> There is a growing disposition among the wealthy to spend Sunday in riding, driving, giving parties, and other entertainments which are unfriendly to the church. It not only keeps the members of the family away from religious duty, but large numbers of male and female servants, who are made to desecrate the Lord's day to pander to their masters' folly and sin. Back of my house are a number of livery stables. The other day I went over to see if I could not persuade some of the stablemen and drivers to attend my church. They said, "No, the demands on us are so great we can have no time for church.

If Mr. Bok had thought a little more carefully he might have ascertained that, if young men do not attend church in as great numbers as they should, the saddle, the cushioned carriage, the shady porch, the hammock, the course dinners, the sound of the guitar or viol or piano, the drawing room full of young ladies of exquisite charms may have had as much to do with the nonattendance as the stupidity of the pulpit.

The Sunday newspaper is a powerful rival of the church. It violates the sanctity of the Lord's day and teaches church members, as well as others, to do the same. It is one of the greatest enemies of a Christian civilization. It has in it grains of truth, but tons of trash. The picture Mr. Bok gives of the young man, worn out with vain search for some pastor that would feed him, determining in his desperation to be religious in spite of the imbecility of the ministry, repairing to his father's library, and taking down the Bible and some good book to feed his soul with spiritual pabulum, is a superb specimen of unconscious irony. If Mr. Bok will wipe the dust from his eyes he will see that it is not the Bible that the young man is reading, but the Sunday newspaper. If he will look over the young man's shoulder he will likely see him reading about the baseball team or the races, with a description of the winners; or immersed in a love story; or puzzling his brain trying to guess the end of some novel which has drawn a prize of a thousand dollars; or feasting on some tale saturated with impure suggestion; or firing his mind with the double-leaded recital of some murder; or devouring the column of

divorce in high life, with the *verbatim* testimony of the court room. A young man who will not be drawn by the attractions of the many churches and pulpits that may be found or whom the sense of duty does not drive to worship, though the service be not all that could be desired, may go into his father's library and study a Bible; but in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he will take up the Sunday newspaper.

The saloon, that enemy of all good, is a rival of the church. Dissatisfied with six days of violence and fraud, the drinking house claims, and in some cities uses, the seventh for its diabolical designs. Young men make profitable customers of the saloons. The vile places could not keep open long without their patronage. The same is largely true of the clubs. Some clubs are intellectual, moral, in every way elevating. Others are saloon and gambling hell combined, none the less dangerous to young men, but rather more, for the better furnishing and respectability that surrounds them. The caustic censor of the pulpit, in his vain search for churches where sermons worth hearing could be found, must have seen many young men slipping in and out of the side doors of saloons, in and out of pool rooms, billiard rooms, concert halls, and the like, must have seen young men walking proudly in and out of the vast club house, the gateway of hell. Disorderly houses rely largely for their patronage upon young men. The frightful number of the inmates of these houses in the city of New York, multiplied by two, will indicate the number of young men blighted by the social evil, and may suggest to the brilliant young editor some reason other than the universal stupidity of the pulpit why all young men do not love to go to church. Young men who stay away from church do so because they desire to. They prefer physical recreation or sleep or social entertainment or amusement or vice to the church, and that is why they do not attend it. No one, man or woman, old or young, by nature loves God or the Church. There must be a new heart before there will be the disposition of friendliness to the Church. The heart of the young man, like that of anyone else, is by nature "deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked."

What the young man of the period wants is a warm Gospel, that will convert the soul. From this Mr. Bok and the class he represents are turning with disappointment, not unmingled

with disgust, and are hunting for a twenty-minute business talk that will stir no conscience, pierce no bad habit, and kindle no fires of immortal love, but will, in our opinion, intensify the worldliness that is already freezing the hearts of so many to death. In these days, when institutions demand so much notice, individual responsibility is often forgotten. If a man be poor men say at once that society made him poor; if a young man go wrong they say it is the fault of his parents or the Church. It does not occur to them that the young man has any responsibility. It is not complimentary to the dignity of young men or helpful to their manhood to plead the "baby act" for them and lay on the shoulders of the ministry the responsibility of their not attending church, which really belongs upon themselves.

Notwithstanding the influences unfriendly to church attendance we have mentioned, and others that could be named, the church has more than made headway against them. There are more people attending church now than ever before in the history of this world. There are more young men belonging to the church and attending church than ever before in the history of this country. This is owing to the fact that, under the blessing of the Holy Spirit, the members have been loyal and the ministers true to the interests committed to their care. The members of the evangelical Churches in this country at the beginning of this century numbered less than four hundred thousand. Now they number over fifteen million. The growth has been three times as great as that of the population. From the statistics of Dr. H. K. Carroll we take the figures indicating the growth of the leading Protestant Churches from 1890 to 1894:

	Communicants.	
	1890.	1894.
Methodists	4,589,284	5,124,636
Baptists	3,717,969	*3,785,740
Presbyterians	1,278,332	1,416,204
Lutherans	1,231,072	1,327,134
Disciples of Christ	641,051	871,017
Episcopalians	540,500	600,764
Congregationalists	512,771	580,000

This general growth would indicate the strong probability of increased interest in the Church on the part of young men.

* Figures for 1893. Those for 1894 not obtainable.

Facts are at hand to prove that this is the case. This century, in this country, has had two characteristics: first, it has been an inventive century; and, secondly, it has been a Christian century. The Holy Spirit has brooded over the intellect, and marvelous discoveries have been the offspring; the Holy Spirit has brooded over the heart, and millions of children have been born into the family of God. The tendency of this century's religious progress in America has been toward the culture and salvation of young life. It used to be thought that children had no right at the cross or in the Church, that they had to grow up in sin before they could be saved. The Church has at length learned better the spirit of Christ. A hundred years ago the number of scholars in Sunday schools was not worth counting. Now there are eleven millions of them in this country—one half of all in the world. Words cannot express the value of the Sunday school in raising up a better type of Christian manhood and womanhood and in softening, sweetening, and inspiring the hearts and institutions of the Church with the beauty, the love, and the vigor of young life. This is one of the reasons why young men love the Church better than formerly, one reason why they attend its services more faithfully.

The close of the century has been signalized by the gigantic efforts of the Church to organize, utilize, and sanctify to the service of the Master young men and women. The King's Sons and Daughters, the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, with its two million members, the Epworth League, with its one million members, and similar societies in almost all the denominations are exhibiting such zeal in bringing the world to God as has scarcely been seen since the days of Christ. The Church of to-day has become almost a young people's institution. Specific efforts are made to save young men. There are the Young Men's Christian Associations, whose members number 230,000, the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, comprising 12,000 men, each of whom agrees to try to bring at least one young man each week within the sound of the Gospel, and other similar organizations. After a gracious revival in a church in Portland, Me., the pastor, anxious to hold and strengthen the young people who had been converted, organized a society which grew into the Society of Christian Endeavor. The other

day we wrote that pastor, the Rev. Francis E. Clark, D.D., who now lives in Boston and who is president of the great society which he founded, asking him two questions, to which he sent the following answers: "I do not think the attendance of young men at the church on the Sabbath is growing less. Rather, I believe it is increasing every year. The number of young men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five in the Christian Endeavor Society of the United States is about seven hundred and fifty thousand." We do not understand how Mr. Bok could have overlooked these three quarters of a million young men in one society, who not only attend church services faithfully, but also take an active part in those services. At Cleveland, O., in agonizing prayer for the young of the land, was born the Epworth League of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We sent a note to the Rev. Edwin A. Schell, D.D., the general secretary, at Chicago, receiving the following reply: "We have at least four hundred thousand men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five in our Epworth League. There were never as many men in our congregations as there are to-day." Nearly half a million in this one organization does not look as though the Church were losing its hold on young men.

In estimating the number of young men who ought to be in a congregation we are liable to forget the fact that there are only one third as many male, as female, members of the Church. For some reason or other this has almost always been the case. There are only five million male members of the evangelical Churches of America. From figures furnished us by the statistician of one of the leading life insurance companies we feel it would be conservative to estimate forty per cent of the males as being between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five, so that two million young men only would be expected to have their names on the church rolls, and only one out of every seven or eight of every congregation could be expected to be a young man. The church rolls and congregations record a much larger number of young men than their proportion requires.

The most competent, brilliant, and ambitious young manhood is showing increased respect for religion and fidelity to its claims. The average religious life of the colleges of the country is much higher than it used to be. We asked the chaplain of Columbia College his opinion on this subject. He said: "There is a bet-

ter religious outlook for the colleges of America than ever before. The students have clearer views of the truth and intenser spiritual zeal than a generation ago." We asked a prominent graduate of Harvard, the pastor of a church in Harlem, what he thought about the matter. He said: "The religious life of the colleges is more hopeful than ever. There is a marked improvement at Harvard. There is increased desire for a correct life, for benevolent activity, and for religious service. There are at times expressions of evangelical zeal that would have seemed strange to the students of fifty years ago." In a conversation with a graduate of Yale on this subject he said: "I preached at Yale College last Sabbath. No one can fail to note the encouraging religious signs among the students. During my visit I attended a gathering of the old friends of the college in New Haven, and it was the universal verdict that the students of Yale have better manners, better morals, better religion than ever before in the history of the college." Almost all the colleges of the country have had an advance in religious thought and feeling. The colleges of Methodism have witnessed signal displays of divine power in the moral reformation and spiritual salvation of their students. More graduates are offering themselves to the work of foreign missions than ever before. The brightest, best educated young men are gravitating toward the cross.

In answer to our question as to the attendance of young men at church services Dr. John Hall said: "The attendance of young men on church service is not decreasing, it is increasing. The most hopeful work of our church is that which is done by our young men. The two missions connected with our church, one of which has just dedicated a new building, have been founded and run largely by our young men." Dr. Talmage said to us: "Never were there so many young men attending church as to-day. Young men are made ushers in the church, officers of the church, are given ten times the prominence in Christian work they had when I was a boy." That a Philadelphian like Mr. Bok could have written an article on "The Young Man and the Church" and not mention Dr. Russell H. Conwell, of Philadelphia, who, perhaps, regularly preaches Christ and immortality to more young men than any man upon the planet, is a matter of supreme wonder. One good look at

the magnificent institution of the Baptist Temple might have made the writing of the article in the *Cosmopolitan* an impossibility. The whole enterprise was started by three young men, who went out from the Tenth Baptist Church and founded a mission, which began service in a tent, and which struggled for over ten years before the church building was completed. About thirteen years ago Dr. Russell H. Conwell was called to the pastorate of the church, since which time the membership has advanced to nearly two thousand. In 1891 the magnificent temple was built, which seats forty-six hundred—almost twice as many as the Academy of Music in New York. In 1891 the hospital connected with the temple was built. In 1893 a magnificent college was erected beside it. The college, in connection with its academics scattered through the city, will give instruction to as many as six thousand students this year. We said to Dr. Conwell the other evening, "Do you think the young men are deserting the Church?" He gave a hearty laugh, which was more eloquent than words. He said: "It doesn't look so down our way. They often press into our church till not another seat is to be had; and then four or five hundred young men go down into an overflow meeting."

The critic is as much mistaken in his second proposition, that the pulpit of to-day is stupid, as in his first statement, that young men do not attend church. He severely criticises the kind of texts used in sermons to young men. He says that in ten years, out of thirty sermons he has heard to young men, fourteen were on the Prodigal Son. He says this is an inappropriate theme for such an hour; that it might be suited to the Five Points, but not to the respectable young men of the city. He must not forget that the drink and social evils and the gambling habit are just as much devils on Fifth Avenue as at Five Points, though they may wear finer clothes and live in better houses. No words of Christ can ever be worn threadbare. One reason why young men have been attending the church in such large numbers is that ministers have preached on the Prodigal Son and other lessons taught by Christ. Dr. Kendig has just finished a series of six sermons on the Prodigal Son at the Calvary Methodist Episcopal Church of New York, which were listened to by eighteen hundred people, four or five hundred of them being young men.

The essayist says that ministers preach too long, and that young men will not listen to a sermon over twenty minutes long. He loses sight of the fact that the sermons of Bishop Simpson, of Beecher, of Spurgeon, of Phillips Brooks, and of most of the great preachers of the world have been nearer an hour in length than twenty minutes. He says, "Just here is where the Episcopal Church is adding so largely to its membership of young men by its twenty-minute sermons." We honor the Episcopal Church, which, by its ability and energy, has accomplished the difficult task of reaching the very rich with the one hand and the very poor with the other, in New York and some other cities; but we do not believe that that Church has a monopoly of young men in its communion. After consulting reliable statistics we do not believe that there can be more than eighty thousand young men who are members of that Church in the United States. Five denominations have more young men than that number on their rolls. The Baptists have six, and the Methodists seven, times as many young men as the Episcopalians. The young men in the Methodist Church outnumber, by sixty thousand, the whole number of communicants, male and female, in the Episcopal Church in the United States. We cannot believe that young men whose chief motive was to find a twenty-minute sermon would greatly bless any Church. The critic of the pulpit names Dr. Rainsford, of New York, as a model preacher to young men. For that distinguished minister's ability, character, and service to his fellows, especially to the poor, we have the profoundest respect. But a man who openly advocates church saloons, who stands on the platform of Cooper Union, when it is crowded with liquor dealers and their friends, to advocate a law opening the saloons on Sunday, we would hesitate to recommend as the ideal teacher or preacher for young men.

Mr. Bok says, "The modern pulpit is sluggish and stagnant." On the contrary, the pulpit was never as strong as it is to-day. Never since the world began did so many people listen to the Gospel from the lips of ministers as to-day. The pulpit in America is singularly strong. If Mr. Bok will hunt for the presidents of the colleges of the land, if he will search among the catalogues of new books, if he will peruse the secular magazines, if he will run over the religious and secular newspapers,

if he will open the folds of his own journal, if he will enter the temples where fifteen millions are regularly fed on evangelical truth, he will find that clergymen are in the front rank of those who direct the highest thought and best sentiment of the age. They are not, as a rule, "sluggish, stagnant" men, but men wide awake. The able and consecrated ministry of the past has been succeeded by an able and unselfish ministry in the present. There are dull ministers, as there are dull lawyers, doctors, and editors; but the intellectual average of the pulpit was never so high as now. Some may have entered the ministry for the glory there is in it; some may have gone into it as a means of livelihood. But the rank and file are in the ministry through their love for God and their fellow-men. In answer to our question, "Is the pulpit of America losing its power?" Dr. John Hall said, "No, it is gaining strength each year;" and Dr. Talmage said, "The pulpit is stronger in this country than ever before."

As to the stupidity of the pulpit the article specifies: "It is a lamentable fact that the average minister of the day is wholly out of touch with the times in which he lives. The young man has a right to expect that he will find the pulpit up to date." If the author of these words will sit down at some patriotic dinner, or attend some educational convention, or visit some institution of beneficence, or pass through the hovels of poverty or the slums of vice, or look at the front row of the reformers of public morals he will find that there is a minister not far away, with voice and heart and hand and life to work for God and native land. The thing that characterizes the ministry of to-day is the very thing which Mr. Bok says it lacks—its vital relation to the intellectual, social, moral, and religious questions of the day. The pulpit of the century has hardly furnished a preacher so up to date as Dr. Parkhurst. It is rather strange that the brilliant young editor should go to so stupid a profession, one so much out of date, to find a man who shall be responsible for at least one page of his paper every month. In answer to our question, "Is the pulpit losing its power?" Mr. Chauncey M. Depew said, "No, it is stronger in America than ever before. It is much in advance of what it was when I was a boy. It is better educated. It is in closer touch with the questions of the day. It is more up to date."

If Mr. Bok had been less partial his article might have done great harm. It might have excused many young men who do not attend church, but who never dreamed of blaming the minister or anyone else for their neglect of duty. It might have weaned from the Church young men who have been attending its services, by filling their minds with contempt for the ability or usefulness of the pastor. It might have prompted some clergyman to follow its foolish advice by adopting the themes or methods of treatment suggested. But, as there has been such a manifest misapprehension of the facts concerned, the article will only arouse public attention to the fact that the Church is not losing, but increasing, its hold on young men, that the ministry is not driving young men away, but is drawing them into the kingdom of God.

Ferdinand C. Iglehart.

Art. V.—TEXT TAMPERINGS, AND THE LATE FOUND SYRIAC GOSPELS.

In 1892 Mrs. Lewis and her sister, English women happily combining scholarly tastes, a thirst for discovery, and knowledge of a dozen languages, visited the Convent of St. Catharine, on Mt. Sinai. Said to shelter the remains of an elect lady assaulted and banished from Alexandria by Maximin II, the fortified church-monastery seems really to have been built by Justinian, in the sixth century, to protect from the wild Ishmaelites the hermits there secluding themselves. At present it is manned by, perhaps, a score of monks of the Greek Church. Its library numbers some fifteen hundred bound volumes, and is the refuge of half as many manuscripts, received "at sundry times and in divers manners" during a thousand years. From this library, in 1859, Tischendorf "borrowed" the lightly esteemed, but, in his eyes, priceless, Greek manuscript of the Bible, now famous and known by critics as ℵ.*

While examining this library, scanning its crumpled, faded parchments, Mrs. Lewis espied on the margin of a page of a martyrology of mediæval saints, in older ink and style, the plain Latin word for "gospel." By the kindly permitted use of chemicals, an original, nearly erased, and overlaid writing became fairly legible; and each page was photographed. Upon decipherment there was handed to the Bible-studying world a copy, made probably in the fifth century, of a Syriac version, made early in the second century, of our four Greek gospels, already united and revered.† J. Rendel Harris, Cambridge's noted paleographist, affirms that it is "superior in antiquity to anything yet known."‡ Its most marked feature is its distinct reading in Matt. i, 16: "Jacob begat Joseph; Joseph (to whom was espoused the Virgin Mary) begat Jesus, who is called Christ." Verse 18, however, reads essentially as in our text: "Now the birth of the Christ was on this wise: when his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, when they had not come together, she was found with child from the Holy Ghost." Other kindred variations are reserved for compara-

* The Czar of Russia, as head of the Greek Church, afterward arranged for its deposit at St. Petersburg.

† Published by Macmillan & Co. ‡ *Contemporary Review*, November, 1894.

tive study. It instantly appears that fresh matter for theological debate is at hand. One school claims that the text is here discovered in the very process of being made orthodox by the interpolated statement of continence in verse 18. The other school avers that it is discovered in the process of becoming heterodox by the interpolated physical paternity of Joseph in verse 16. The air is already full of mutual charges of tampering with the text in dogmatic interests.

But such charges are nothing new. The history of some of them may profitably be recalled. Writing about A. D. 135, Justin Martyr, in his controversial *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, boldly and specifically charges the Jews with having lately and of set purpose mistranslated, in new Greek versions,* certain too Messianic Old Testament passages, and of wholly expunging from their synagogue rolls others too patently and literally fulfilled. Says Justin:

> Here Trypho remarked, "We ask you, first of all, to tell us some of the scriptures which you allege have been completely cancelled." And I said: "I shall do as you please. From the statements, then, which Esdras† made in reference to the law of the passover they have taken away the following: 'And Esdras said to the people, This passover is our Saviour and our refuge. And if ye have understood, and your heart has taken it in, that we shall humble him on a standard, and thereafter hope in him, then this place shall not be forsaken forever, says the God of hosts. But, if you will not believe him, and will not listen to his declaration, you shall be a laughingstock to the nations.' . . . And, likewise, from the sayings of Jeremiah these have been cut out: 'The Lord God remembered his dead people of Israel, who lay in the graves; and he descended to preach to them his own salvation.'"‡

Irenæus, writing some fifty years later, in his polemic against heresies, thrice quotes this last as unquestioned, canonical scripture in his and his opponents' day, ascribing it, however, once to Isaiah,§ once to Jeremiah,‖ and once to "the prophet."¶ As neither of these passages has been discovered during seventeen centuries' study, we are in the following dilemma: either we actually possess, and are obtaining free, full, and present salvation by using, only a maliciously mutilated Bible; or the fathers were in error, and Justin's charge is untrue.

* Perhaps those of Theodotion and Aquila.
† Grecized form for "Ezra."
‡ *Dialogue*, chaps. 71, 72.
§ *Against Heresies*, iii, 20.
‖ *Ibid.*, iv, 22.
¶ *Ibid.*, v, 31.

Justin further avers to Trypho:

From the ninety-sixth psalm they have taken away the short saying from the words of David, "from the wood." For when the passage said [verse 10], "Tell ye among the nations, The Lord hath reigned from the wood," they have left, "Tell ye among the nations, The Lord hath reigned." Now, no one of your people has ever been said to have reigned as God and Lord among the nations, with the exception of Him only who was crucified. *

The words, however, "from the wood," or, as elsewhere,† "from the tree," are not found in any Hebrew manuscript or in any trustworthy Greek manuscript, either of the psalm or of its repetition in Chronicles. ‡ Says Cheyne, "The bold addition 'from the tree,' which dates back to Justin Martyr and is found in the Latin Psalters § (but not in the Gallican), is doubtless from a Christian hand." Otto, in notes to the antinicene fathers, agrees thereto. Speaking of the addition, says Perowne, "It is obviously opposed to the whole scope and character of the psalm." With the early apologists much was made of "the wood" and "the tree." For instance, Justin quotes undiscovered words of Isaiah to Jerusalem—"I saved thee in the deluge of Noah"—and comments thereon thus:

For Christ, being the firstborn of every creature, became again the Chief of another race, regenerated by himself through water, faith, and wood, containing the mystery of the cross; even as Noah was saved by wood when he rode over the waters with his household. ‖

Similarly argues Irenæus from the lost ax and its recovery, through wood thrown into the water:

By this action the prophet pointed out that the sure word of God, which we had negligently lost by means of a tree and were not in the way of finding again, we should receive anew by the dispensation of a tree. ¶

To apologists wonted to such arguments, the presence or absence in poetry of the words "from the wood" would be of vital importance.

In the case of translations, both of these fathers soundly berate the Jews for securing new Greek versions of the Old

* *Dialogue*, chap. 73. Here Trypho remarked, "Whether [or not] the rulers of the people have erased any portion of the Scriptures, as you affirm, God knows; but it seems incredible."

† *First Apology*, chap. 41. ‡ 1 Chron. xvi. 31.

§ Not, however, in the Clementine or the Sixtine editions of the Vulgate.

‖ *Dialogue*, chap. 138. ¶ *Against Heresies*, v, 17.

Testament which shall read, in Isa. vii, 14, "a young woman" (*νεᾶνις*), rather than, with the "inspired" Septuagint, "a virgin" (*παρθένος*). In so doing the Jews are proved shortsighted and inconsistent. Says Irenæus:

And when he says, "Hear, O house of David" [Isa. vii, 13], he performed the part of one indicating that He whom God promised David [in Psalm cxxxii, 11] that he would raise up from the fruit of his body * an eternal King, is the same who was born of the Virgin, herself of the lineage of David. For on this account, also, he promised that the King should be of the fruit of his body †—which was the appropriate [term to use with respect] to a virgin conceiving—and not "of the fruit of his loins" nor "of the fruit of his reins." . . . In this promise, therefore, the Scripture excluded all virile influence. . . . It has fixed and established "the fruit of the body," that it might declare the generation of Him who should be [born] from the Virgin, as Elisabeth testified when filled with the Holy Ghost, saying unto Mary, "*Benedictus fructus ventris tui*" [*τῆς κοιλίας σου*],‡ the Holy Ghost pointing out, to those willing to hear, that the promise which God had made of raising up a King from the fruit of [David's] body was fulfilled in the birth from the Virgin, that is, from Mary. Let those, therefore, who alter the passage of Isaiah thus, "Behold, a young woman shall conceive," . . . also alter the form of the promise which was given to David, when God promised to raise up from the fruit of his body the horn of Christ the King. But they did not understand; otherwise, they would have presumed to alter even this passage also.§

* See marginal note, Psalm cxxxii, 11. Hebrew, בִּטְנְךָ; Greek, *κοιλία*; Vulgate, *venter*.

† The deep subtilty of this argument is hidden by delicacy's demand that the phrase be rendered as in the English version. The Latin of Irenæus was *venter*; back of that was the Greek of the Septuagint and New Testament, *κοιλία*; and back of the Septuagint was the Hebrew בִּטְנְךָ, which he may not have known. He who would realize the father's reasoning should compare the English renderings of the following groups: (1) Gen. xxxviii, 27; Judg. xvi, 17; Psalm cxxxix, 13; (2) Judg. iii, 21; Ezek. iii, 3; and (3) Job iii, 11; Psalm xxii, 10. Irenæus insists that the poetic word in Psalm cxxxii, 11, means the same as in the first and last groups, ignoring or forgetting the second, and especially that in prosy Deuteronomy (xxviii, 4, 11, 18, 53, and xxx, 9), it also occurs with a masculine pronoun, as in the commented passage. It would seem that in rabbinical exegesis the Christian fathers occasionally outrabbied the rabbis.

‡ Luke i, 42.

§ *Against Heresies*, iii, 21. Not more than two hundred and fifty years ago similar charges were made. Said Pearson (*Exposition of the Creed*, Dobson's ed., D. Appleton, 1851, p. 305): "The Masorah in several places confesseth that eighteen places in the Scriptures have been altered by the scribes; and when they come to reckon the places they mention but sixteen. The other two, without question, are those concerning the crucifixion of the Messias—Psalm xxii, 16, and Zech. xii, 10. For that of Zachary, a Jew confessed it to Mercerus; and that of David, we shewed before to be the other." Such a phrase and implication would freeze the blood were it not for the reassurance of a nineteenth century view, probably that of the late Dr. James Strong himself, in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*, vol. v, p. 861: "Charges have been rashly advanced against these Sopherim of having corrupted the sacred text; . . . but for this there is no foundation." Textual criticism, with its now two hundred thousand various readings in the New Testament alone, was a science unborn in Pearson's day.

A later charge is that of the erasure, or the insertion, of certain words in 1 John v, 6–8, indicated below by brackets:

This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth. For there are three that bear record [in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness on earth], the spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these three agree in one.

Mr. Wesley * avers that what Bengel has advanced concerning the authority of the seventh verse will abundantly satisfy any impartial person. In Sermon LX, entitled "On the Trinity," on this disputed text, he specifically accuses Constantine's Arian successor of "erasing this text out of as many copies as fell into his hands." Was it erased by heterodox hands, or was it inserted by those of orthodoxy? Was it universally read until measurably expunged and discredited by Arianism, or was it forged in the fifth century as a weapon against the same? Substantially, Whedon affirms that scholars are agreed, at the present day, that the words are not genuine, being an interpolation, and not the words of John; that they are unknown to all Greek manuscripts previous to the sixteenth century, to all the Greek, and many of the Latin, fathers, as well as to the early editions of the Latin Vulgate; and that they cannot be justifiably quoted for doctrinal proof.† Says Tischendorf, "That this spurious addition should continue to be published as a part of the epistle I regard as an impiety." Similarly, the late Professor T. D. Woolsey, of Yale: "Do not truth and honesty require that such a passage should be struck out of our English Bibles?" It originated in conflict with Vandal Arianism in Africa; crowded its way into Jerome's Vulgate, long after his death; was translated from Latin into Greek and inserted in Greek manuscripts made in the sixteenth century; was thence foisted into timid Erasmus's third edition of the printed Greek; and retained its place in our English versions down to the Revision, though Tyndale and Cranmer had wit and grit enough to italicize it. But it could not creep into Luther's Bible until he had been

* *Explanatory Notes on the New Testament, in loco.*

† The quality and quantity of the material available for textual criticism have increased, perhaps, tenfold since Wesley's day. His attitude toward a scholarly treatment of all these questions and, especially, his anticipation of many changes now found in the Revised translation give assurance that, were he alive to-day, the "sometime fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford," would be in the van.

forty years in his grave. It is still being scattered over the earth in tens of millions of copies by Bible houses and societies. Such is the history of this interpolation. In view of these boomerang experiences, defenders of the faith should look well before recrimination, and only with the utmost caution make accusations of tampering with the text.

Consider we now in detail the text of the first chapter of Matthew brought to light by the Lewis Syriac version. For purposes of comparison we will parallel (A) the Revision; (B) the Lewis manuscript of the Syriac version; and (C) the hitherto oldest known Syrian text, chiefly represented by the Curetonian Syriac manuscript. In this last there often seems to have been a revolt from readings like those now discovered, and changes made to such an extent as to have swung to a needless and opposite extreme:

C.	A.	B.
16. Jacob begat Joseph, to whom, being espoused, the Virgin Mary begat [bore] Jesus, who is called Christ.	16. Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ.	16. Jacob begat Joseph; Joseph (to whom was espoused the Virgin Mary) begat Jesus, who is called Christ.
18. Now the birth of the Christ, etc. [as in A].	18. Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When his mother Mary had been betrothed to Joseph, before they came together she was found with child of the Holy Ghost.	18. Now the birth of the Christ was on this wise: when his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, when they had not come together, she was found with child from the Holy Ghost.
19. And Joseph, being a righteous, etc. [as in A].	19. And Joseph her husband, being a righteous man, and not willing to make her a public example, was minded to put her away privily.	19. But Joseph her husband, because he was just, was unwilling to expose Mary; and he was minded that he would quietly divorce her.
20. As in A, except to read, "Mary thy espoused."	20. But when he thought on these things, behold, an angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.	20. But while he was meditating on these things, there appeared to him an angel of the Lord in a vision and said to him, Joseph, son of David, fear not to take Mary thy wife, for that which is [*or*, will be] born of her is from the Holy Spirit.

C.	A.	B.
21. As in A, except to read, "shall save the world."	21. And she shall bring forth a son; and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for it is he that shall save his people from their sins.	21. She shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt [*or*, she shall] call his name Jesus: for he shall save his people from their sins.
22. As in A.	22. Now all this is come to pass, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet, saying,	22. Now this which happened [was] that there might be fulfilled that which was spoken by the Lord in Isaiah the prophet, who had said,
23. As in A, except to read, "he shall be called."	23. Behold, the virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Immanuel, which is, being interpreted, God with us.	23. Behold, the Virgin shall conceive and shall bear a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which is by interpretation, Our God with us.
24. As in A, except to read, "took unto him Mary."*	24. And Joseph arose from his sleep, and did as the angel of the Lord commanded him, and took unto him his wife;	24. But when Joseph rose from his sleep, he did as the angel commanded him, and took his wife.
25. And he was living with her in purity until she bore a son; etc. [as in A].	25. And knew her not until she had brought forth a son: and he called his name Jesus.	25. And she bare him a son; and he [*emphatic*] called his name Jesus.

Unfortunately the Lewis manuscript is defective in the nativity portion of Luke. This is also the case in the Curetonian; but in texts evidently akin thereto may be traced an ever-increasing revolt from some expressions in our text, and what may have stood in the Lewis text. Observe the second chapter of Luke:

C.	A.	B.
33. And Joseph and his mother marveled, etc. So King James.	33. And his father and his mother were marveling, etc.	
41. [Late Latin manuscripts:] Joseph and Mary his mother went, etc.	41. And his parents went, etc.	
43. [Very old versions:] Joseph and his mother knew it not, etc. So King James.	43. And his parents knew it not.	Defective in nativity chapters.
48. [Very old versions:] We sought thee, etc.	48. Thy father and I sought thee, etc.	

* So read all the Egyptian versions of the third and fourth centuries; also, Chrysostom. The third corrector in ℵ inserted it, but it was later erased.

So far as the Matthew passages in the Lewis text are concerned, it is alleged that no expert tamperer in the interests of orthodoxy would have left verse 16 standing as it does. Equally confessed is it, on the other hand, that no skillful mutilator in the interest of heterodoxy, while changing so much, would have left intact verses 18 and 20. The opinion of J. Rendel Harris is that "an enemy hath done this," and bungled at that.* As to verses 18–25, this is doubtless true. But, as far as verse 16 is concerned, another view is possible. In the words of an eminent English divine, the writer, "believing personally in the Virgin-born, dares not render a certain famous text in Isaiah, 'The virgin shall conceive.'"

In this *Review* for January, 1892, the ground accepted by Dean Alford, Weiss, and other leading scholars was set forth, that the human fatherlessness of Jesus was not the Messianic expectation before his conception; nor was it made known during his lifetime to more than two or three. Caustic reviewers, ignorant or forgetful of the teachings of "the established standards" of Methodism, severely denounced this position. John Wesley, however, held otherwise. In his *Notes*, written "for plain, unlettered men," considering Matthew's motive for giving Joseph's genealogy, he comments thus:

> *The husband of Mary*—Jesus was generally believed to be the son of Joseph. It was needful for all who believed this to know that Joseph was sprung from David. Otherwise, they would not allow Jesus to be the Christ.

The phrase "son of Joseph" is believed to mean the physical offspring of Joseph. "Generally believed" is to be interpreted in the light of Luke iii, 23, as meaning the general, unsuspecting belief of the Jews, both before and after his death. "It was needful" is deemed to refer to the time when Matthew wrote, say thirty years after the death of Jesus. If not misunderstood, Mr. Wesley's idea is, then, that thirty years after Jesus's death the Jews, believing him to be Joseph's offspring, needed to be convinced, in order to be persuaded to accept him as the Messiah, that Joseph was of David's royal line, and that, hence, Jesus is rightfully the Messianic heir to David's throne through Joseph, as was Joseph through Jacob. That

* *Contemporary Review*, November, 1894.

Mr. Wesley is not misinterpreted or this view mistaken may be seen by reference to that "prince of German theology," Bengel, called by Mr. Wesley "that great light of the Christian world," * and "the most pious, the most judicious, and the most laborious of all the modern commentators," † from whose *Gnomon* Mr. Wesley practically took his *Notes*. On Matt. i, 16, Bengel says:

> Joseph was for some time reputed to be the father of the Lord Jesus. The mystery of the Redeemer's birth from a virgin was not made known at once, but by degrees; and, in the meanwhile, the honorable title of marriage was required as a protection. Jesus, therefore, was believed to be the son of Joseph; for instance, after his baptism, by Philip (John i, 45), in the time of his public preaching, by the Nazarenes (Luke iv, 22; Matt. xiii, 55), and only a year before his passion, by the Jews (John vi, 42). Many still clung to this opinion, even after our Lord's ascension and up to the time, a few years later, when Matthew wrote. It was, therefore, necessary meanwhile that the genealogy of Joseph also should be given. It was necessary that all those who believed Jesus to be the son of Joseph should be convinced that Joseph was descended from David. Otherwise, they could not have acknowledged Jesus as the son of David, nor, consequently, as Christ.

From this Mr. Wesley's unprotesting note may be excerpted almost *literatim*. If these exegetes are correct Matthew's appeal was to the Jews—thorough and unsuspecting believers in Jesus's literal descent from Joseph—to accept him as the Messiah, seeing that Joseph was lineally descended from David. So far as the genealogy is concerned, he carefully neither denies nor affirms what they believe. He bases his first argument on what they believe. His preferred expression is ambiguous, but true; for, whatever the paternity, Jesus was born of Mary, the wife of Joseph. For reasons sufficient and later to be set forth in lesson two, he declines farther to copy the public birth record, but uses a circumlocution. That public birth record, as rigidly kept by Jewish authorities, we firmly believe stood, and for aught known may now stand, just as the Lewis manuscript gives it. If, then, some "hand" saw fit in verse 16 to amend the text of Matthew by copying the exact phrase of the public record, leaving, at the same time, all else and other verses unchanged, shall we say that he maliciously intended to falsify thereby? Some later "hand," undertaking to reconcile verses

* Preface to *Notes*, and Sermon LX. † Sermon LX.

18–25 with the genealogy, may have harmonizingly, but bunglingly, reduced the whole account to naturalism.

Says J. Rendel Harris, concerning the earliest presentation of Jesus by the fathers to the Jews:

> The order of their propaganda seems to have been to establish, first, the doctrine that Jesus was the Messiah of the Scriptures;* then, to declare his miraculous birth and preexistence from the Scriptures; and, lastly, to conclude him to be God from heaven according to the Scriptures. But whatever order was observed in demonstration is marked by the rise of a school or the growth of a heresy. †

The proof is challenged that during the earthly life of Jesus the second of these claims was ever presented for acceptance, or that during that time it ever awakened opposition or grew a "heresy." Rather were they, who, because of his believed paternal descent from David, accepted him heartily as the Messiah, in a readiness of mind, if not a sort of mental necessity, to be informed of, and to accept, the revelations of Mary as to the supernatural circumstances of his birth. Such revelations would be sufficiently corroborated by rabbinically interpreted scriptures. And, upon such acceptance, the further witness of the apostles to the resurrection and of the Spirit as to the glorification would fittingly crown a properly culminating Christology. In wholesome Athanasianisms, Bernard says:

> Christ is to us the eternal Son, the Coequal with the Father, very God of very God; and, therefore, his authority cannot be questioned or disputed. But this truth, so clear and indisputable to us, was not self-evident to the [twelve] disciples. At first, Christ was to them but a teacher, not differing very much from any other rabbi; only by the slowest degrees would the fact of his divine nature dawn upon their minds. ‡ Even if they were ready to acknowledge him as Messiah, the Messiah was not, according to Jewish ideas, § the Coequal with the eternal God. The confession of Peter, noble as it was, did not imply to the apostles all that it implies to us, who possess the after-teaching which Peter had not then acquired. ‖

* In this connection, note the usual terms used as to Jesus by believers, Luke xxiv, 19; Acts ii, 22; x, 38. † *Contemporary Review*, November, 1894.

‡ Says Edersheim (*Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. i, p. 192): "The mystery of his divinity had to be kept while he was on earth. Had it been otherwise, the thought of his divinity would have proved so all-absorbing as to render impossible that of his humanity, with all its lessons. The Son of God Most High whom they worshiped could never have been the loving Man with whom they could hold such close converse."

§ Proved most conclusively in Weber's *System der altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie*, under "Messias." ‖ *Mental Characteristics of the Lord Jesus Christ*, p. 214.

Matthew's art of quoting fulfilled scriptures, especially in chapters i and ii, is unique in the synoptics. That those in i, 23; ii, 15; and ii, 18, are true predictions or, down to the death of Jesus, were ever so regarded the proof is challenged. Touching one of this group (ii, 18), Adam Clarke says on Jer. xxxi, 15:

> St. Matthew, who is ever fond of accommodation, applies these words (chap. ii, 17, 18) to the massacre of the children at Bethlehem. That is, they were suitable to that occasion, and, therefore, he so applied them; but they are not a prediction of that event.

Says John Wesley (note on Matt. ii, 17), in words worthy of being stamped in gold on every Bible:

> A passage of scripture, whether prophetical, historical, or poetical, is, in the language of the New Testament, "fulfilled" when an event happens to which it may with great propriety be accommodated.

As this is not in Bengel's *Gnomon* it is presumably Mr. Wesley's mature and independent judgment, written "chiefly for plain, unlettered men, who . . . reverence and love the word of God and have a desire to save their souls." * In view of Bengel's elaborate comment on Matt. i, 22 (since discarded by the American translators and editors †), Mr. Wesley's total silence thereon is most significant.

While unable to discover that the miraculous birth was an expected feature of the Messiah or that during his lifetime its acceptance as a fact was preliminary to, or synchronous with, a belief in Jesus as the Messiah; while unable to accept rabbinical exegesis therefor, whether Jewish or Christian; while thinking it possible that verse 16 of the Lewis manuscript may reach back to a time when such a statement was not repugnant, but rather helpful, to the first degree of Jewish faith in the Messiahship of Jesus—yet, that he believes "in Jesus Christ his only begotten Son our Lord, and that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary," is the hearty and unequivocal confession of the writer.‡

* Preface to *Notes.* † Professors Lewis and Vincent, when in Troy University.

‡ Writes one of the most widely known scholars and authors of the Church, for many years professor in a theological seminary: "I have read your manuscript again and again. My interest increases as I read it. The public will read it but once and will probably get an erroneous idea of its purpose. . . . You have done an excellent service."

Wilbur Fletcher Steele.

ART. VI.—ALFRED TENNYSON—THE MAN AND THE POET.

"NEVER alone come the immortals." Never alone into this transitory world come those souls whose words and deeds outlive a generation and are held by mankind in lasting remembrance. Whenever a great genius has appeared in any quarter of the world, others nearly as great have manifested the same spirit, proclaimed the same truths, and exercised the same quickening power. The age of Pericles, the Augustan age, the *Renaissance*, the Elizabethan age were epochs in which the immortals came in troops and breathed new truths and sympathies upon their fellow-men.

A glorious company of immortals came into this world with Alfred Tennyson, in the year 1809. There were Mendelssohn, a name forever memorable in musical annals; Charles Darwin, whose epoch-making books still give "form and pressure" to scientific investigations; Lincoln, the emancipator and martyr President; Elizabeth Barrett Browning, a priestess of song; Oliver Wendell Holmes, one of the greatest of America's poets and humorists; and Gladstone, conspicuous as statesman, orator, and scholar. Scott, Southey, and Coleridge were in the zenith of their fame as poets; Byron and Shelley were rising in splendor and entering upon careers of dazzling brilliancy; Longfellow was two years old, and Victor Hugo seven; Wordsworth was writing his best poetry. Three years after the birth of Tennyson came Robert Browning. These names are destined to be associated more and more as time goes on. For nearly sixty years they cultivated their art, retaining through this long stretch of years the uninterrupted exercise of their faculties, even the gift of inspiration. In a skeptical, scientific, materialistic, money-getting age, they taught the great spiritual truths of human life, flashing light upon the mysteries of mind and the world, the immortal destinies of the soul and humanity. Dickens was born the same year with Browning, and Thackeray the year before—the novelists who dominated Victorian prose fiction much as Tennyson and Browning did Victorian poetry.

There were few striking events in Tennyson's quiet life;

there were few salient characteristics other than those mirrored in his poems. The real Tennyson—his dominant ideas, the emotion that thrilled his life, the texture of his mind, the quality of his spirit—can be known only by a study of his works. His great, though isolated, life was consecrated to poetry; and it is in his poetry that his real self is revealed. Never did anchorite with more consuming zeal pursue righteousness than Tennyson did poetic perfection. He lived in its atmosphere, longed for it with all his soul, and during a period of more than sixty years produced work of a high order in his efforts to attain it.

Tennyson's poetry, like all true poetry, was vitally connected with the life of his age. Though living apart from its rush and strife, he had a poet's sensitiveness to its movements and keen appreciation of what was beautiful and what was ugly. He idealized the thoughts of his contemporaries, their beliefs, their doubts, their hopes and miseries, clothing their virtues in beautiful forms and exposing their vices. It was a rich and stirring life that Tennyson beheld coursing through the activities of his age. Such a manifold and varied energy no poet had ever before contemplated. Its quickening impulses were felt in every part of man's nature and throughout society. It was an age of great popular uprisings and agitations, followed by severe repressive measures on the part of the ruling classes. There was the weight of a despotic government bearing down from above; there were the conscious rights of man as man, irrespective of rank, class, or condition, rousing the people from beneath. The opposing forces were joined; and out of the struggle came the Reform Act of 1832, which, though far from ideal, contained the nearest approximation to a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" of any legislative action previously known in English history.

The Reform Bill marks the transition from government by an individual or a class to government by the people, or, more strictly, by that portion of the people known as the middle classes, the poorest people not being embraced in its provisions. Prior to 1832, legislation had been notorious for its favoritism. The landlord, the manufacturer, the shipowner, and others were accorded special privileges and preyed upon the rest of society, especially upon the working classes. But, with the

passage of the Reform Bill and the wider distribution of power, legislation was shaped more by a determination to consider the interests of the nation as a whole and to right the wrongs that had been visited upon the working classes. This significant legislative triumph was vitally connected with a movement of which the French Revolution was the most conspicuous manifestation—a movement that originated in the conviction of the essential equality of all men, as children of a common Father, and the belief that there should be equality of opportunity in all the varied activities of religious, political, industrial, and social life. This democratic movement would have culminated sooner in England had it not been for the excesses of the French Revolutionists and the distractions of the Napoleonic wars. From the peace of 1815, however, to the present time, this movement for equality of opportunity has steadily grown in volume, gathering strength and breadth in every decade and continually enacting new laws for the realization of its beneficent purpose. The following acts indicate the principal stages of its progress: the Criminal Law Reform of 1823; the laws of 1824–25 regulating the employment of children and the combinations of workmen; the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts of 1828; the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829; the Reform Bill of 1832; the abolition of slavery in the British colonies in 1833; the first Factory Act of 1833; the first grant, in 1833, by Parliament, of twenty thousand pounds annually for the building of schoolhouses (this was the first grant for educational purposes ever made by Parliament, and was increased in 1839 to thirty thousand pounds annually); the new Poor Law of 1834; the factory acts of 1842–47; the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the introduction of free trade; the reform legislation of 1867 and 1868, called sometimes the second Reform Act; the disestablishment of the Irish Church and the disendowment of the Protestant Churches in Ireland in 1869; the Irish Land Act in 1870; the abolition of army purchase in 1871; and the third Reform Act of 1884. The consideration of the provisions of these acts reveals the widening application of this growing democratic movement to the interests of humanity.

Tennyson believed in progress. No idea is more prominent in his poems. But he was conservatively progressive. The

freedom that he loved to contemplate was a "sober-suited freedom," who moved in a slow, dignified fashion, breaking no precedents and shocking no conventionalities. His ideal country of progress was England:

> A land of settled government,
> A land of just and old renown,
> Where freedom slowly broadens down
> From precedent to precedent.

He deprecated "raw haste," which he styled "half sister to delay." He derided France, torn by revolution in her struggles for freedom, and wrote scornfully of "the red-fool fury of the Seine." It is difficult to conceive how a poet of Tennyson's intelligence could have written such words as he did respecting the French Revolution. He seems to be either strangely bereft of the historic sense or blind to the real significance of the most momentous movement in modern history.

> When France in wrath her giant limbs upreared,
> And, with that oath, which smote air, earth, and sea,
> Stamped her strong foot, and said she would be free,

she became the champion of downtrodden humanity everywhere, she bore its burdens, embodied its aspirations, fought its battles, and in her fall precipitated "the crisis of modern reconstruction." Society, after the Revolution, revealed more plainly than ever before the presence of a renovating power. Higher political and social ideals were at work, and humanity entered upon a new era in government, industry, morals, and religion. The steady and orderly progress of freedom in England, which Tennyson so glorifies, owes much of its propulsion to the French Revolution. Freedom would never have broadened from "precedent to precedent" in England had not France dared to break with all precedents and establish, by her own martyrdom, a new and diviner precedent, from which alone a broadening principle of human progress could be evolved. France made the experiment, and England profited by the martyrdom of the young republic.

Byron's attitude toward the French Revolution was very different from that of Tennyson. Byron caught the mighty passion of the Revolution, largely in its destructive workings, and carried its fiery energy all over Europe, stimulating similar uprisings and revolts against the conventional order of things.

Shelley, like Byron, championed the cause of human freedom when it was unpopular. The finer spirit of the Revolution, its glowing visions and aspirations, as well as its shallower sophisms, lived again in new and beautiful forms in Shelley's poetry and stirred the hearts of his readers to new struggles in behalf of liberty. Tennyson shared the fears felt by the conservative classes of putting increased power in the hand of the masses. He was afraid of that "many-headed beast"—the people. He hated the popular agitators—"the tonguesters," "the dogs of faction," as he calls them. The Duke of Wellington, who steadily opposed every movement for the extension of the elective franchise—"the great Duke"—is idolized in the "Commemorative Ode" as one of those statesmen who keep England "from brute control," who

> Drill the raw world for the march of mind,
> Till crowds at length be sane and crowns be just.

In one of his last published letters Tennyson styles himself "a friend of Mr. Gladstone, but opposed to Mr. Gladstone's policy." No sympathetic or adequate reference to Ireland or the struggle for home rule appears in the laureate's poetry. He had no disposition to lead a forlorn hope or espouse an unpopular cause, and he lagged behind the great humanitarian movement of his age. As Stopford Brooke justly says:

> His was the view of the common-sense, well-ordered Englishman—of Whiggism in her carriage, with a very gracious smile and salute for Conservatism in hers; and he tried, unhappily, as I think, to get this view into poetry. Through the whole of Tennyson's poetry about the problem of man's progress this view of his does damage to the poetry, lowers the note of beauty, of aspiration, of fire, of passion, and lessens the use of his poetry to the cause of freedom.*

Tennyson contemplates human progress in a calm, dispassionate way, much as one regards the succession of geological epochs:

> Where is one that, born of woman, altogether can escape
> From the lower world within him, moods of tiger or of ape?
> Man as yet is being made; and, ere the crowning age of ages,
> Shall not æon after æon pass and touch him into shape?
> All about him shadow still, but, while the races flower and fade,
> Prophet eyes may catch a glory slowly gaining on the shade,
> Till the peoples all are one, and all their voices blend in choric
> Hallelujah to the Maker, "It is finished! Man is made!"
>
> —*The Making of Man.*

* Tennyson: *His Art and Relation to Modern Life*, p. 42.

This far-away look for that "far-off, divine event" when man shall be redeemed from misery, vice, and ignorance, this philosophical faith in the law of human progress, is quite a different thing from that "divine discontent" which wins victories for oppressed humanity, ameliorates its sufferings and evils, and makes progress. The men who championed the cause of freedom in the English civil wars, the men who have brought about reforms in every age, the men who have done the most to build up that magnificent structure of British constitutional liberty which Tennyson so glorifies have not fixed their eyes so much on the glories of human perfectibility as upon the next precious privilege to be won, the next crying evil to be overcome. Spiritual ardor characterized them, rather than sobriety of judgment; the determination to cry aloud and spare not, rather than to temporize with wrong.

Tennyson has rendered a real service to the cause of human progress by his glorification of those simple virtues without which no society can live, much less advance. These virtues are reverence, loyalty, obedience to duty or to a lofty calling, love of country, love of mankind, love of family, faithfulness in the marriage relation, mutual love as the ruling motive of the marriage tie rather than worldly advantage, enthusiasm for knowledge, faith in immortality. These primal duties and virtues are set to such music in his verse and clothed with such beautiful forms that they seem possessed of real, charming, redemptive power. And is it not true that a poet who quickens and diffuses such qualities as these among a people, thus purifying and vitalizing their spiritual atmosphere, contributes as truly to their progress as the reformer who wins for them some political or social gain? Tennyson was a deeply reverent soul. The unseen world, with its "eternal verities," was to him an ever-present reality; and out of the contemplation of these his noblest and serenest poetry has come. He saw the tendency of his age to decline in reverence, to lose sight of the unseen realities; and he frequently urges the need of this virtue. Seldom have more eloquent words been written upon obedience to duty than in the "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington." To Tennyson the conscientious discharge of duty was a higher realization of life than refined selfishness or the search after the marvelous and the transcendental, or even mystical, visions of the

supernatural. Closely akin to Tennyson's reverence and regard for duty was his strong love of country. He kept aloof from politics; to him "raving politics" seemed to be "never at rest." He hated partisanships and denounced factions. He was, however, an intense patriot, and has written some of the most inspiring patriotic poems in the language.

There is another ennobling love that Tennyson has glorified with peculiar enthusiasm and beauty—the mutual love of man and woman. Patriotism is essential to the progress of a nation; but this other love, centering as it does in the family, makes the very heart and lifeblood of society. Brought up in the cloistral calm of an English country rectory, moving in an atmosphere of shining purity, blessed with a holy mother and, later, with a lovely wife, living from first to last a clear, unsullied life, his regard for woman was chivalrous and reverential. Tennyson's love of woman, though pure, was passionate; though reverential, was virile. Like his own Sir Galahad, his strength was as the strength of ten because his heart was pure. He was not sentimental, but earnest. His ideal woman was not a goddess or a damsel of ravishing beauty, such as those who take a sultan's fancy, nor was it that hybrid woman of modern times who apes masculinity. His raptures were for none of these, but for those English wives and mothers who, though "quiet and domestic," are sweet and good.

The modern movement for the emancipation of women had scarcely begun when Tennyson wrote "The Princess," in 1847. But it would be difficult to find amid all the discussions which that movement has excited truer words than he has uttered in that poem. He seems to have cherished the old view of a decided difference between man's sphere and woman's. This conception is essentially mediæval, and patriarchal as well; it may, however, survive some changes that are proposed at the present day. Woman's loss may come from some of her anticipated gains. The dominant cry of "The Princess" is essentially modern, while it is true of every age. Charles Kingsley, in an excellent criticism upon "The Princess," has this wise reflection:

> In every age women have been tempted, by the possession of superior beauty, intellect, or strength of will, to deny their own womanhood and attempt to stand alone as men, whether on the ground of political in-

trigue, ascetic saintship, or philosophic pride. Cleopatra and St. Hedwiga, Madame de Staël and the Princess, are merely different manifestations of the same self-willed and proud longing of woman to unsex herself and realize, single and self-sustained, some distorted and partial notion of her own as to what the "angelic life" should be. Cleopatra acted out the pagan idea of an angel; St. Hedwiga, the mediæval one; Madame de Staël, hers, with the peculiar notions of her time as to what "*spirituel*" might mean; and in "The Princess" Mr. Tennyson has embodied the ideal of that nobler, wider, purer, yet equally fallacious, because equally unnatural, analogue which we may meet too often up and down England now. He shows us the woman, when she takes her stand on the false masculine ground of intellect, working out her own moral punishment by destroying in herself the tender heart of flesh. Not even her vast purposes of philanthropy can preserve her, for they are built up. not on the womanhood which God has given her, but on her own self-will. They change, they fall, they become inconsistent, even as she does herself, till, at last, she loses all feminine sensibility; scornfully and stupidly she rejects and misunderstands the heart of man; and then, falling from pride to sternness, from sternness to sheer inhumanity, she punishes sisterly love as a crime, robs the mother of her child, and becomes all but a vengeful fury, with all the peculiar faults of woman and none of the peculiar excellencies of man.*

Tennyson's reverential regard for woman, his reverence for duty, his love of truth, his love of country, all sprang from his deep religious nature. His father and grandfather were clergymen. His mother was a woman of fervent piety. His dearest brother was an earnest Christian. His childhood was bannered with religious influences. He was a devoted student of the Bible all his life, and he was imbued with biblical thought, biblical imagery and diction to a remarkable degree. He championed no creed and no ecclesiastical system; he was supremely indifferent to the dogmas and passions of sects and parties; in religion, as in politics, he abhorred "the falsehood of extremes." His spiritual outlook was broad. He saw "the great eternal verities" from which spiritual voyagers in all ages have drawn illumination and courage; and he felt the power of the wavering convictions, the doubts, the denials, the despair so pervasive in his own age. His belief was no mere blind acceptance or pious, unquestioning trust; it was a conquest, or rather a series of conquests, for it constantly received modification and change, renewing itself out of his spiritual struggles. The "clouds and darkness" of doubt were about him; but he followed in-

* *Fraser's Magazine*, September, 1850.

cessantly the gleam of truth, cleaving "ever to the sunnier side of doubt," and clinging "to faith beyond the forms of faith."

Professor Dowden says:

> There is little recognition in Tennyson's poetry of special contact of the soul with the divine Being in any supernatural ways of quiet or of ecstasy. There is, on the contrary, a disposition to rest in the orderly manifestation of God as the supreme Lawgiver, and even to identify him with his presentation of himself in the physical and moral order of the universe. And if this precludes all spiritual rapture, that "glorious folly, that heavenly madness, wherein true wisdom is acquired," it preserves the mind from despair or any deep dejection.*

There is much truth in this criticism, but it is too sweeping. This passage, from the poem "The Higher Pantheism," is expressive of personal, spiritual passion and communion between the human and the divine:

> Speak to Him thou, for he hears, and Spirit with spirit can meet.
> Closer is he than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.

To one who said, "My dearest object in life, when at my best, is to leave the world, by however little, better than I found it; what is yours?" he answered, "My greatest wish is to have a clearer vision of God." Then there is that beautiful testimony to the worth of prayer which the poet puts into the mouth of King Arthur, as he bade farewell to the last of his knights:

> Pray for my soul. More things are wrought by prayer
> Than this world dreams of. Wherefore, let thy voice
> Rise, like a fountain, for me night and day.
> For what are men better than sheep or goats,
> That nourish a blind life within the brain,
> If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer,
> Both for themselves and those who call them friend?
> For so the whole round earth is every way
> Bound by gold chains about the feet of God.

And more significant still, because said in the first person, is the sublime invocation at the opening of "In Memoriam."

The sixty years in which Tennyson was writing poetry were remarkably prolific in religious speculation and controversy. It was a period of faltering convictions, harassing doubts, sweeping denials, and sublime affirmations. When he entered Cambridge University religion in England was little better

* Dowden, *Studies in Literature*, p. 196.

than a dead formalism; spiritual emotion, the source and support of faith, seemed to have departed. Many conflicting doubts must have vexed the mind of Tennyson as, in Trinity College, he listened to metaphysicians like his friend Blakesley, "the clear-headed friend" addressed in one of the earlier poems,

> Whose joyful scorn,
> Edged with sharp laughter, cuts atwain
> The knots that tangle human creeds.

Then came the High Church and the Broad Church movements—the former represented by John Henry Newman, and the latter by Frederick Denison Maurice—stirring men's souls, stimulating enthusiasm and controversy. The whole field of religious discussion was reopened; the very grounds of faith and certitude were sharply scrutinized and earnestly debated. Newman attacked the principle of private judgment and contended, with passionate self-distrust, for the necessity of an infallible Church to pronounce what is and what is not consistent with God's revealed truth; Maurice glorified God's Spirit, ever working in the soul of man, as the supreme and ultimate authority. Newman distrusted human reason and would hand it over to the Roman Catholic Church to bit and bridle; Maurice distrusted the infallibility of a human Church and sought, for the correction of human error, the ever-progressive revelation of God in the heart of man. Contemporaneous with this great controversy, Darwin, in the realm of physical science, was winning such splendid successes by his method of experiment that discredit was thrown upon all beliefs, notably the religious, not capable of verification by the same method. Strauss, too, by his mythical theories concerning the life of Jesus Christ, was awakening doubts respecting the central objects of the Christian faith. To all these movements, together with the skepticism and unrest engendered by them, Tennyson was sensitive in a remarkable degree. No one better than he has voiced the religious aspirations, the longings, the uncertainty, the hope trembling with fear, the faith darkened with doubt, that belong to our age, to this questioning, doubting, yet hoping and believing, nineteenth century. Robertson, in his masterly analysis of "In Memoriam,"* says, among many excellent thoughts:

* First lecture on "The Influence of Poetry on the Working Classes."

And one of the manifold beauties of this exquisite poem, and which is another characteristic of true poetry, is that, piercing through all the sophistries and over refinements of speculation and the lifeless skepticism of science, it falls back upon the grand, primary, simple truths of our humanity—those first principles which underlie all creeds, which belong to our earliest childhood, and on which the wisest and best have rested through all ages—that all is right; that darkness shall be clear; that God and time are the only interpreters; that love is king; that the immortal is in us; that, which is the keynote of the whole,

> All is well, though faith and form
> Be sundered in the night of fear.

In the many and varied aspects of Tennyson's poetry there is one that ever shines resplendent—the artistic. This is organic and vital. It is revealed in the consecrating purpose of his life, in the schooling of his activities to attain poetic perfection, in the shaping and coloring given his ideas, and in the living garment of beauty with which he has clothed his characters. The artistic in Tennyson was made, as truly as it was born. It was as certainly the fruit of hard work as of fortunate endowment, of the "infinite capacity for taking pains" as of inspiration. He composed with laborious and almost painful slowness. With Horace, he might say, "Like the Matinian bee, feeding with endless toil on the same sweet thyme, what I compose I compose with elaborate care." His ideal was so high and his passion for perfection so strong that he subjected what he had written to the most careful and constant revision. Recasting and polishing his verse, heightening, modifying, developing its latent beauty, he fashioned it from "well to better, daily self-surpast." No poet has rewritten so much as Tennyson or shown such excellent critical insight in his revisions. His early shortcomings were obvious, his faults were palpable. Swinburne, who is himself a consummate metrist, says:

There are whole poems of Lord Tennyson's first period which are no more properly to be called metrical than the more shapeless and monstrous part of Walt Whitman; which are lineally to be derived, as to their form—if form that can be called where form is none—from the vilest examples set by Cowley, when English verse was first infected and convulsed by the detestable duncery of sham Pindarics. At times, of course, his song was then as sweet as ever it has sounded since; but he could never make sure of singing right for more than a few minutes or stanzas. The strenuous drill through which since then he has felt it necessary to

put himself has done all that hard labor can do to rectify this congenital complaint—by dint of stocks and backboard he has taught himself a more graceful carriage.*

Similar criticisms were made by Coleridge, Poe, Lockhart, and others. These criticisms were grievous for Tennyson to bear and left an agonizing smart; but he profited by them. Like Disraeli, in *Tancred*, he seems to have thought: "Failure is nothing. It may be deserved, or it may be remedied. In the first instance, it brings self-knowledge; in the second, it develops a new combination, usually triumphant." About two fifths of the poems that appeared in his first volume Tennyson has suppressed, and he has retouched for the better many of the others.

Tennyson's art was rooted in a deep and multifarious knowledge. In him the saying, "Best bard, because the wisest," finds significant illustration. Thackeray, his old college friend, once said, "Tennyson is the wisest man I know." He was "a linguist, naturalist, geologist, astronomer, theologian, and skilled in the sciences." With "the remotest discoveries" of scientists Tennyson was well acquainted. His mind loved to dwell upon the wonders of the universe, to interrogate the secrets of nature, to look into the mysteries. To the "science thus familiarized" to him he gave, "as it were, a form of flesh and blood," "lending his divine spirit to aid the transfiguration." Tennyson did not love Nature for her own sake, as Shelley and Keats and Wordsworth did. Shelley waited upon Nature like an enraptured lover, breathing her very spirit; Keats burned with sensuous delight at the contemplation of her beauties; Wordsworth stood before her, like a veritable priest, in rapt contemplation, with a soul full of worship, and listened for her revelations. Tennyson's love was for natural objects, rather than nature; he combined the reverent scrutiny of the scientist for truth with the poet's search for beauty. There is little love for nature, apart from man, in Tennyson's poetry. His descriptions of natural objects are full of human interest and reflect some particular mood or emotion. In that beautiful lyric, "Come into the garden, Maud," Nature seems to be lyrical, glowing with the love that burns in the lover's soul. How beautiful and appropriate is the scenery that serves as a setting for "The Gar-

* Swinburne, *Miscellanies*, p. 255.

dener's Daughter!" Contrast with the beauty and bloom of this poem the picture of desolation and gloom presented in "Mariana in the South." In the former we have the gardener's daughter, a "miracle of symmetry," a "miniature of loveliness," in a garden "of flowery squares," which smells "of the coming summer;" in the latter,

> With one black shadow at its feet,
> The house through all the level shines,
> Close-latticed to the brooding heat,
> And silent in its dusty vines;
> A faint blue ridge upon the right,
> An empty river bed before,
> And shallows on a distant shore,
> In glaring sand and inlets bright.

But more melancholy than the house and its surroundings were Mariana and her saddening carol:

> And "Ave Mary," was her moan,
> "Madonna, sad is night and morn;"
> And "Ah," she sang, "to be all alone,
> To live forgotten, and love forlorn."

It was late in life when Tennyson, the master of the various forms of lyric and idyllic poetry, applied himself with fresh earnestness to the writing of dramas. He loved the stage. For Shakespeare he had a passionate admiration, and he longed to be such a dramatist himself. His strong dramatic tendency is manifest in his poems. His psychological power in projecting himself into other and different characters is evident in such dramatic monologues as the two "Locksley Halls," "Rizpah," the "Northern Farmer," and others. In this, the simplest form of dramatic art, the delineation of one character in one set of circumstances, Tennyson was successful in the highest degree and showed a grasp of character truly Shakespearean and a psychological power that only Browning has surpassed. But a drama is a much more complex form of art than a dramatic monologue. Man is represented in a web of complications, acting on other characters and acted upon by them, grasping the world with controlling power, and himself held in its grasp. The drama, in a word, represents characters, actions, and events as living in and through, even clashing with, one another. The dramatist, therefore, must possess constructive power of a high order to make his plays organic and vital. In

most of Tennyson's dramas there is a predominance of thought and feeling over action. There are passages of wondrous power and beauty; there is spirited dialogue; there are voices that ring with true dramatic quality; there are characters that stand out firm and clear; there are scenes of thrilling intensity; but some of his plays—for instance, "Queen Mary" and "The Promise of May"—are not well constructed. In "Queen Mary" the action is not adequately motived, the movement is so halting that it becomes tedious; scene follows scene, but the plot does not progress. This criticism, however, does not apply to "Harold" and "Becket." Both have a strong dramatic motive. The action in each grows out of the characters and is borne by fierce struggles to a catastrophe full of dramatic interest.

Mr. Lowell said of Gray that "he was the greatest artist in words Cambridge has produced." But Gray, consummate artist that he was, does not measure up to Tennyson's greatness. The best of Gray is not better than Tennyson's best, and there is much less of it. In range, power, and beauty, he does not equal the Victorian poet. The laureate came into a richer heritage of poetic art than Gray, drawing upon all the wealth the earlier poet did, only more largely; and he gained much, in addition, from such later treasures as the luscious music of Keats, the rhythm of Byron, the melodies of Coleridge and Shelley, and the pure cadences of Wordsworth.

D. Dorchester Jr.

Art. VII.—THE NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY.

The historical school of political economy traces its origin to three German economists. They were not the first to make use of the historical method as applied to economics, but were the first to see its great importance. Wilhelm Roscher, in 1843, stated the principles of the new school in his *Grundriss zu Vorlesungen über die Staatswirthschaft nach geschichtlicher Methode;* five years later came Bruno Hildebrand's *Die Nationalökonomie der Gegenwart und Zukunft;* and in 1853 Karl Knies published his work entitled *Die Politische Oekonomie vom Standpunkte der geschichtlichen Methode.* With the works of these three German professors the historical school originated. Still, it would not be correct to give these men all the credit for the birth of the new political economy, for their work was made possible by the philosophy of Auguste Comte. Ingram, in his *History of Political Economy*, sums up the leading features of Comte's system of sociology as follows:

> (1) It is essentially one science, in which all the elements of a social state are studied in their relations and mutual actions; (2) it includes a dynamical, as well as a statical, theory of society; (3) it thus eliminates the absolute, substituting for an imagined fixity the conception of ordered change; (4) its principal method, though others are not excluded, is that of historical comparison; (5) it is pervaded by moral ideas, by notions of social duty, as opposed to the individual rights which were derived as corollaries from the *jus naturæ;* and (6) in its spirit and practical consequences it tends to the realization of all the great ends which compose the popular cause; yet (7) it aims at this through peaceful means, replacing revolution by evolution.

Without a scientific social philosophy such as that founded by Auguste Comte the historical school would be impossible.

The historical school took its name to denote the similarity of its methods with the methods of the great scholars who have revolutionized the sciences of jurisprudence and politics. The deductive method of the English school, which, from a few premises, enables them to build up a system of political economy good for all times and places, is rejected. The new political economy, first of all, claims to be founded on observed facts, and not on hypothetical premises. It aims to study the present as a product of the past, and to take into consideration

place and environment. Political economy is not made up of laws unchangable, but is a growth depending on the condition of society:

> The historical conception of political economy rests upon this principle: like the conditions of economic life, the theory of political economy, in whatever form found and with whatever argument and conclusions supported, is a product of historical development—it grows out of the conditions of time, place, and nationality, in vital connection with the entire organism of an historical period; it exists with these conditions and continues to develop with them; it has the source of its arguments in historical life, and must ascribe the character of historical solutions to its conclusions; further, all the universal laws of political economy represent only an historical exposition and progressive, advancing manifestation of truth. In every stage of its progress, the theory of political economy is the generalization of truths recognized up to a certain point of time; and this theory cannot be declared complete, either as respects its form or substance. When and where absolutism of theory has acquired credit it must be regarded only as an offspring of the time and as a definite period in the historical development of political economy.*

It must not be understood that the members of the historical school neglect the deductive method. They clearly recognize its value and affirm that for certain kinds of reasoning it is the only method; but to draw conclusions from premises not proven to be true by facts is rightly condemned.

Society is an organism. It is composed of individuals whose activities are necessary to the life of the organism and who, in turn, are dependent on that organism. The social organism differs from other organisms in that its component parts—individuals—are themselves organisms; but, none the less, it is a true organism. No one lives for himself. The iron manufacturer does not produce for himself, but for others, and he must depend on other producers for the economic goods which he consumes. Not only is this true, but the present is dependent on the past, and the future on the present. Goods and capital which are being used to-day may have originated decades ago. The iron ore which is now being taken from the mines will not be turned into watch springs for many years to come. The solidarity of society is more and more being insisted upon.

It follows, from the conception of society as an organism, that the whole organism must suffer from the disease of any

* Knies, *Politische Oekonomie*, quoted from Ely's *Past and Present of Political Economy*.

of its parts. Society, if it would save itself, must care for the poor and degraded and treat the criminal classes in such a way that they may become useful members. The whole question of dependent and criminal classes becomes of new and vital importance, and universal education needs no further argument. The State is regarded as society acting through government. The English *laissez faire* economists followed the eighteenth century philosophy in regarding the sole office of the State as being the protection of its members from violence and fraud. As self-interest was held to be sufficient to work out a perfect and harmonious social order, there was no need of State interference. Everyone was supposed to know his own interest and to follow it; and, competition being perfect, everything would naturally follow to the advantage of all concerned. The idea of individual interests being often antagonistic never seemed to occur to the early English economists; but it was soon shown that self-interest caused English manufacturers to employ women and children during long hours in loathsome dens, and that the life of the laborer had become that of a slave. Factory acts followed, and *laissez faire* received a blow from which it has never recovered. The new political economy claims that self-interest must be subordinate to the interest of the whole. It holds that the State is a proper organ for effecting all ends that cannot be effected by voluntary individual effort. Such functions as education, factory inspection, public health, etc., must be undertaken by the State, as they would never appeal to the self-interest of individuals. It is not now doubted that water-works, lighting plants, etc., can render greater service by being owned and managed by some public body. In England the government owns and manages the telegraph, and in Germany the railroads are nationalized. Whenever an industry can serve the public better if owned and managed by the State, most historical economists would advise that it be so owned and managed. Of course, this could not apply to any large number of industries, and the writer does not affirm that it does apply to either the telegraph or railroad.

The new political economy is emphatically ethical. It not only applies ethical standards to existing institutions, but, dealing with dynamic society, asks what ought to be. Professor Keynes, in his *Scope and Method of Political Economy*, says:

The school explicitly calls itself ethical. It regards political economy as having a high ethical task and as concerned with the most important problems of human life. The science is not merely to classify the motives that prompt to economic activity; it must, also, weigh and compare their moral merit. It must determine a standard of the right production and distribution of wealth, such that the demands of justice and morality may be satisfied. It must set forth an ideal of economic development, having in view the intellectual and moral, as well as the merely material, life; and it must discuss the ways and means—such as the strengthening of right motives and the spread of sound customs and habits in industrial life, as well as the direct intervention of the State—by which that ideal is to be sought after.

Dr. Ely, who has done more than any other American to show the relation between ethics and economics, says:

It has been said truthfully that the essential characteristic of the new political economy is the relation it endeavors to establish between ethics and economic life. A new conception of social ethics is introduced into economics, and the standpoint is taken that there should be no divergence between the two. While representatives of an older view endeavor carefully to separate the two, the adherents of the ethical school attempt to bring them into the closest relation—indeed, I may say, an inseparable relation. They apply ethical principles to economic facts and economic institutions, and test their value by that standard. Political economy is thus brought into harmony with the great religious, political, and social movements which characterize this age; for the essence of them all is the belief that there ought to be no contradiction between our actual economic life and the postulates of ethics and a determination that there shall be an abolition of such things as will not stand the tests of this rule. If industrial society, as it exists at present, does not answer this requirement, then industrial society stands condemned; or, in so far as it fails to meet this requirement, in so far is it condemned. It is not that it is hoped to reach a perfect ideal at one bound, but that the ideal is a goal for which men must strive. The new conception of the State is thus secondary, in the opinion of the adherents of the ethical school, to the new conception of social ethics.

The ethical economist may set a standard for industrial society. Here he aims at what ought to be. He may compare this standard with what is now the industrial order. He may compare production with the possible production in the existing state of the arts, and distribution may be compared with an ideal distribution. An ideal production would be such as would suffice to satisfy all the needs of the people, material, intellectual, and moral. Is the present production sufficient to satisfy these needs? Unequal distribution makes it difficult to answer

this question; but statistics go to show that there is actually not enough produced to satisfy all the wants of the people. Professor Wagner, the eminent Berlin professor, gives an ideal for distribution. He says:

> The ideal to be aimed at is such a distribution as enables the mass of the people to satisfy their material desires, in a way to insure their physical and mental development and their participation in the fruits of civilization.

How can such ideals be attained or even aimed at? First of all, by education, by inculcating sound moral ideas, right customs and habits; then, possibly, by profit sharing, cooperation, or some other scheme of social reform; perhaps, as Wagner urges, to some extent by taxation.

As society is dynamic, there should be an effort to direct its course toward the ideals aimed at. Professor Wagner gives five different motives for economic activity—four egoistic and one nonegoistic. The four egoistic motives are: (1) one's own industrial advantage and the fear of want for one's self; (2) the fear of punishment and the hope of approval; (3) the sense of honor and the fear of disgrace; (4) the impulse to activity and the fear of the results of inactivity. The nonegoistic motive is the sense of duty and the fear of conscience. The first motive, the wish for gain and the fear of want, lies at the foundation of the old economy based on self-interest, or selfishness. It forms the major premise of the deductive reasoning of the individualistic school. It is true enough that self-interest is always present and is a powerful motive. The mistake comes in when it is regarded as the only motive. There never was and never will be an "economic man." It is perfectly proper to eliminate the other motives and reason from self-interest; but the conclusion cannot be accepted until allowance has been made for other motives. Self-interest may be broadened so as to include one's friends; but the motive is still egoistic. His second motive is the fear of punishment and hope of reward of a noneconomic kind:

> These motives are to be counted among the psychologic elements when personal freedom does not exist. They help to explain economic freedom under such conditions. . . . They lead us to modify many conclusions which have been deduced, without sufficient qualification, from the motive of individual industrial advantage.

The third class of egoistic motives is the sense of honor and fear of disgrace. This is a higher and nobler motive. It is still egoistic, "yet there is a pleasure in seeing it at work in place of the coarser motive of individual gain, or, at least, side by side with it." That this is a powerful motive none will deny. His fourth class of egoistic motives includes such motives as the impulse to activity and fear of the results of inactivity, no economic interest being necessarily involved. Wagner attaches some importance to this motive; but it seems to the writer to be overestimated. Lastly, comes the nonegoistic motive, the sense of duty:

> We may be thankful that it can appear, and does appear in industrial actions, repressing and modifying other motives. Because of it competition is not pressed to the utmost, prices do not reach the highest or lowest limits which the pursuit of individual advantage would fix, and would fix without encountering an effective check in the mere sense of honor and propriety. Under this head we are to class, not only all charitable action, but the cases where an industrial superior purposely refrains from making his own interest the exclusive ground of his economic conduct. Action in obedience to altruistic motives, such as individuals occasionally undertake of their own free will, should often be commended by the general precepts of the moral law. All experience teaches that action of this kind is most effectively secured if it be also enjoined by religion. It is further promoted if it be embodied in the code of custom. As the duty of such action becomes generally recognized, the way is paved for its gradual incorporation into the legal system and its more or less enforcement by law.

The great aim is to substitute the finer egoistic motives for the motive of self-interest, and, if possible, the nonegoistic motive. The motive of self-interest will doubtless always remain; but it should, as far as possible, be combined with other motives. The nonegoistic motive should be kept in mind as an end to be sought after, even if never attained.

In the very conception of the nature of political economy the new school differs from the old. Political economy was formerly defined as that science which treats of the production, exchange, and distribution of wealth. Thus, economic goods were regarded as forming the subject-matter of political economy, and man was left in the background; or, if he was mentioned, it was not a real man, but an artificial man. The new school regards political economy as a department of

sociology, or the science of society. Sociology treats of all the relations of man; it is, in fact, a collection of sciences. Political economy is that part of sociology which treats of man in his relation to economic goods. The standpoint has been shifted from wealth to man. As Professor Roscher says: "The starting point, as well as the object point, of our science is man." When political economy was considered as treating of wealth it might well be called a "dismal science," and one which could hardly merit a place in a college course. It was a philosophy of selfishness. With the new conception interest in the science has revived, and it has reached a higher plane. Although only forty years old, the new political economy has swept all before it in Germany, has gained a foothold in England, is strong in Italy, and in the United States is championed by such able economists as Dr. R. T. Ely, Professor E. J. James, Dr. E. R. A. Seligman, Professor H. C. Adams, Professor Simon N. Patten, Richmond Mayo Smith, Professor E. A. Ross, Professor John Commons, and a host of other well-known economists.

A. G. Fradenburgh.

Art. VIII.—THE NEED OF THE PULPIT.

It was once possible to take a bird's-eye view even of the world. So recently as the early part of this century, men and women nursed the pleasant conceit of ability to grasp the general information of every department of knowledge. In this last decade of the century, however, no sophisticated person thinks of assuming the possibility on his part of exhaustive acquisitions in science, ethics, and letters. Even the popular instinct of to-day perceives the necessity of a division of knowledge, based upon the existence of many channels through which the rivers of wisdom flow, whose rushing floods can be gathered only in such reservoirs as dictionaries, cyclopedias, histories, scientific treatises, art galleries, musical compendiums, and the great depositories of the applied arts. The wise man is he who knows where to seek special information on a special subject. He would not dream of trying to read, let alone retain, the contents of the vast array of books in the national library at Washington. There was an occasional person who intended to stay long enough at the World's Fair to inventory and remember the details of every exhibit, from those of the anthropological collection to the engineering problems of the Ferris Wheel. A week at the fair destroyed such an illusion. Each branch of knowledge now has its special students. Each division under each general subject also has its specialist. Large acquisitions as a specialist and a reservation of vitality for great issues are demanded to-day of the man or woman who endeavors to exert an influence. Only one hundred and fifty years ago Samuel Johnson wrote the first dictionary of the English language. The Century Company employed a multitude of men and women to trace the origin and widest use of each word in its great dictionary. Once to the Church alone was relegated the subject of ethics. Now the physician talks about sanitation from the ethical standpoint. The scientist writes on the ethical basis of sound minds in sound bodies. The anarchist descants on the ethics of land tenure, the socialist on the ethics of curtailing individual possession of wealth. The dress reformer contends that from an ethical motive women should wear tights, girdles above the flotaing ribs, and

trousers. The political economist is certain that the ethics of national development are dependent on the possession by government of the railway, the telegraph, and other systems pertaining to the public welfare. Moral issues, therefore, like other issues, have their special advocates and exponents. Everywhere, in all classes, in every department of knowledge, if a man assume to teach his neighbor his neighbor is but waiting to teach him. The optimist believes that eventually the resultant will be an abundance of mental and spiritual bread for every needy soul.

There are three great forces, among numberless others, which are reckoned as tremendous ethical influences, either potentially or in reality. These forces are the press, the novel, and the pulpit. In this article the first two will be treated incidentally to the third.

The pulpit, venerable with the associations of centuries, has gradually, since the invention of printing, and notably within the last century, been stripped of much of its authority. Those who are believers in tradition have regarded these changes with dismay. Optimists and rationalists have hailed them with delight. Some who, from temperament or habit, unduly regard the mere accessories of spiritual power, mistaking the engine, the vehicle of such power, for its function, have said that the decline of the pulpit means its extinction. Those who have neither inherited nor acquired a belief in organized mediums for divine truth have looked on with quiet interest, imbued with the notion that the last and most complex stronghold of superstition is falling. Others again, regarding the signs of the times with apprehension, have declared their intention to uphold the pulpit as a useful means of keeping the masses in check. Others still, half skeptically and half wistfully beholding an excellence of both faith and works, wide reaching and beneficent in influence and ultimate effect, even if sadly inadequate, have dreaded lest a door be forever closing through which later they might wish to enter.

The writer was much interested lately in some excavations. The slope on which houses were being erected is a bed of solid rock. As the digging progressed it could be seen that the rock, with a thin layer of soil, ended in the middle of the plot. Then came a mass of filled-in soil, and then a con-

fusion of earth and stones which had been piled and heaped together to make the grade of an avenue. There was no special disturbance when the earth and loose stones men had filled the hole with were removed. There was much confusion; the neighborhood was rendered unsightly; a superficial structure was exposed, which heretofore had seemed a part of the topography. But, finally, great pieces of jutting granite had to be bored and seamed with explosives. Then red flags of warning were held out. Business was stopped. Men went to a distance to escape possible injury. The blast was fired, the rocks were sundered, the houses in the neighborhood trembled on their foundations. A great deal of the hue and cry about the pulpit is an excavating process. Rubbish has a wonderful faculty for accumulation. Form and shape are given even to the expression of spiritual matters, which are, after all, only transitory. No harm will come from their removal. "The old order changeth." Every age goes down to bed rock. Touch that rock, the foundation God has laid, and there will be earthquake shocks.

Every moral change beneficent to man reveals in its accomplishment some ugly facts. When the change has been achieved, even if in the process the very foundations of truth are laid bare and torn asunder, the pieces blasted out will be used in the building of a structure more seemly and beautiful than any that preceded it. God does not confine himself to classical orders in architecture. We are in an age of disintegration, of upheaval. Literally and figuratively, it is a mining age. Truth is truth. Truth is eternal. It may show itself under new forms; it will be truth none the less. It always has had and it always will have an inherent power of revelation. It has always sought, also, and always will seek apostles, teachers, prophets, priests through whom to enunciate its messages. If every pulpit in the country should be swept away truth would find new rostrums. The pulpit is not the preacher. The church edifice is not the Spirit of the living God.

Sinister influences, active and efficacious in accomplishing their ends, are, indeed, recognized by us all. During the calamitous winter of 1893–94 there were as many reasons given for the widespread distress as there were political creeds or doctrinal differences. But all agreed that the distress was un-

usual and real. The eye of the country was upon the Churches during that ordeal. It was upon literature. It was upon the press. Who could interpret the writing upon the wall? What great laxity in government or, possibly, in the life of the people or in the structure of society had brought such a condition about? But of far more importance than these questions are those greater ones: Who shall discover remedies which shall be for the permanent alleviation of misfortune? Who shall convince the nation that the only assurance it has of perpetuity is national character? Who is to inform a people, as heterogeneous as that of the Roman empire just prior to its fall, that material prosperity alone makes a rotten foundation totally inadequate to the support of a heavy superstructure of ignorance and immorality?

Good works are multiplying. Praise enough cannot be given to them. May they increase ten, a hundred, fold, but in such a way as not to increase pauperism or destroy that spirit of American independence which is to the nation what circulation is to the blood. When Athens had passed the acme of her glory amusements were made free to the people. When Rome was declining the crowded masses in the capital of the world were fed at the nation's expense. When mediæval Italy was a hotbed of political extortion, and the marvelously sudden aggrandizement of plebeians was matched by the extravagance, immorality, and intellectual culture of the nobility, there began a sudden and, apparently, unaccountable decay in State, Church, and society. To-day, the palaces of the Cæsars are occupied by beggars, and mold and ruin linger side by side with the treasures of art. It was for this century, in the midst of the American jubilee, to witness a scion of European nobility publicly pleading poverty and begging alms because of the excellence of a glorious ancestor ten or eleven generations removed. A recent writer tells us that the last of the Borgias died a photographer; that a Montmorenci is a farm servant in the neighborhood of Paris; that one of the Valois family is a letter carrier; that the last of the Plantagenets was the son of a chimney sweep; that the Russian nobility has its representatives among stable girls, cab drivers, and circus riders. There is pith in the American saying that there are but three generations between shirt sleeves and shirt sleeves.

What has all this to do with the pulpit? it may be asked. If the pulpit be a living, uplifting, purifying force, downward tendencies, whether in Europe or America, have much to do with it. If fault be found with the decline of faith and the rapid decrease of spiritual impetus the Church and society point to the "charities" of the nineteenth century. Charities are like doctors—they are registers of disease in the body politic. Civilization has reached such a degree that, as a matter of political or social policy, a country is compelled to take care of its poor. But civilization and religion are not necessarily synonymous. The world is full of "good works," as never before; and yet the heart of the world is sick and its body mortally weary. It is, therefore, obvious that there must exist a vast difference between the eleemosynary expression of good will toward a fellow-man less fortunate than one's self and the vitalizing power which makes of a man himself a tremendous spiritual force. Such spiritual force used to be concentrated in the pulpit. If in the Sunday edition of a newspaper, if in a novel, like *The Scarlet Letter*, one can receive as much ethical impulse as he can from the pulpit there is something radically wanting in the pulpit. The most spiritual writing can never compete with the man filled with the Holy Spirit. The aggregate of literature or the press cannot compete with the aggregate of a deeply spiritualized pulpit. The man, every single time, is greater than his message. Maurice, Robertson, Newman, Simpson were greater than their most eloquent sermons in influence. The man of the present is too self-poised to require merely ethical stimulus. Ethics is but the smoke to a fire. Ethics may produce spiritual asphyxia. The pulpit does not need to-day to impress upon a man's consciousness the beauty of the natural law. Such knowledge is a portion of his education in æsthetics. The age is so refined in effort toward mere physical, mental, and moral fitness that it feels at times overcome, as if with the prostration of the vital forces of humanity. What is wanted is renewal, and through the power of grand spiritual personalities. No one can commune with God and not have it known. His is a radiant light that cannot be hidden any more than Moses could come down from Sinai and not appear transfigured.

It is of little use to say that the country is full of the anti-

religious classes. The most recent government statistics compiled on this subject tell us that the distinctly antireligious classes include but five million of the American population. The United States is a Christian country, an overwhelmingly Christian country. If anything is wrong, therefore, the root of the evil lies in the modern expression of Christianity. These statistics show us, further, that less than two per cent of all the religious organizations in this country are non-Christian. With the exception of the Jewish community, non-Christian bodies are diminishing. Taking the whole United States together, there are forty-three million sittings in Christian churches. The halls, schoolhouses, etc., where sermons are preached have room for two and a quarter millions more. Thus, there is sitting room at one time for forty-five and one quarter millions of the population of this country in places used for Christian worship. The value of ground and buildings amounts to $670,000,000. The Protestant population is 49,630,000; the Catholic population, 7,362,000. Thus, altogether, there are 56,992,000 nominal Christians in the United States.

What, then, is the matter? One thing is that men are needed the very mention of whose names shall be the occasion of a sense of blessing. Some of us have read a recent book, *The Greek Madonna*. It is not the kind of minister described in this book that society wishes. Nearly all have read *The Little Minister*—a delectable story as a piece of literary work, but one which, if it teaches anything, teaches that there is no supernatural influence to keep a man from succumbing to the first temptation of the flesh which overtakes him. If the story had appeared as a bald statement of fact in some sensational newspaper the public would have read it and said, "A bad marriage through and through; the little minister has sown to the wind, he must reap the whirlwind." Multitudes, again, have read *Robert Elsmere*. Robert Elsmere thought he believed one thing, but found he believed another. No one can find fault with him as a man. The writer, however, portrays him as a being with intense spiritual convictions. The very fact that these changed proved him without convictions, in the orthodox Christian meaning of this term. There is, also, that fourth minister, depicted in *John Ward, Preacher*, who ruined all he had in this life, and is presented as having no outfit for another

life. These four men have been etched in recent books as fair types of spiritual leaders in the Christian Church. The climax is reached when they are made victims of prejudice or of worldly policy or of the first great temptation. Each, to the Christian, is a totally inadequate and mistaken conception of the Christian minister. Yet, out of the millions of Christians in the United States, not one has written an adequate literary answer, in the form of a novel, to these books which, in one way or another, typify the aggressive attitude of the five millions who constitute the non-Christian minority.

There is to-day, as there was in the days of Louis XIV, great learning, culture, and elegance in many a pulpit. These qualities are needed now as much as they were in that age of splendor, when Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon, and Fénelon aroused the conscience of France. So widespread is intelligence, so broad is the general culture, that these essentials go without saying. But thousands and tens of thousands of Christian hearts are longing, as never before, for something more. A generation ago there was a book written called *Ecce Homo*. In pulpits all over the land stand men toward whom their hearers long to be able fearlessly to point and say, "Behold other men, in whom that sacred One seems reincarnated!" If a man in a pulpit is only as good as other men—and this does not lessen the responsibility of other men—only as good as the merchant, or the banker, or the member of a syndicate, each of whom gives freely of the special gift in his possession, the masses are as willing to follow the teachings of the layman as they are to follow the teachings of the priest. If ministers preach fine sermons the political, ethical, purely literary orators can speak as well. Each has a multitude of hearers ready to accept his *dictum* as infallible.

When not only a man's vocation is regarded as holy, but it is seen that he is holy; when his philanthropy is not merely a copy of that of some one else, but the gushing forth of a heart touched, not by woe alone, but by the common brotherhood of man and centered in Him who is elder and perfect Brother to each one of us—then his giving becomes spontaneously self-sacrificial. The sacrifice of one's self is a work of grace. There are myriads of givings which, on the surface, appear superb. A giving can never, to an honest soul, appear superb unless he knows he

has joyfully rendered what was sweet or pleasurable or precious to himself because another's need was greater than his own. A man who sacrifices himself for the good of others, hour by hour, day by day, year by year, through life—such a man commands respect. There is no use in trying to respect people. Respect is involuntary. When the world sees in a man something high and pure, an unfolding of character, now on one side, now on another, the whole nature growing stronger in beauty from whichever spiritual focus he is viewed—it is no assumption on the part of such a man to claim communion with the Father as the source of his strength. He is listened to involuntarily, as a being inspired by that Spirit which has brooded over earth from its creation, which made itself known to Abraham, spoke through David, shone through some of the teachings of Mohammed, is visible in many a religious idea of Persia, but became incarnate in Christ, as the supreme and final religious Teacher of the whole human race.

It is a good thing Princeton has decided upon—that the men in her theological school shall hereafter abstain from competitive intercollegiate games. Men are wanted as spiritual teachers who are not only set apart, but who set themselves apart—not through Phariseeism, as condemning things essentially harmless, but because they are specialists in the highest vocation to which, in any period of the world's history, a man can ever be called. They must strip themselves of "every weight," although such weight may be useful or ornamental to others. They must allow no hindrance in their way as teachers of the truth. They must walk apart—not because of pride, but because of a just appreciation of the vastness of their responsibilities, the preciousness of their time, the sacredness of their influence. There are many such men. There have been many such since the dawn of Christianity. But there are not enough. The civilized world feels that there are not enough. The body and mind of civilization are ever unfed, the heart is starving. There are in the United States 111,036 ministers and priests. Surely among such a number the people have a right to look for some Savonarola, for some Thomas à Kempis, for Luthers, Knoxes, George Herberts, Wesleys, and Newmans.

There are indications that religious power among ministers is soon to be specialized as never before. A tidal reaction is

setting in against formalism. There is a satisfaction sought, but not obtained, in charitable effort. There are frictions and heartburnings which make men leave meetings in the interests of Christian charity in a more worldly spirit than that in which they entered them. There is a wide unrest, making younger men and women sigh over the aimlessness of life, and men in their prime, like Brander Matthews, delicately foreshadow the trend of things in such articles as "Vignettes of Manhattan." The great, hungry, throbbing, religious heart of communities has wakened to the fact that, however peculiar, the Salvation Army is a vital, positive, conquering, Christian force. Society is willing to hail oddities through which a strong, aggressive, sanctified personality speaks. There is a sore spot in the public consciousness. Man after man cries out, "Am I my brother's keeper for more than food and shelter and clothing?" and smites himself despairingly on the breast because he knows he is and can no longer escape the conviction. He would like to give that food which is more than raiment and for which his brother is hungering; but he cannot, because in this one essential he is a beggar.

A minister must not attempt to be too much of an all-round man. There is not time enough in this full age for dilettanteism. The age is one of concentration; it is one of specialization. It is an age in which a person having one talent is asked to use that talent alone; its perfected product is required. It is amazing how much is well done to-day. It is amazing to what a level the whole mass of humanity is being lifted. Each has strength to pull well only in one direction. The dissipation of power in many channels means ruin to the individual. Thus it is that we all turn anxiously to spiritual forces. On them the fabric of State, society, and Church depends.

What has brought about this change of attitude in regard to the pulpit—an attitude of criticism on the one hand, an attitude of receptivity on the other? Intelligent criticism, as well as the growing craving for something which the material things of life do not give, has been brought about by the agitation, through our papers and periodicals, of every possible sort of question, treated each by a specialist in the theme. Take any one of the Sunday editions of our newspapers. Their professed aim is to gather everything on any particular theme. These

papers are the key to the character of current popular needs. They are conducted on strict business principles. Hence, they cover travel, literature, science, poetry, romance, politics, and religion. The quantity of poetry is small, its quality very often poor; and religion fares little, if any, better. Yet the church-going population, including ethical culturists, Jews, and Christians, is nearly fifty-seven millions, out of a total population of sixty-seven millions. If the public, the majority of which is, at least nominally, Christian, wanted more religious matter in the Sunday papers quantity and quality would soon meet the demand. This looks discouraging on the face of things. But it reveals the fact that the Church refuses to be taught in spiritual matters by secular specialists. We need not emphasize the magnificent opportunity of those 111,036 ministers and priests for the conveyance of truth, which never comes with such force as from a living, earnest man of profound and settled convictions.

The power of the press in educating and instructing is shared by the novel. From a small stream the English novel has spread out into a mighty river of literary and ethical influence. The writers of fiction numbered a handful at the beginning of the century. Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett, Defoe, Sterne, and Addison, Johnson, Godwin, Walpole, Mrs. Southey, Maria Edgeworth, Jane Porter, Jane Austen, and Sir Walter Scott—there they all are! Who have been their successors? An army. There are seven thousand copyrighted books of American poetry in the national library at Washington. This is a small number compared with the array of works of fiction. Each story has probably produced some effect. Each has been an educator. Many continue to educate. There are books clothing ethical truth in fiction which not only exercise a present influence, but will affect future generations. *Jane Eyre*, for instance, represents a woman both pure and passionate—a type of character which challenged the incredulity of England. But the truth is generally enough conceded now. The logical and moral sequence following such a perception is a growing belief that passionate men can be as pure as women. Legitimate successors of *Jane Eyre* are, in practice, the White Cross movement and Dr. Parkhurst's crusade and, in literature, George Eliot's *Mill on the Floss* and the books of Madame

Sarah Grand. Maarten Maartens is a Dutch Hawthorne in laying bare the sins of the heart. Balzac has written a physiological and psychological compendium of humanity in his novels. Daudet's *Sidonie* shows the corruption of spirit creeping, like a green mold, over the virtue of a woman who marries for money and ambition. George Meredith, in *Richard Feverel*, preaches a weighty lesson to parents who overtrain their children, and, in *One of Our Conquerors*, lays bare, as only the poet or novelist can without offense, the almost unmentionable frictions of married life.

The didactic novel is here to stay. The ethical voice of the people has been heard, never again to be silenced, in the newspaper and magazine, as well as in the novel. But, rising far above them in the majesty of his office, in the sacredness of his message, in the strength of his influence, should stand the preacher, because "the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord." But the preacher of to-day is only one of many teachers. He must, therefore, be widely read, broadly cultured, a leader in literature and ethics, an authority, because of personal research, on the Bible. His sermons must have the literary stamp and be imbued with the spirituality of a Bunyan or a Herbert. While loyal to his Church, he must be broadly unsectarian in spirit. In an age of fluent and correct speaking, he must have the training of an orator; in an age of material splendor and achievement, his whole nature must be attuned to the things which are unseen; in an age of sophistry, he must be ingenuous; in an age of greed, he must be unselfish; in an age of good works, he must be the embodiment of faith and works; in an age of self-seeking, he must love his God with all his heart, soul, mind, and strength, and his neighbor as himself.

Mary Harriott Norris.

Art. IX.—EARLIER CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN INDIA.

It was a strange incident, and a matter of pleasing wonder to Vasco da Gama—not only the discovery, in 1498, of India by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, but the finding of fellow-Christians on that first voyage in that land of intense heathenism and deep moral darkness. For fourteen centuries, almost unknown and uncared for, they had lived and toiled and worshiped the true and living God. It would be interesting to know something more of their history during all these years, surrounded, as they were, by the most bitter opposition, at times when strife was common and the insolent Brahman reigned supreme. Amid it all, we are sure, they maintained the name, and in some degree kept the faith, of the Christian Church. The spread of Christianity and the enlightenment which will follow may give us more of the history of that early movement. How we would like to delve into the records of those early times and learn more of the struggles and triumphs of the apostolic days in India!

As to their origin, these Christians affirm that they are the descendants of the converts who were brought to Christ under the preaching of Thomas the apostle. This explanation is generally accepted. Here, no doubt, Thomas found a congenial field for the exercise of the faith that had been confirmed by the Saviour's command to thrust his hand into the wounded, sacred side. The Saviour knew the mission the Holy Spirit would induce him to undertake. An evidence of sense, sight, and spirit was needful for such a gigantic undertaking. Think of Thomas, so far away from his associates, alone, laboring among a people so different in habit, thought, and daily life! His zeal was untiring, and his success in winning converts must have been great. He aroused the anger and hatred of opponents, and was cruelly martyred near Cape Comorin.

All along the Malabar Coast, as far north as Goa, and along the Coromandel Coast, as far north as Madras, are evidences of the influence of this devoted martyr. Probably in the first centuries of the Christian era this whole coast line was dotted with little Christian churches, and the influence of the Gospel was probably much greater than in after years. Even the gospel of

Matthew, said to have been found here in the second century, may have been brought by this same devoted pioneer, as it was the only New Testament Scripture written that he could have procured before he left Jerusalem. After the death of Thomas, no doubt, persecutions and great troubles arose. Strife and bitter contentions, here as elsewhere, pervailed, and decadence followed. Then, too, Hindooism revived and the proud Brahman ruled. But the seed so patiently and diligently planted was never entirely destroyed. During all these years these Christians of India have endeavored to keep in touch with the Eastern Church, of which they form a part. At present they are presided over by a patriarch, consecrated at Antioch, and number about three hundred thousand communicants. Before the time of Xavier their bishops were sent to them from Assyria and Persia.

In this part of India there are depositories of ancient manuscripts, shut up in old Sanskrit colleges presided over exclusively by the Brahmans, who zealously guard them, not permitting even the presence of one of another caste to enter the sacred inclosures. No European has ever yet been permitted to look upon them. Thus has it been in all other parts of India. But light is dawning, and the time is not far distant when the learned missionary shall enter these holy precincts and be allowed to search into the mysteries and learning of the past ages. Not long ago a Christian missionary was invited to the principalship of the Sanskrit college at Poona, formerly the most conservative Brahman city in all India. So, too, the Brahmans of provinces further south will yield their accumulated treasures of learning and history to the same devotion, energy, and piety, and these old manuscripts will be exposed to the scrutiny of Western scholarship; and from them we may learn much of the history of the triumphs of this part of the Church of Christ. When the morning breaks all over this beautiful land riches untold will be revealed.

Vasco da Gama carried back to Portugal and to the Western Church the first report of this remarkable people. While the Portuguese were in power in India every inducement was used to detach them from the Eastern Church and bring them under the Church of Rome. Their bishops were forbidden to come to them from Assyria. Romish priests were sent among them,

and even the Inquisition was put in force at Goa. Some success attended these exertions. But nothing very great was accomplished until the enthusiastic and somewhat fanatical Xavier, clothed with almost imperial power, was sent to them by the king of Portugal in 1541. For six years the indefatigable Xavier toiled among them with the most untiring zeal. But they proved so obdurate and clung so firmly to their own hierarchy that this almost irrepressible Jesuit became discouraged, and left them for what he thought would prove a more promising field—the heathen lands of China and Japan. The Roman Catholics in and about Goa who were proselyted from these Assyrian Christians number about one hundred and fifty thousand. When the Dutch took possession of Malabar the Romish priests and the Jesuits became unbearable on account of their intriguing and troublesome character, and were soon ordered out of the country. They were thus compelled to confine their labors almost wholly to the small province of Goa, which is still ruled over by a viceroy sent from Portugal. From this time to the present these Christians have enjoyed uninterrupted peace.

The honor is due to King Frederick IV, of Denmark, of establishing the first Protestant mission in India. The condition of these far-off Christians excited his warm sympathy. In 1705 the learned and devoted Ziegenbalg and his companion Plutschau were selected, and the next year, after a voyage of eight months, landed at Tranquebar, which at the time was a Danish settlement. Difficulties almost insurmountable met these devoted men from the first. By the same ship which carried the missionaries secret instructions to the governor were sent by the Danish East India Company, to place every possible impediment in their way. He obeyed his instructions to the letter. But Ziegenbalg was born for this hour. Difficulties hindered, but did not overcome him. Think of these two lone men, as they stood on the shore of that far-off land the night of their landing, without shelter, without companions, without sympathy, without friends, left to shift for themselves! But, undaunted, they commenced their God-given work, and God soon raised up friends in their behalf. One of the most difficult of the Indian languages was to be learned. Without a grammar or even an alphabet, Ziegenbalg commenced the study of Tamil

by means of finger marks on the sand, taught him by the children. In eight months he began to preach to the natives. In two years it was as familiar to him as his own German tongue.

New difficulties arose. Supplies ceased to arrive. Plutschau returned home. Ziegenbalg endured the difficulties and made many tours into the surrounding country, everywhere preaching and teaching. In a few years he had translated the New Testament, and a portion of the Old, into Tamil. Compelled by sickness to return to his own country in 1715, the churches would not hold the crowds that flocked to hear him as he related the wonderful power of God in India. He soon returned and, with renewed health, increased zeal, and a devoted wife, entered again upon his chosen work. But the fires of such a life soon burn out. In 1719, when only thirty-six years of age, he died, leaving behind him over three hundred and fifty converts, a mission seminary, a Tamil lexicon of over sixty thousand words, and, best of all, a Tamil translation of a large part of the Bible. He spent only about thirteen years in India—years of joyous and excessive toil, amid the greatest of difficulties and most bitter opposition. He was a great man and accomplished a wonderful work in laying deep foundations, upon which others have built enduring structures.

Other devoted men succeeded Ziegenbalg. Schultze followed in his footsteps for nearly twenty-five years. On a visit to Halle for the purpose of having the Tamil Bible printed, he met Christian Frederick Schwartz, one of the most famous of all missionaries, who for nearly fifty years gave his consecrated life to this work, wielding an influence among all classes of the people unparalleled by any man, on account of his deep piety, moral courage, and great learning. Schwartz died in 1798, sincerely mourned by prince and people, having baptized about two thousand converts.

These missionaries labored among the Syrian Christians, as well as among the surrounding heathen. They were mainly supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The report of their success created much enthusiasm in Germany and England. But it was not until 1806 that Dr. Buchanan was sent to Southern India to investigate and definitely report the condition of this people. Ten years later, in 1816, the Church Missionary Society established a

mission among them, after Carey had been laboring in Bengal for twenty-three years. In 1795 the London Missionary Society was formed, and in its early history established missions here, as well as elsewhere. At the present time these missions are all prosperous, and a blessed work is being accomplished through this southern country. Still, the ancient Church adheres to its own hierarchy. Now and then a more liberal patriarch presides over them, and blessed results are achieved. A real reform party has in recent years appeared in their own community, and evangelical Christianity in a greater measure is being taught in many localities. They greatly rejoiced when, under the English, they found the tyranny of Rome was completely broken. God has strangely watched over this wilderness Church all these centuries. Their presence gave the first impulse to modern missionary enterprise and has indirectly influenced the planting of nearly every mission to India. What a host of mighty men have been moved upon! The seed planted by Thomas has not been in vain. They deserve the earnest sympathy of the whole Christian Church on account of their steadfast endeavor to maintain the glimmering light delivered to them so long ago.

L. R. Janney.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

A SMILE went round among the permanent staff of the British Foreign Office when Lord Rosebery began his duties as Foreign Minister by asking the department all sorts of elementary questions, as if he were an ignoramus. He sent for Sir Edward Hertslet, chief of the Treaty Department, to ask him, "What is a protocol?" And subordinates listening mistook him for a greenhorn. He was simply bent on mastering everything from the bottom up. For reasons, he wanted a full explanation of the nature and history of protocols from the highest authority. "Seeking information is a moment's shame; but not to learn is a lasting shame." The scholarly disposition is nobler than the schoolmasterly; the desire to learn from all men than the propensity to instruct the neighborhood; the ambition to be a student, with the air and attitude of inquiry, than to be an oracle, with the air of knowing it all. The real scholar is modest; the pedant, the sciolist, and the hypercritical prig are pretentious, dogmatic, omniscient. "Perhaps," "probably," and "I do not know" are words much used by the really wise. Other things being equal, the man nearest to being infallible is he who is most mindful of his fallibility.

THE *Review* sets great store by the department known as the "Arena." In this number we have abbreviated editorial "Notes and Discussions" to make room for some of the matter which has accumulated for that department. As its name indicates, it is intended for free discussion and the interchange of opinion on topics of current importance. Among other uses it affords our readers an opportunity for commenting, in the way of suggestion, objection, correction, or otherwise, on what appears in our pages. To us it is most interesting, and we believe it is so to many others. Special efforts have been made to stimulate interest and participation in it. The effort has not been futile; more material has come in than we could find room for. One thing particularly desirable is that as large a number as possible be allowed participation in the "Arena." In order to this the contributions thereto

must all be brief. The original intention was, and the requisite thing is, that only short and pithy pieces be admitted. It is better that the privileges of the department be given to eight or nine persons in each number than to only three or four. Equity requires us to administer the *Review* so as to secure the rights, as well as serve the needs, of the greatest number.

Many a busy and hastening man, with quick and vivid thoughts astir in his tingling brain, can take time if he will to put down on paper a bright point or two, hot and instant, to make the pages of the "Arena" crackle and sparkle; when to study up, meditate, formulate, and polish a full, mature, and finished article is as impossible to him as to create new planets—made so by multifarious and incessant duties and demands, by the dancing of the doorbell, by the burden on his heart of the sick and the suffering and the sorrowing, by the undertaker's carriage waiting on the street, by the classes which he must keep up but cannot, by that villainous, scurrilous, dastardly anonymous letter, by the official meeting where the deficit is reported, by the fourth Quarterly Conference, where he wonders if anybody will criticise his administration or object to his being invited back for next year, by two sermons a week, prayer meeting talks, platform speeches, funeral addresses to be made fresh and varied and appropriate, keeping in sight of truth without hurting the feelings of the family, and by other things innumerable, the which if they were written the world would scarce contain the books. One diligent, faithful, and successful pastor said, "For twenty years I have done only one thing —get ready for next Sunday." He meant that his work as a minister had entirely absorbed his time and strength. A cultivated, but burdened, pastor from whom we recently solicited an article for the *Review* replied, "It is utterly impossible; it alone would mean weeks of heavy toil to me; I do not write easily; and I am already loaded to the water's edge with work."

The "Arena," for one thing, is intended to give us a chance to hear once in a long time from the busy, brainy, driving man, the man without any leisure, the man alive and alert. Somebody once said, "If I want anything done I go to a busy man for it." It is not difficult to perceive the sensible meaning in that saying, for he is apt to be the electric, incandescent man, the man with steam up, and what he does is likely to have fire and force, intensity and momentum, directness, edge, and incision. He is one of the men whom we especially invite to illuminate and electrify our *Review* by an occasional discharge of brain-force into the "Arena."

But what we set out to say, and have been detained from finishing by unexpected windings and entanglings of our thoughts, is that, inasmuch as only a limited number of pages can be reserved for the "Arena," it is necessary that would-be contributors to that department shall apply the condenser so as to make everything brief, terse, and sharp. *Five hundred or eight hundred words ought to be the limit.* This editorial note is written solely for the purpose of driving that point home like a nail in a sure place in the pure remembering minds of our esteemed and valued cothinkers and coworkers.

Incidentally here at the end, there is no harm in adding that what we have said of "Arena" communications applies similarly and proportionately to the contributed articles which occupy the front of the *Review.* An article filling ten or twelve printed pages has a far better chance of insertion and of an early appearance than one claiming sixteen or eighteen pages; and this, not because of any idiosyncrasy, narrowness, unfairness, or infirmity of the editorial mind, but for the plain, mechanical, kindergarten reason that five gallons cannot be put in a one-gallon jug. This may as well be the place to say, also, that no manuscript sent to any periodical should be rolled, but always folded flat.

An unpleasant and deplorable discussion has arisen about the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the sweetest and sacredest rite of our holy religion. Whether one cup or two or four or more be used matters as little as whether the Holy Grail be a jeweled goblet or a wooden bowl, except that the use of individual cups now, following this discussion, is suggestive to the communicant of uncomfortable thoughts about his neighbors. The regrettable thing is that, without sufficient necessity, as we view the matter, a sacred ceremony should have been made to seem for the moment disgusting to the imagination of millions of worshipers. The commotion and outcry are absurd, because out of all proportion to the reasons given in justification of the disturbance. The danger, which is portrayed in a way to excite a panic among the nervous, is enormously exaggerated. The alarmists have few facts with which to paint their frightful picture. Administering the sacrament monthly in eleven pastorates, we have not known one case in which it was whispered or suspected that disease had been conveyed by the communion cup; and, in all the congregations we have known or known about, only one person ever, to our knowledge,

uttered a word indicating that the possibility was so much as thought of. In lifelong interchange of ideas and experiences with ministers of all denominations, we have not heard from one of them a suggestion that he had ever thought of the sacramental cup as dangerous or offensive.

The proportion of peril in this occasional observance with bread and wine, compared with the constant risks to life and health in other ways, is infinitesimal and not worth the unseemly agitation which has been raised. The effort to protect human life from infection should first be applied in numberless other places where the danger is immensely greater, before it interferes with the administration of a sacrament and busies itself about the altar rail and the communion cup. For one thing, the proper ventilation and regulation of temperature in churches, protecting people from draughts and from foul air loaded with poisons, is a much more urgent necessity. It is far within the bounds of truth to say that a thousand persons have died from going out of an overheated audience room into the cold outdoor air, for one that has been anyway injured by participating in the sacrament. Every day we jostle along with crowds on the sidewalks, we stop over night in hotels, occupy berths in boats and sleeping cars, ride in cabs, street cars, and ferryboats, not knowing what uncleanly, diseased, or infected person has preceded us or is now in close contact with us. We drink water wherever we happen to be thirsty, in entire ignorance whether its source be pure or impure. We sit at table and eat with relish, not knowing what foul hands have handled, first or last, the food before us. Life, in all its details, is an incessant exposure. Why make such an ado over the barely possible microscopic, infrequent, and mostly imaginary risk that may run round the rim of a communion cup?

It seems worth while to observe that the sort of arguments we have heard employed to make the common cup at communion offensive could as easily be used to make almost anything seem loathsome. By application of the same methods of reasoning and the aid of the microscope, we will undertake to make it impossible for anybody to eat his dinner, except under the sharp compulsion of emptiness and hunger, or without qualms of disgust. By such methods we can put under ban a mother's kiss on the lips of her babe; we will prove that she ought to be forbidden to hold her child in her arms, because the chemist says her breath is always and in every case a poisonous exhalation; and we will show that in order to prevent the propagation of disease the

Board of Health should be empowered to order a physical examination—physiological, chemical, and microscopic—of every person who in any way, directly or indirectly, comes in contact with any other person. We can make an equal argument for prohibiting all assemblies of human beings, for religious purposes or any other. We can show that no one should be allowed to enter a sick room, and that, for the safety of families and communities, it is necessary to invent a manikin that will act as nurse, so that the sick and dying may be cared for by machinery. As a measure of safety for each household, we can argue in favor of individual physicians, one for each family, because there is risk in a doctor's going from house to house in the practice of his profession, by reason of the possibility of his carrying contagion or germs of disease. And we could go on thus until human life would be so embargoed and quarantined as to be impossible.

It is not by exclusion and isolation that life can be preserved; its maintenance is not by shutting it up, as in a glass case, from all contacts. It is better to consent to breathe the same air with the fifteen hundred millions of earth's inhabitants than to withdraw into a vacuum. Intercourse and contact, with all their risks, are better than to prohibit intercourse by unnatural and excessively dainty restraints. Biology instructs us that all the time we are taking in pathogenic germs, microbes, bacteria, *bacilli*, and toxic elements of many kinds; we eat them, drink them, inhale them, absorb them; they breed and multiply in our bodies, in blood and tissue. Health is maintained, nevertheless, by the vital forces so long as the system manufactures antitoxines enough to neutralize the toxines. When the vital vigor falls to a point where there is no longer energy enough to resist and overcome the hostile germs, microbes, or elements, then, even if you protect it from ninety-nine dangers, it will, because of its own weakness, probably fall a victim to the one hundredth which you failed to shut out. When the life force is feeble the system succumbs, if not to one foe, then to some other. If we have undertaken to defend human life chiefly by preventing contact we are laying the emphasis of effort on the wrong end of the problem; we have taken a large contract; and the Lord's table is far from being the proper place to begin our sanitary reforms.

The effect on our minds of what seems to us an unnecessary and undesirable agitation has been like the putting of a loathsome toad in the baptismal font and a slimy and venomous reptile in the communion cup. Let us banish out of our minds the un-

wholesome thoughts that have been put there and, kneeling at the altar, think only of the momentous meaning of the solemn ceremony, of the broken body and shed blood of Him who loved us and gave himself for us. Let us make haste to wash our imagination clean from all ideas of defilement.

A FABLE OF ÆTNA.

When Ætna was young he was but a little hill. Placed in a semi-tropic scene in sunny Sicily, he fell to dreaming of more bracing climes and longed to visit higher latitudes. Breathed upon by tepid and indolent airs, swathed about by riotous exuberance of vegetation, surfeited with the colors and odors of orange trees, pomegranates, figs, almonds, mulberries and magnolias, washed by warm Calabrian waves, his soul sickened of sensuous luxury, and robust cravings rose in him for a sturdier life in more invigorating atmospheres. He wished he were not rooted fast, but like those little Bible hills that could skip like lambs, for then he would seek what he desired; he would travel away over the earth to visit the lands that lie under the light of the north star, south of the frosty pole. He would see the slender, sinewy, tapering cedars grow, and smell the resinous breath of the northern pines where they stand against the gray skies, "with the moan of the billows in their branches, and the snow furled, like sails, along their limbs." He would find the hardy growths that love long winters, and the frost-defying moss and lichens that endure and persist in regions of everlasting snow and ice; and, at last, his journeyings would bring him where he would behold the stern and spacious magnificence of white landscapes and frozen seas, in the far Arctic, under the rays of the low-circling sun. Dreaming thus longingly of the scenes and products and experiences of higher latitudes, satiated and dissatisfied with the excessive sweetness and softness of his low latitude, he tried to tug his feet loose from under the flowers; but they were fast and immovable in deep clefts of the rocks, as if earthquake gaps had closed and caught him in their trap.

Then he complained unto the distant heavens: "Why am I fastened in this narrow fate and sentenced to this languid life?" And God said: "Be patient and hear the word of the Lord. For a purpose I have appointed your place and planted you where you are. I mean that you shall hereafter hold a torch to light the Mediterranean straits, where the currents swirl and sweep between Scylla and Charybdis. You will yet be, by day and night, a far-

seen landmark for ships to steer by. Lift your head higher, that you may fulfill your commission loftily. Grow toward the greatness of your task. As for the fruits and experiences of more tonic and rigorous climes which you so much desire to taste and feel, trouble not yourself about them; only stand in your lot and place, aspire and rise heavenward, and all those climes shall come to you, empty their treasures in your lap, hang their products in festoons about your neck, and give you to drink of their clear, cold atmospheres. Seek them not, and they shall seek you. Your lot is broad enough; a higher life is what you need; elevation is the equivalent of wider range and will insure most eligible gains."

So Ætna, heeding the word of the Lord, became content to stay where God had put him; gave up the thought of going to seek the advantages of regions remote; more and more sought to look down on all such things, satisfied to do without them. He fixed his attention on the mission announced for him—to be a light and a landmark—and began to build himself up from the level of his semitropic foothold, with a purpose to be equal to his task and an effort to fulfill Heaven's ideal for his life. And as he rose God rewarded him at the proper level by hanging on his rising flanks the vegetation of the higher temperate latitudes. And then later, when the aspiring hill grew to the height and dimensions of a mountain, God belted his rugged strength with a thick growth of tough cedars and tall fir trees; and still above that, as Ætna lifted his ambitious head into the sky, there was buckled about his neck a collar of mosses and lichens, set with frost-jewels; so that he wore the arctic zone, like a muffler, around his throat. Then winds from Iceland came and quenched the laboring mountain's thirst with draughts of air cool as a glacier's breath. And at last, ten thousand feet aloft, the glittering white snow that never melts crowned Ætna's aspiring head with the dazzling purity of the pole, and he breathed continually the atmosphere of the zone that was farthest from his footing and apparently most inaccessible.

God had said to the little Sicilian hill, longing restlessly for a different experience and wider ranges of earthly knowledge and possession, "Seek rather the realms that are above, and all these outlying, low-lying things, however distant, shall be added unto you." And Ætna got them all simply by obeying God. He gave himself entirely to upward aspiration and endeavor; and when he dreamed not of such things and had almost forgotten that he ever desired them or complained to Heaven because he had them not,

then one by one all the latitudes, from Cape Spartivento to Siberia, from Africa to Nova Zembla, came down to bring him their gifts and hang their rich panniers upon his rising shoulders. Thus, Ætna stands conspicuous and acknowledged, the one complete, symmetric, perfect mountain in Europe, wearing all zones in order, one above the other, on his slopes.

MORAL.

Be ye therefore likewise perfect. Life lacks not breadth so much as height. Not wide-wandering desire, but a noble ambition for excellence and fidelity is the secret of attainment and the guide to greatest gain. Keep your base, stay in your place, aim at the zenith, aspire, strive, build heavenward. Rise to the level of duty, live loftily. Then far realms will make pilgrimage to lay their best gifts in the lap of such a life, and a stainless splendor crown its head sublime.

THE PENALTY OF A HIGH STANDARD.

RENAN, in his latest writings, said, "Christianity has raised our pretensions too high; it has rendered us too hard to satisfy." We cheerfully promote the publicity of the Frenchman's words, because nothing is more true, and nothing more clearly indicates the divine origin of our holy religion than that it tends to render those whom it instructs and imbues exceeding hard to please—unwilling, in fact, to put up with anything less than the best. Christ reveals and offers the most excellent, and means that no individual or community shall be content with what is inferior. The transcendent excellence of Christianity is perceived by discerning minds of every sort—by the sagacious practical sense of Benjamin Franklin, who said, "Christ's system of morals and his religion, as he left them to us, are the best the world ever saw or is likely to see;" and by the acute intellectual in sightof Goethe, who wrote, "The human mind will never transcend the height and morality of Christianity, as it shines in the Gospel." The superlative ideals which Jesus presents are intentionally subversive of a low contentment and promotive of deep dissatisfaction with the world as it is. Man's capacity for a noble discontent is the badge of his rank; and the pain of it is blissful because, as John Stuart Mill once wrote, "It is better to be a dissatisfied man than a satisfied hog."

It is not uncommon to hear complaints that Christian civilization is unchristian, often with an inference added that Christian civiliza-

tion is a failure. There are some aspects of the case deserving more attention than they receive. One of these is the high, ideal demand which Christianity makes upon society, together with the strength of desire it creates and encourages. It would be easy for us to fill out the ideal of a wild Indian's life. With a very small fraction of our resources, we could make the natives of Arabia, Egypt, or Kamchatka, perhaps, perfectly content. Our problem is a more difficult one. An intelligent Zulu recently said to a missionary: "You missionaries trouble us. Before you came our wives got food out of the ground for us and brought us children and cattle. You make us give up our wives, our beer, cattle for our daughters, and want us to spend money for clothes, books, and preachers. Life was easy before. You make it very hard." Men in Christian civilization have enormous and numerous wants. They want the material and social privileges of cities—paved, lighted, policed, and filled with every means of transport; wish to be kept in communication with the rest of the world by telegraphs, newspapers, steamships, and railroads. And, whether in the city or out of it, people want abundance, refinements, luxuries, a relative degree of ease and independence. Our beggars and tramps must fare as well as African or Indian princes.

Furthermore, from all the physical and moral dangers of city life we are required to protect perfectly, not only those who live in the city, but, also, all those who float through it transiently on the free tide of travel. All that goes wrong in this artificial, congested, excited, and heated life is charged up to Christian civilization, and Christian people take it to heart and bear it as a burden on their consciences. If an evil grows up we publish it, describe it, pursue it; and this process of exposing and fighting a noxious growth makes prominent the evil, so that the quiet and unobtrusive good is unnoticed. We count lost womanhood by hundreds and thousands, and forget the millions who have not erred. Our high ideal pursues us and keeps us always saying, "Not as though we had already attained;" and this is decidedly and distinctively Christian. No pagan or Mohammedan community is troubled in this way. You hear nothing in their life about crusades against moral or physical uncleanness; and, by a curious freak of lame logic, maneuvering on the parade ground of an extensive ignorance, some skeptics argue that those peoples sitting contented in moral pollution are free and clean from all "filthiness of the flesh and spirit;" while, on the other hand, the movements we organize for the removal of detected evil in our

Christian communities are made, forsooth, to prove that we are worse than the pagan peoples.

All this is a price our religion requires us to pay. It forbids boasting about the ninety-nine safe in the fold ; it sends us out into the night in search of the one lost sheep and fixes our thought and striving upon that search. We need not boast; but we do need to remember that it is partly because our ideal is so high that we fall short of it. It is not any measure of falling short that shall condemn us. It is only resting satisfied and refusing to strive for the better result ; it is ceasing to search for the lost sheep, after the manner of lower and unchristian civilizations; it is only a refusal to press toward the mark of our exceptionally high calling, that can bring merited reproach and real failure. So long as the superlative ideal is kept in view and the high calling is pursued, we will be keenly conscious of every evil that disfigures our life and obstructs our social, political, and religious progress ; and we will make the evil conspicuous and converge public attention upon it and appeal to moral sentiment and disturb the guilty slumbers of indifference, while we loudly proclaim our resolute and unalterable purpose to war against disgraceful wickedness until it be driven out.

The point we here emphasize is that our self-reproach and the complaints of unfriendly and unfair critics make a part of the penalty we pay for having a high standard. The loss of such complacency as might come to us from favorable comparison with other peoples is another part of our penalty. But it is good for us to endure this kind of penance. We have a great goal to attain, and we cannot sit down to count in comfort the milestones behind us. We would renounce our ideal, abjure our faith, and cease to press toward the mark if we should ever, as Christian men and women, come to a stop in the sacred endeavor to establish here that kingdom of God under whose scepter and sway his will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven. The use of a milestone is for us to prove by passing it that we are moving on and up. It is better for society, as for the individual, to be more alive to what is yet to be done than to yesterday's achievement. Concentrate all thought and zeal on the evils that remain to be uprooted and cast out. They ought to loom large and threatening before our vision, and our souls be so appalled and incensed that the leap and rush and onset of to-morrow's assault upon the fortresses of wickedness shall make our most strenuous past endeavors seem but feeble. Let the heathen rage and unchristian critics imagine

and assert vain things, if God sets his King upon our holy hills; if always, in all our self-reproach and lashings of conscience, we find yet some strength to make a clean throne for our King.

But these things do not constitute the whole penalty. Another part is that, in the conflict with evil, we must forever be at school under the tutorship of experiment and experience, daily finding out and confessing that we have not fully mastered our lesson. How to fight the wickedness, kill it, exterminate the seeds of it; how to keep a new evil from starting up where the old one has been torn out by the roots; how to devise and institute forms of the wholly harmless and helpful that shall supplant and fill the place of things at least partially hurtful; how to find and recover our lost sheep on the dark, wild, dreadful, wolf-infested mountains—this is the problem over which we must study and brood and pray and experiment and fail and try again. It were so easy to let it all go and be heedless and indolent and selfish, were it not for the beautiful and lofty and exacting Christian ideal. It is so hard to be forbidden to let anything go, to be buckled tight to our task and incessantly prodded to press forever toward the high mark set yonder on the holy hills.

Beyond any day that ever dawned before, this is a time for Christian men and women to be observant, studious, solicitous—exploring to collect and collate facts, accumulating statistics and digesting them to extract their significance, probing the slums of cities, investigating country regions, as the Evangelical Alliance and other agencies are doing, and watching the gates of immigration to ascertain the location, magnitude, nature, and disposition of the forces of evil; and then, without fastidious shrinking, timidity, or bondage to old methods, to adapt means to ends with ingenuity and sagacity, like that which worldly-wise men show in practical affairs.

The last half century has made a new world—new in its material and mechanical conditions, its intellectual conceptions, attitudes, and methods, its social order and organization—every way different from that which existed fifty years ago. The mill hand, the walking delegate, the vicious, multitudinous, and irreducible immigrant, the anarchist, the sweat shop, and the vast corporation are a few of the new elements which complicate, irritate, and aggravate social, civil, and industrial problems. Human souls and bodies have higher possibilities, but also deeper dangers, than ever before. Past experience affords no wisdom adequate to the moral tasks of to-day. Christian invention, enterprise, and effort must be upon

the scale of the new conditions of this altered world. The requirement of our Master, that we shall meet and match the new demand, makes us sorely conscious that we have not yet learned how to apply Christian principles to the perfect subduing and coordinating of the harsh and discordant elements of human life. Yet the pain of our imperfect wisdom shall not make us shrink from the high calling—so high that we cannot glory in any past, however worthy and successful, nor consent to any condition in which even a remnant of wickedness exists. Our duty is to follow the white and lofty standard that is borne at the front. When we hear the sneering taunt that Christian civilization is a failure we resolve to toil and fight, until that charge shall be so obviously and glaringly false that decency will constrain the makers of it to take it back; and, with a Christlike love for sinful men, a settled and implacable animosity toward vice and iniquity, and a determination as rigid as the dogged desperation of wickedness itself, we fix our eyes upon the banner of our divine ideal and march on. We will learn from our blunders and organize victory on the field of our defeat.

In part, the humiliation and chagrin with which our high standards overwhelm us are the penalty we pay for being Christian men and women. They are, also, the token and the measure of man's capacity for nobleness, a trace of his heavenly heredity, and a prophecy of his destiny. We derive somewhat from Adam's Father.

> Rejoice we are allied
> To That which doth provide
> And not partake, effect and not receive!
> A spark disturbs our clod;
> Nearer we hold of God
> Who gives, than of his tribes that take, I must believe.
>
> Then welcome each rebuff
> That turns earth's smoothness rough,
> Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand, but go!
> Be our joy three parts pain!
> Strive, and hold cheap the strain;
> Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!
>
> For thence—a paradox
> Which comforts while it mocks—
> Shall life succeed in that it seems to fail:
> What I aspired to be,
> And was not, comforts me:
> A brute I might have been, but would not sink i' the scale.

THE ARENA.

"DIVINE REVELATION."

THE article under the above title by the Rev. J. T. Chaffee, D.D. (*Methodist Review* for January–February), calls for more than a hasty reading; and this, not merely because of the acceptable statement of important truths which it contains, but especially because of the inferences which the writer suggests or quite directly declares. A prominent, if not the chief purpose of the writer, apparently, is to prove that divine revelation is a fact of the present day. This purpose makes itself most clear and emphatic in the closing paragraphs. "The canon, whether rightly or wrongly, is closed," says the doctor; "but let us devoutly thank God that the revelation continues." Ministers and others, it is rather vehemently argued, may act and speak as inspired men. In short, the doctrine earnestly advocated is that of a continuous, present-day inspiration. The statements upon that point lead me to raise the following questions:

I. Just what does the writer mean by present-day inspiration? Does he mean what the apostle meant when he exhorted Christians to "be filled with the Spirit," or that ministers and others, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, may be assured of the validity of the contents of special divine revelation, as found in the Holy Scriptures, and may be divinely aided in understanding and unfolding and applying those Scriptures? Does he mean what Christian theology has commonly held and taught with regard to the general revelation which God has made and is still making to the world, through history and in other ways? Or does he mean that divine revelations on a parity with those of the Scriptures are still being given forth—that, in the same sense and with the same fullness of authority, men of the present day may be inspired as were the writers of the Holy Scriptures? This is a timely question; for the matter under consideration is one upon which ambiguous general statements or incorrect statements are, especially at the present time, very dangerous. One of the ways in which the attempt is being made to relatively weaken the authority of Scripture revelation is by magnifying beyond all proper proportion the importance and authority of present-day religious thinking. A short time after the death of Philips Brooks, at one of the great memorial services held in his honor, one of the speakers, a prominent representative of the new theology, said, "We were discussing inspiration, when, lo, an inspired man stood before us!" Was it necessary, in order to pay a fitting tribute to the great preacher, that he should be assigned to the same rank with the prophets and the apostles? Dr. Chaffee writes of present-day inspiration as if he were seeking to correct a prevailing misapprehension or endeavoring to establish a proposition not generally accepted by the Christian Church. This makes the question only the more urgent as to the sense in which he uses his terms.

II. For what purpose are "the men of old," through whom God spoke to the world as the mediums of special revelation, referred to by Dr. Chaffee as "'earthen vessels,' and very earthen at that?" Why assert so stoutly the immeasurable superiority, "as specimens of Christian manhood," of the men of the present day for whom he would claim inspiration? This is a part of his argument for present-day revelation. It would be to the point, and somewhat refreshing, to have a few of our contemporaries mentioned who are "better" than the prophets and the apostles—"better men" than Moses or Isaiah or Jeremiah, "immeasurably superior, as specimens of Christian manhood," to Paul and Peter and John. True it is that, in the earlier part of his article, the doctor speaks of "the supreme revelation," as "found in one book and one Person." And near the close he reverts to the familiar idea of additional light breaking forth from God's word. But, just before this he declares, "No age ever more needed direct and immediate contact of God with men than this." Now, if such "immediate contact" is needed in the sense and for the purpose that he implies, why seek for "additional light" from the word of God, first brought to the world by such very "earthen vessels" so many centuries ago? And why refer to the Bible as containing the "supreme revelation," if there are now "better men" than the prophets and apostles—living teachers through whom God is pleased to communicate directly his truth and will? What is the logic of this effort to belittle the inspired men of old and to magnify the inspired men of the present time? Does the Bible, after all, contain the "supreme revelation?"

III. What is included in the doctor's reference to the faith of the past? He says that the more important question is, not "What have men taught and believed?" but "What ought we to teach and believe now? We cannot live on the past any more than we can do without it. We cannot bolt it down without discrimination. A wise eclecticism will reject of it, as well as receive from it; and progress will depend quite as much on what is rejected as on what is received." As a description of the attitude we should hold when studying the writings or teachings of men who have lived since the days of the apostles this statement may do fairly well. But "the past" is a term which goes farther back than that. And the subject under discussion is "divine revelation." Therefore, the question is pertinent and important, What does the writer include under the past? Does he refer to such men as Calvin, Arminius, Augustine, and Athanasius, to Church councils and synods, to makers of theologies and creeds? Or does he include the prophets and apostles also? There appears to be some reason for thinking the latter to be the case, for very soon we find him speaking of Jesus as "the one inerrant Teacher." If that appellation is correct, then the apostles were not inerrant. They were not, then, as has been held so long, set apart and inspired so as to make their message peculiarly authoritative. The proper way in which to treat their writings is that of "wise eclecticism." They belong to "the past," which we cannot bolt down "without discrimination." What about "the faith which was once delivered unto the saints?" Can we look to any one of

the apostles for it? But let us cherish the hope that the writer did not mean the apostles or the prophets, and that his reference to the faith of the past only includes the theologians and creed makers. Then the question arises as to their inspiration. If revelation is continuous did they not have the same kind and measure of inspiration that men have to-day? We practice eclecticism upon them. But it is only fair to let them also practice eclecticism upon us. This claim for continuous revelation is a two-edged sword, which cuts both ways.

IV. "The canon, whether rightly or wrongly, is closed, but let us devoutly thank God that the revelation continues." Why "wrongly?" What does the use of the word in that connection mean? Is there doubt in the writer's mind as to the rightful closing of the canon of Holy Scripture? The suggestion is too strong to be overlooked. But "the revelation continues;" and, if so, it is easy to infer that truths in addition to those contained in the Scriptures, and just as important and authoritative, are continually being brought by revelation within the knowledge of men. The doctrine of the sufficiency of the Scriptures must, then, be set aside, and the Scriptures, such as they are, must be dealt with in the light of the newer revelations of to-day. But when this is proposed or suggested it is well to remember three facts: 1. The great need of the present generation is precisely that of the many generations which have preceded. It is not that some new revelation shall be made from heaven, but that men shall accept and practice upon the revelation they possess already. The Scriptures are able to make us wise "unto salvation;" and the salvation is not only for individuals, but also for society. There is no problem of life so complex as not to find its solution if the religious and ethical doctrines plainly taught in the Scriptures be only believed and applied. To hold up before men the idea that new light is greatly needed is only too apt to turn the minds of men away from the abundant light they already have. The vague hope of new light may also deaden conscience and defer the day of better things. 2. During all the centuries that have passed since the days of the apostles, among all the rich products of Christian thought, there has not appeared a single volume that is permitted by the intelligent judgment of Christendom to take rank with the writings of the Old and New Testaments. Whatever the inspiration of these centuries has been, it has not added to the literature that is held sacred. This is a fact worthy of the consideration of those who unduly magnify present-day inspiration or proclaim the doctrine of continuous revelation. 3. This doctrine of continuous revelation, as quite commonly taught, is liable to bring into existence a class of exceedingly minor prophets, to say nothing of false ones.

ENSIGN MCCHESNEY.

White Plains, N. Y.

"OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD ROMAN CATHOLICS."

IN the March-April number of the *Methodist Review* there appeared a sweet-spirited article, "Our Attitude Toward Roman Catholics," written by H. K. Carroll, LL.D., religious editor of *The Independent*, New York

city. All who love the Saviour will truly enjoy Dr. Carroll's reference to the "spiritual meditations" of Thomas à Kempis, and will certainly admit that the Church of Christ need not expect to possess any "sweeter hymns" than "the Bernards" produced. If Thomas à Kempis and Bernard of Cluny and Bernard of Clairvaux had lived in the nineteenth century and pursued the noble course that Dr. Döllinger pursued they too, notwithstanding all their saintliness, would have been excommunicated.

The expressions that some controversialists apply to the head of the Roman Catholic Church, Dr. Carroll declares, "always make me shudder, as I would shudder at some shocking irreverence or awful blasphemy." Mr. Gladstone, in his work, *Speeches of Pope Pius IX*, page 6, invites attention to the fact that the predecessor of the present pope claimed to be "the living Christ." Such "awful blasphemy" as this "always makes me shudder."

Dr. Carroll says: "Quotations from the Catholic press have been offered as proof of the assertion that the 'throne on the Tiber' is likely to be set up 'on the Potomac,' and that the 'manifest object of the papacy is the subversion of our free institutions.' One of the quotations is alleged to be from *The Western Watchman*, a Catholic weekly of St. Louis. It is as follows: "We would draw and quarter Protestantism; we would impale it and hang it up for crows' nests; we would tear it with pincers and fire it with hot irons; we would fill it with molten lead and sink it into hell fire a hundred fathoms deep." The doctor adds: "I do not remember to have seen this sentence in Father Phelan's paper, which I have read faithfully many years."

In *The Christian Advocate*, New York, June 9, 1887, the following editorial tells its own story:

"HE CONFESSES IT.

"At the meeting of the Maine Conference Chaplain McCabe exhibited to us the following extract:

"'*The Western Watchman*, a Roman Catholic paper published in St. Louis, says: "PROTESTANTISM.—*We would* DRAW *and* QUARTER *it. We would* EMPALE *and* HANG *it up for crows' meat. We would* TEAR IT WITH PINCERS *and* FIRE IT WITH HOT IRONS. *We would* FILL IT WITH MOLTEN LEAD *and sink it in a* HUNDRED FATHOMS OF HELL FIRE."'

"We expressed doubt as to its having appeared exactly as quoted, and requested the chaplain to write to the editor of *The Western Watchman*. He did so, and the editor returned the extract with this sentence added, 'But would not lay an ungentle hand on a hair in a Protestant's head,' and then wrote: 'That is the sentence in full. E. S. PHELAN.' Well, the Roman Catholic Church never changes. We would hate to trust ourselves in many a country in this world in the hands of a man, belonging to an infallible Church, the Church of St. Bartholomew and the *auto-da-fé*, whose rhetoric would reach so sanguinary a height as this. We fear that, to make sure of drawing and quartering Protestantism, and of impaling and hanging it up for crows' meat, of tearing it with pincers and firing it with hot irons, it would be conceived to be the best way to sub-

ject Protestants to all these things. It is a singular fact that every figure of speech in this extract finds historic illustration in the methods and instruments of the Inquisition."

Dr. Carroll asks the following questions: "If our own republic were ever intolerable to the holy see, why were [Roman] Catholics allowed to assist in establishing it?" "If our [Roman] Catholic countrymen are disloyal, why have we never, in all our history, caught them in disloyal acts?" "I say again, if [Roman] Catholics are enemies of our government, in what single act have they shown their hostility?" Dr. Carroll in his article answers one question by asking another. I shall pursue the same method.

Was the head of the Roman Catholic Church in the last century a friend of the struggling colonists in their long and desperate struggle for the establishing of American Independence? At the Academy of Music, New York, Sunday evening, January 22, 1888, the Rev. Dr. McGlynn—after inviting attention to the fact that Monsignor Quarantotti, when secretary of the Propaganda, in one of his letters to the English cabinet, said: "Roman Catholics would not rebel against his gracious majesty, King George III, as witness the significant fact that in the recent unfortunate rebellion in America it was the Protestant colonies that rebelled, while the Catholic colony of Canada remained faithful to his gracious majesty"—commented before an immense audience of Irish Roman Catholics on this utterance of Monsignor Quarantotti as follows: "That shows what the Roman machine would have done if it could. It would have made impossible our glorious American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence."

Was the head of the Roman Catholic Church in the present century a friend of the struggling Unionists in their long and desperate struggle for the preservation of the American Union? Is it not true that on December 8, 1863, Pope Pius IX wrote a letter to Jefferson Davis that was intended to "grace the archives of the executive office" of the Confederacy "in all coming time?" Is it not true that our civil war "was planned and promoted by Jesuits?" If there are any who think not, let them remember that Lord Robert Montagu—who for several years was on terms of very close intimacy with many distinguished Jesuits, a highly esteemed friend of Cardinal Manning, and also of the pope himself, to whom Mr. Gladstone applied the language, "champion of the Papal Church," and who returned to the Protestant Church in 1882, assigning as his reason, "The shock which I experienced at the discovery of the gross immoralities of the Romish priests, and then the knowledge that the prelates of Rome taught the doctrine of rebellion, excused dishonesty and murder, fomented agitations, disregarded the sacred and binding character of oaths, and were always carrying on political intrigues"—said, in a letter which I received from him some years ago, "I know, from personal experience in 1863, that your great war, by which you lost thousands of brave citizens and immense capital, was planned and promoted by Jesuits." Is it not true that Pius IX was the only European ruler that

officially recognized the Southern Confederacy as an independent government? Is it not true that this Roman pontiff, in his letter to Jefferson Davis, insultingly designated those who were battling for our beloved republic, "The other peoples of America and their rulers?" Is it not true that, in the very heat of this life and death struggle, the spiritual ruler of the Roman Catholics interfered in the civil affairs of "our own republic" by appointing the archbishops of New York and New Orleans as arbitrators to settle our national difficulties? Is it not true that, after Pius IX had addressed Jefferson Davis as "illustrious and honorable President," and besought "the God of mercy and pity to shed abroad upon you the light of his grace, and attach you to us by a perfect friendship," the enlistment among the Roman Catholics almost entirely ceased and "our [Roman] Catholic countrymen" became hostile to the war? It is true that some Roman Catholics fought most bravely in what the secretary of the Propaganda called "the recent unfortunate rebellion in America"—and may their names be had in everlasting remembrance!—but let it not be forgotten that historians are a unit in asserting that an exceedingly vital factor in bringing to a successful issue the American Revolution were the Protestant Scotch-Irish.

Is it not true that on January 1, 1888, the late Monsignor Preston preached a sermon in the city of New York, in which he asserted that every word that comes from the pope is "the voice of the Holy Ghost," and declared, "The man who says, 'I will take my faith from Peter, but I will not take my politics from Peter,' is not a true [Roman] Catholic?" Every word that the pope utters—the man who guides the movements of "the Roman machine"—is "the voice of the Holy Ghost;" and the "machine" which he guides, "if it could, would have made impossible," not only "our glorious American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence," but also the abolition of slavery and the preservation of our republic.

The religious editor of *The Independent* suggests, "We should strive to divest ourselves of our prejudices against [Roman] Catholics and the [Roman] Catholic Church"—a suggestion that should receive prompt and prayerful attention. If true to ourselves we must remember the Saviour's command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and we must endeavor to realize that our "neighbor" includes every human being, no matter what the color of his skin or his religious or political creed may be. "Strive to divest ourselves of our prejudices against... the [Roman] Catholic Church!" After reading these words of Dr. Carroll many exclaimed, "How can we? Did she not burn our fathers at the stake? Has she truly repented of her evil deeds?" While I will not quote the lines that Milton breathed into the listening ear of God when his soul was stirred with holy indignation at the awful crimes of faithful servants of that Church, who "rolled mother with infant down the rocks," yet I do rejoice with joy unspeakable that he who said to Hezekiah, "I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears," did not only "wipe away all tears" from the eyes of those mothers and infants, but did also in his book record their groans.

I will shut my eyes upon that terrible past; I will confine myself to these closing years of the nineteenth century; I will let the Church of Rome tell her own story. As a preface to that story, let me ask if "Impossible! Impossible!" would not be the answer earnest, devout souls in all the Protestant Churches would give to the following question: Would it be possible to find a Roman Catholic Church paper in the United States that would actually incite its readers to murder Protestant missionaries? There lies before me while I write *The New York Freeman's Journal* of September 24, 1887; and on page 4, column 5, I find an editorial in which the editor, after making reference to the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church concerning the command, "Thou shalt not kill," says, "We would esteem him a social benefactor who would kill one or two of the missionary correspondents of *Zion's Herald* and other zealous sheets." The editor of *The Freeman's Journal* continues: "If the killing of a few missionaries of this kind would keep others like them at home we should almost—we papists are so wicked—be inclined to say, 'On with the dance, let joy be unconfined.'" In one of the greatest papers edited in the English language there appeared, about two weeks later, an editorial entitled, "The Killing of Protestants in Mexico." It may be that this editorial, found on page 11, column 3, of *The Independent* of October 6, 1887, was penned by the religious editor of that paper, Dr. H. K. Carroll. In that editorial the assassination of native Protestants is brought to view. Who can read unmoved the following sentences from *The Independent*? "The narrative of this horrible affair, as given by a reputable Presbyterian missionary, the Rev. J. M. Greene, has been widely published, and it could hardly have escaped the attention of our [Roman] Catholic contemporaries. As the case now stands the crime of murder lies at the door of the [Roman] Catholic Church in Mexico, a priest being directly and a bishop indirectly concerned in it. It is not the first time that Protestants have been murdered by [Roman] Catholics in Mexico. We have sometimes thought that the killing of Protestants is not regarded as a crime across the Texas border." *The Independent* adds, in commenting on that bloodthirsty editorial in *The Freeman's Journal*: "This, we suppose, is meant for fun. If so it is very ghastly fun. Murder is not a funny subject except among savages and red-handed wantons; and the spirit of indignation which breathes in every line of this remarkable extract makes of it a very serious joke indeed. We doubt if Father Vergara and his bishop will see in it anything but warm approval of their method of ridding their diocese of Protestants. To incite to murder, even in fun, is regarded as a crime in civilized countries. We did not suppose that any constituency in this country, except that, possibly, of the anarchist press, would enjoy such reading as that which we have quoted from the editorial columns of *The Freeman's Journal*. We beg to remind *The Freeman's Journal* that the great body of citizens of the United States are non-Catholics; that no small proportion of them are strongly prejudiced against the Roman Catholic Church; that many still identify the [Roman] Catholicism of today with the [Roman] Catholicism which produced the Inquisition; that

many believe that the Church of Rome is still the foe of liberty of conscience, and would, if it had the power, treat Protestants in the United States as it treats them in Mexico and Spain." JOHN LEE.

Evanston, Ill.

THE TESTIMONY OF JOSEPHUS CONCERNING CHRIST.

IN the March–April number of the *Review* Dr. S. L. Bowman, in an article on "Josephus and Jesus," brings forward about all the arguments that can be alleged for the genuineness of the famous passage in Josephus concerning Christ. But it must be borne in mind that we are not limited to the determination of the question whether the passage is genuine or spurious, for there is another alternative. May it not be partly genuine and partly spurious? This seems to us to be the real state of the case.

That great critic and Church historian, Dr. Gieseler, remarks that this passage "is regarded with the greatest probability as genuine, but interpolated." * He quotes the whole passage, putting in brackets the parts supposed to be interpolated:

Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἀνήρ [εἴγε ἀνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή· ἦν γάρ] παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, [διδάσκαλος ἀνθώπων τῶν σὺν ἡδονῇ τἀλαθῆ δεχομένων], καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο. [Ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν.] Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου οὐκ ἐξεπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες. [Ἐφάνη γαρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια εἰρηκότων.] Εἰέτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον.

Omitting the passages that are bracketed, we may translate the supposed genuine parts as follows: "At this time lives Jesus, a wise man, a doer of wonderful works. He won over to himself both many of the Jews and many also of the Grecian people. And when Pilate had condemned him to the cross, through the charges brought against him by the first men amongst us, those who at first loved him did not cease [to love him]. Still, at the present time, the class of Christians named from him has not failed [died out]." In the same way Tholuck regards the passage, and remarks, "We inclose in brackets the passages which the more recent critics consider an interpolation." Again, "It suffices us to call attention to 'the doer of wonderful works,' which rightly is left unattacked by criticism." †

Renan remarks on the testimony of Josephus: "I believe the passage concerning Jesus is authentic as a whole. It is altogether in the style of Josephus, and if this historian has made mention of Jesus it is, indeed, just as he should have spoken of him. One feels only that a Christian hand has retouched the piece by adding some words without which it might have been almost blasphemous." ‡ That Josephus, a Jew, should

* *History of the Church*, p. 68.
† *Glaub. Evan. Geschichte*, pp. 73, 74.
‡ *Vie de Jesus, Introduction*, pp. xl, xli.

speak of Christ as a worker of miracles is not strange when we remember that Celsus, who attacked Christianity in the second century went, among the Jews and gathered up everything they had to say about Christ, and thereupon affirmed that Christ went down into Egypt and, having acquired certain miraculous powers there, returned to Palestine, and on account of these powers he announced himself as a God. (Origen, *Contra Celsum*). Rabbi Levy, in his Chaldee lexicon, quotes a passage from the Talmud in which the Jews assert that Christ was put to death because, by his magic, he had led Israel astray.

HENRY M. HARMAN.

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THE YOUNG MAN IN WHITE AT THE SEPULCHER OF JESUS.

Is it "not without plausibility," as Dr. William North Rice, following the Rev. Dr. Furness, suggests in the March-April *Methodist Review*, "that the 'young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment,' may have been no other than Jesus himself?" Having read with special interest the scholarly, somewhat unique, and satisfactory article of my long-known and highly-esteemed friend, Professor Rice, I was not a little surprised that he should give favor to the notion of Furness, as stated in the footnote on page 184 of the *Review*. Twenty years ago the then pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Kalamazoo, Mich., expressed to me, at his home, the same idea. As I then thought so I now think, that there is no plausibility in the conjecture, and for the following reasons:

I. According to Mark xvi, 1-9, the three women who brought spices for the anointing of the body of Jesus went together to the tomb to complete the work begun by another on the preceding Friday. The "young man" whom they saw "sitting on the right side, arrayed in a white robe" (Revised Version), said to them, "Ye seek Jesus, the Nazarene, which hath been crucified: he is risen; he is not here [*ὧδε*]"—that is, not "here in this place," as the word means after a verb of rest. With one only exception, this adverb is always rendered in the New Testament either "here" or "hither," as the drift of thought requires. The risen Jesus, if sitting there visible and closely contiguous to the place where he had lain, could not have thus spoken in reference to himself, except to deceive those noble women.

II. Had the "young man" meant to be understood that Jesus was not in the particular place (*τόπος*) where he had lain, he would have used, pointing his hand, some such word as *ἐκεῖ*, *there*, as in verse 7, or *ἐκεῖθεν*. He spoke definitely, with no disguise, "He is risen; he is not here [*ὧδε*]. . . . Go, tell his disciples and [even] Peter, He goeth before you into Galilee: there [*ἐκεῖ*] shall ye see him." Though our Lord spoke obscurely at times, and though he did not immediately make himself known to the two disciples on their way to Emmaus, he never deceived any of his followers, as he did if the "young man" was "no other than Jesus himself."

III. The word ἰδε, here rendered "behold," is not a verb, but a particle of exclamation, meaning *lo!* Were it a verb, as some seem to think, the word rendered "place" (τόπος) would have been τόπον, in the clause, "Behold, the place where they laid him!" I take it, therefore, that the risen Jesus, were he then "sitting on the right side" of the sepulcher where he had lain, would not have thus trifled with the tender feelings of those solicitous, devout, and faithful women. He would not, then and there, have spoken of himself in the third person in the several clauses that announced his resurrection. Would he not have said, "I am risen; I am here; lo, the place where they laid me; I go before you into Galilee; there shall ye see me, as I said unto you?"

IV. Collating the several statements in the four gospels that set forth this beautifully instructive event, I am strengthened in the opinion that the notion of Dr. Furness is "without plausibility." Matthew says (xxviii, 2–10) that the young man of Mark was "an angel of the Lord descended from heaven." The appearance of the women and his conversation with them at the sepulcher are given in nearly the same words as in Mark. What is more, Jesus himself, not the angel, is said to have immediately "met them, saying, All hail." Narrating the same event, Luke says (xxiv, 2–7), "Two men stood by them [the same women] in dazzling apparel," who made the same announcement. John says (xx, 12) that Mary Magdalene beheld "two angels in white sitting, one at the head, and one at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain." Neither of these was the risen Jesus; for, while Mary was conversing with them, "she turned herself back, and beholdeth Jesus standing" elsewhere, who then tenderly addressed her, as narrated in the subsequent verses and in the words given by the other evangelists. The slight variations in these four accounts do not affect in the least the point under discussion. To me it seems that these narratives, taken together, show that the "young man" was not the risen Jesus.

BOSTWICK HAWLEY.

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THE HUMANITY OF CHRIST.

UNDER the above heading I find an article in the "Arena" of the November *Review* which sets forth some very strange things, in attempting to criticise a previous communication on the impeccability of Christ. A brief analysis of that article I herewith submit.

Christ was God "manifest in the flesh." He was both human and divine, though not in the sense of amalgamation; but he became the God-man by a mysterious alliance of the two natures. In the body prepared for the divine Son, which was begotten by the Holy Ghost, dwelt "all the fullness of the Godhead bodily." The number of times that Christ is mentioned by St. Matthew as "the Son of man" does not lessen the importance of the one instance where he is called "the Son of God." The humanity of Christ was not "the common humanity of his maternal ancestry;" for they from the beginning, except in the cases of Adam and Eve, had a human male progenitor, while the Saviour was begotten "of

the Holy Ghost." Nor was his humanity "liable to everything to which they were liable." He could not have been an idiot or cripple or leper; nor could he have been a liar or traitor or suicide or idolater. None of the inherited evils of human nature, either physical, mental, or moral, could have been his lot, except as he accepted them in his vicarious substitution, to make atonement for our sins. Adam and Eve were created, each by a peculiar method, and their descendants from the beginning were begotten by male progenitors; while our Saviour was begotten by the Holy Ghost and born of a virgin mother. Hence, the Saviour, as "the Son of man," was different from, if not superior to, Adam and Eve, and was superhuman and supernatural; for "he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they."

And it is a remarkable statement that Christ's humanity was "warped and biased and weakened by transmission through seventy-five generations of sinners." Will not the record show that the first family of the human race after the fall was as depraved as was the last that preceded the Messiah's advent? No Protestant of my knowledge holds that the mother of our Lord was immaculate; but the process of the Saviour's conception, all must believe, except those whose judgments are warped by error, was immaculate, as well as the Son of man himself. With reference to his temptations, had he been capable of yielding to temptation, of committing sin, he would have had no merit or grace to impart to those who are tempted. Being incapable of sinning, while at the same time bearing the weight of the race's guilt and woe, he was the more sympathetic and compassionate toward those who might sin or suffer.

Another misapprehension requires correction. It is in regard to our Saviour's sufferings. He experienced suffering in his earthly life—not to perfect any quality of his human character, but as an ordeal through which he was to finish, or perfect, the work that had been given him to do. The accomplishment of this work had been promised by the Father from the beginning of the world; and "this man . . . is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him," and is become "the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him." O, thou sinless, unsinning, and incapable of sinning Saviour, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, glory be to thy holy name! And let the Church of all ages say "Amen!"

B. F. Price.

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A TEST OF DOCTRINE.

To one not familiar with the facts in the case it would seem, after the theological controversies of the past, and because of the present great and constantly increasing opportunities for scholastic training and for contact with great teachers through their published works, that the absolute truth of divine things ought to be known, and that doubts and differences of opinion upon important points ought to be rare among those who deal professionally with the doctrines of our faith. But such is not the case. However reasonable and desirable such a consummation may seem,

as yet it is not realized. After ages of discussion and study, the main points of the old questions are still up for debate. To them are added many new problems or phases of old ones; and the debate promises to be endless. Nor is this, as some suppose, due entirely to denominational narrowness and bias or to any vagueness or ambiguity in the statements of Scripture, but, rather, to the individuality and independence of thinkers. Nothing is more natural than that each succeeding generation of thinkers, because in honesty they cannot accept truth at second hand, shall grind over the same old grist for themselves. The tendency of the working forces of different religious denominations toward unity upon fraternal grounds for charity's sake is only an apparent relinquishing of points in dispute. It is true that the Churches are getting more into line with the main purpose of Christianity and are marching on to the conquest of the world. Yet the same old theories for which, only yesterday, men excommunicated each other are still held and, in some form or other, are wrought into the various methods followed in the common conflict.

Thus, in the order of things, it comes to be the ever-present problem before every independent thinker, whether preacher or layman, "What is the truth in this or that matter." Nor do age and experience do more toward settling these inevitable questionings than to place at hand, for ready use, those products of study by which they may the more easily be satisfied. The writer acknowledges, after some years of ministerial life, in which he has honestly tried to settle beyond all doubt the various questions that have arisen, that not a lesson is studied, not a sermon is prepared, which does not involve the necessity of an arraignment and an examination of proofs. Perhaps this may be due to the constant necessity of making applications of old truths to new cases, as life leads out along apparently new thoroughfares. Perhaps it may be constitutional. But, whether the one or the other or somewhat of both, the confession is made. And now, to any who may be thus constrained for cause to frequently verify statements of truths, the following test of doctrine is suggested, which the writer testifies has in practice been helpful to him:

I am in this world for a purpose, which must never be lost sight of. From no choice of my own, I am set to the work of preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ. I can have nothing to do with what will not serve this purpose; and "I am determined not to know anything" among the people of this world "but Jesus Christ, and him crucified." To this must everything bend. The case is urgent; for "necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is me if I preach not the Gospel." Therefore, whatever doctrine, whatever phase of experience comes to notice, I must, and only need, ask, before placing it with others in the body of my individual creed, "Will it serve my purpose as a preacher of the Gospel for the salvation of souls?" In other words, "Will it 'preach well?'" It seems to me that I am not justified in following and teaching creeds because certain other men have followed and taught them. I am not in the business of creed saving, but of soul saving. Not the instinct of the churchman or the scholastic, but the instinct of the soul winner must lead. Let

creeds stand or fall as they may, let us save men first. Hence, if any statement be found in our standards of doctrine out of line with this purpose, why retain it? Still less, why use it? If any conclusion of scholarship be reached inharmonious with this, what have we to do with it? Ah, brother Calvinist, why should you preach the Gospel of a free salvation, and then, in order to be orthodox, declare that God hath decreed the names and number of the elect from all eternity? Brother Higher Critic, on the supposition that your findings are true, which seems to be matter of controversy, how much better instructed are the sheep under your care in the way of life, since you have demonstrated to them that the herbage in certain fields is not of the planting of Moses or Isaiah or Paul, as they have supposed? Brethren, test your doctrine by the great purpose of your calling—that you shall preach Christ for the saving of souls.

Evans, Colo. J. A. LONG.

THE CONTACT OF ISRAEL WITH ASSYRIA.

As touching the papers of Professor Rogers in the last *Review*, the following may serve the present purpose:

I. Smith is authority with Schrader, and the truth of what I quoted is not impugned. My skepticism as to Ululai, etc., rested on my ignored suggestion as to the subordination of the rulers listed in the Ptolemaic Canon.

II. The reader may decide as to the orthographic identity of the four-syllabled *A-kha-ab-bu* and the two-syllabled *Akh-'ab* (אַחְאָב). That a Hittite prince should bear this Semitic name is no marvel, since, in the same list, at the same battle, Baasha, of Amana, bears the same name as an earlier king of Israel. So Samsimuruna (not "Samaria"—see note p. 221, of the last *Review*), a place near Ekron (?), had a ruler named Menahem at a later date. The orthographic identity of *Sir-'-lai* and *Yis-ra-'el* (יִשְׂרְאֵל) is likewise submitted for a like decision.

III. That "Sir-ite" is the proper gentilic adjective from *Sir* is not disputed. But tacitly restoring the *l*, as dropped in the modernization of the ancient name, gives "Sirlite;" for, notwithstanding Dr. Rogers's too broad assertion, consonants, both initial and final, were "dropped" in the modernization of ancient Semitic names. For example, Thenath is now Thena; Pirathon, now Fer'ata; Gibeon, now El Jib; Horem, now Hurah; Nephin, now Enfeh; Ekron, now Akir; Aphek, now Fik; Hamath, now Hama or Hamah. Indeed, if *Sir-'-lai* stands for "Israel" (יִשְׂרְאֵל) it has dropped the consonant י (*yodh*). That "there is no *yodh* in Assyrian" is no valid reason for adding this syllable to the Assyrian word, by a mere assumption, therefore, assimilating it to the Hebrew name. It is this yodhless word, for which there is no claim that it ever is found elsewhere in the inscriptions, that, by the foisting in of this initial consonant and syllable, has caused the greatest part of the confusion in the chronology, this conjectural prefix making the name do duty

here which is elsewhere always performed by some other word or words. "The name Israel," writes Schrader, "does not occur in the inscriptions as a general term for the Israelites, nor does it, as a rule [nor anywhere else, even if here], appear as the name of the northern kingdom." He adds that it occurs only once, namely, "on the monolith where Ahab of Israel (?) is spoken of as '*Sir-lai*,' that is, "he of Israel"—the place in dispute.*

IV. The Israelite prefix *Jeho*, etc., seems to be represented in Assyrian by *Ja-u-a*, which I suggest is no more a personal name of the king than is "Pharaoh" or "czar" ("tsar") or "king" or "president," and is, therefore, read erroneously—alas!—for "Jehu" (יְהוּא).

V. Dadda-idri is, in no other translation that I have seen, called "king," that word not occurring in the Assyrian text.

VI. Jareb is accepted as a name of Tiglath, meaning "the struggler" or "the combatant." If, now, Tiglath did nothing before 745, when "he placed himself on the throne," why should he then be sarcastically nicknamed? Is it conceivable that a man could usurp a throne and not have made a grievous struggle commensurate with opposing force? If he took tribute from Menahem after he had gained undisputed sway, why did the biblical writer call him "Pul?" Why not "Tiglath?" How did the Israelite know that he was or had been called "Pul?" Is it conceivable that the discarded name "Pul" would be used by Tiglath or by his representatives in demanding tribute of Menahem? Why may not Tiglath have "contended," during the eighteen years from the revolt of Asshur, if Merodack-baladan could thus contend for thirty years? And why is not this theory, which antagonizes no record, as rational and credible as an assumption which absolutely discredits the positive statement of the biblical historian?

Other important points may wait, for a more full presentation and comparison of theories and results, for a larger space than a mere note. I now simply assert that my theory or solution has not yet found its "breakdown," and that I am set, not for the defense of the Ussherian system, but of the general integrity of the biblical and Assyrian historical dates and records. That there are errors in the Assyrian inscriptions is freely confessed by such writers as Schrader and Smith. But it more than ever appears to me that, in the conflict forced upon it, the biblical account will ultimately win. There will doubtless be cases in the decision of which there may be doubt; but in all doubtful cases the Hebrew should rightfully have the benefit of the doubt. To this benefit it seems entitled by the character of its civilization, the vast superiority of its moral and religious system, by the absence from its records of any self-glorification or boastfulness, and by its great care in the preservation of genealogical records. The necessity, too, is forced upon it by its expectations in the future. What now appear to be errors in both records may, perhaps, appear so by reason of some mistake in identification, unwarranted assumption, or other divergency from a true reading or interpretation.

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* *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, vol. i, p. 138.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE PASTORAL LETTER OF THE BISHOPS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

It is the habit of most ecclesiastical bodies at their great representative gatherings to issue a pastoral letter to those whom they represent and over whom they exercise spiritual oversight, expressing the views of the Church on matters of special interest and importance. In the Roman Catholic Church such a letter is sent forth by the pope from time to time, as in his judgment may be necessary.

It seems that a condition of things has arisen in the Protestant Episcopal Church which makes desirable a pastoral letter from the bishops of said Church in the interim of the meetings of their highest ecclesiastical body. This letter is very important, both because of its substance and because of its influence on a large and influential portion of the American people. The Protestant Episcopal Church allows to its clergy and people large liberty in matters of faith; and, hence, the appearance of such a document is highly suggestive. The Church, in the judgment of its episcopate, requires to be safe-guarded on some important points of the Christian faith. When one notes the names which are appended to the letter it is scarcely necessary to say that it is a scholarly, able, and well-considered document. The writer of this thinks he discovers in it the hand of the distinguished Dr. Huntington, Bishop of Central New York; at least, it has that clearness of style and richness of thought which characterize his writings. It would seem from this letter that there is unrest in the Church on two points especially—"the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ" and "the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures." The letter is, therefore, a statement of what the bishops regard as necessary to be held by the Church as fundamental truth on these great questions. It further appears that they regard any modification of their views in the belief and teaching of the clergy as of the nature of heresy and of unfaithfulness to their ordination vows.

The doctrine of the incarnation is clearly expressed in the following language: "And first, touching the incarnation and the person and natures of our blessed Lord, this Church teaches and requires her ministers to teach (1), in the words of the creed commonly called the Apostles' Creed, that Jesus Christ is the 'only Son' of God; in the words of the creed commonly called the Nicene Creed, that Jesus Christ is the 'only-begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father.' . . . Unless our Lord Jesus Christ is firmly held to be God's own true and proper Son, equal to the Father as touching his Godhead, and to be also the true Son of the blessed Virgin by miraculous conception and birth, taking our very manhood of her

substance, we sinners have no true and adequate Mediator; our nature has no restored union with God; we have no sacrifice for our sins in full atonement and propitiation, holy and acceptable to God; for our moral weakness and incapacity there is no fountain of cleansing, renewal, and recreation after the measure and pattern of a perfect manhood. The assertion of the Catholic doctrine of the incarnation—the one indivisible personality of the Son of God incarnate, the Word made flesh and dwelling among us—is the antidote of the false teaching of our day, which is simply the revival of the old heresy of the self-perfectability of man. For the miraculous virgin-birth, while it is alone befitting to God in assuming our nature into personal union with himself, marks off and separates the whole of our humanity, as tainted by that very corruption of original sin which had no place in human nature as that nature was assumed by our blessed Lord in his incarnation."

The pastoral letter further teaches concerning the resurrection: "Of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ the Church teaches, in the creeds commonly called the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, that 'the third day he rose again from the dead according to the Scriptures,' and, in the fourth Article of Religion, that he 'did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature.' . . . This Church nowhere teaches, and does not tolerate the teaching, that the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ was a so-called spiritual resurrection, which took place when the vital union of his mortal body and his human soul was dissolved by death, and that the fleshly tabernacle saw corruption in the grave and was turned to dust. This would be to make the resurrection take place from the cross, and not from the sepulcher."

The teaching of the Church concerning the Holy Scriptures is thus declared: "Certain points must be first fixed in the consciousness of all reverent students of God's holy word. Concerning the Scriptures of the elder covenant, our Lord authenticated the teaching of the ancient Church, to which 'were committed the oracles of God,' by his public and official use of the canon of the Old Testament Scriptures, as we know it to have been read in the synagogue worship of the Jews of his time. Nor may we forget that he himself, after his resurrection, declared that these Scriptures testified of him, specifying them in detail to the two disciples on the way to Emmaus, when, 'beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself,' and, more fully still, when, standing with the assembled apostles, he said, 'These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled, which are written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me.' . . . It would be faithless to think that the Christian religion has anything to fear from the critical study of the Holy Scriptures. 'The Church of the present and of the coming day is bringing her sheaves home with her from the once faithlessly dreaded harvests of criticism.' We devoutly thank God for the light and truth which have come to us through the

earnest labors of devout critics of the sacred text. What we deprecate and rebuke is the irreverent rashness and unscientific method of many professed critics and the presumptuous superciliousness with which they vaunt erroneous theories of the day as established results of criticism. From this fault professedly Christian critics are, unfortunately, not always exempt; and by Christian critics we mean those who, both by theory and practice, recognize the inspiration of God as the controlling element of Holy Scripture. . . . Any instruction or any study which makes any part of the Bible less authoritative than it really is, which weakens faith in its inspiration, which tends to eliminate Christ from the utterances of the prophets, or which leads a man to think of miracles with a half-suppressed skepticism, is a pernicious instruction and a pernicious study. A great danger may beset the flock of Christ, not merely from false teaching, but through injudicious and ill-timed teaching, the effect of which is not to settle and confirm, but to undermine and weaken, faith. This danger exists, and unless it shall be conscientiously avoided by every teacher of the Church the coming generation may live to see 'a famine in the land—not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord.' The inspiration of the Holy Scriptures is a postulate of faith, not a corollary of criticism. It cannot lawfully be questioned by any Christian man, and least of all by men who have sealed their conviction of the certainty of the faith with the solemn vows of ordination. Outside of the domain of faith there may be undetermined questions touching matters which, to some minds, may seem to be almost essential to the integrity of the Christian scheme, but which cannot be necessary to salvation. In this border land thinking minds will appreciate and reverently and conscientiously use the freedon which is accorded to them; but they will not carry their liberty over into the realm of adjudicated truth. Their obligations to God, as men and as priests, bind them in a holy and blessed servitude to the truth; and a consciousness of their own honest loyalty is essential to their self-respect."

This important pastoral letter has been severely criticised, but without just cause. It sets forth in a clear and forcible manner what the episcopate of the Protestant Church regards as the great postulates, which cannot be discarded without great harm to the progress of God's kingdom. The fact that it has been criticised is a proof of its importance. The whole Church of God is interested in the maintenance of the fundamental truths on which the evangelical Church is founded. This utterance proves the essential oneness of the whole Church, by showing us that its writers regard as vital the same historic faith on the vital doctrines of the incarnation and inspiration of the Scriptures which is held as fundamental by evangelical Christendom.

ECCLESIASTICAL FEAST DAYS IN PROTESTANTISM.

It is a noteworthy fact that there is a tendency in Protestant Christendom to increase the number of days set apart for special services by the Church. In the Roman Catholic Church these days have been so multi-

plied that there is scarcely a week that is not devoted to some special saint. Everyone who has resided in Roman Catholic countries for any length of time has been impressed with this feature of their church life. Indeed, there is something going on in the church almost continually, and the church bells are perpetually ringing. Protestantism was a protest against devotion to mere form, whether of days or of ritual; and for a long period ecclesiastical feast days were abolished, as savoring too much of popery. A change, however, in this matter has gradually come over Protestantism. Of course, the Church of England and her descendant, the Protestant Episcopal Church of this country, have observed some of these days from the first; and yet even in them this tendency is manifestly increasing. The Presbyterian Church, on the other hand, with the various branches of that order, has steadfastly resisted innovations in this direction until quite recently. The Methodist Episcopal Church has occupied a position between the two, and has not rejected a moderate use of ritual and of commemorative days.

The change in the direction of greater attention to forms and ceremonies is very manifest. In the eastern part of our country it is especially perceptible. One can scarcely enter a Presbyterian or Methodist church without perceiving that there is an order of services which involves responsive readings and other exercises far more elaborate than in years gone by. Christmas and Easter are almost universally commemorated, and appropriate and elaborate music is rendered. Special children's services are often prepared for these occasions. There are exceptions, however. One of the leading pastors of the Presbyterian Church in this country told the writer that in his church, which is a large and fashionable one, there were no flowers on Easter, and that the multitudes who went the rounds of the churches to see the floral decorations were greatly disappointed at finding his church entirely destitute of them.

On the whole, we may say that, while there is wide variation in method, the tendency to increase the feast days is apparent. The danger in this direction was clearly perceived by the apostle Paul. In his letter to the Galatians (iv, 10, 11, Revised Version), he said: "Ye observe days, and months, and seasons, and years. I am afraid of you, lest by any means I have bestowed labor upon you in vain." The exact reference of these words is not certain; but they refer, in general, to the danger of maintaining the feasts of Judaism, such as new moons, the passover, Pentecost, and sabbatic years, and thus substituting Jewish ceremonials for the spirit of the Gospel. At this point lies our danger. We may return to the Judaistic spirit without a return to Jewish ceremonials. We must have no substitutes for spiritual religion; and feast days should be encouraged only in so far as they quicken in us pure love and devotion to Christ.

The Lenten season is beginning to be celebrated in Methodism. In most of our churches Easter services are held. Good Friday is rapidly becoming a national holiday. In New York city many of the great business places are formally closed on that day. A bill has been intro-

duced in the Legislature of the State of New York making it a legal holiday. One of the great New York dailies reports that the mayor declared he never had worked on that day; and most of the city departments were closed. Certainly, no devout man can fail to appreciate the significance of the day on which our blessed Saviour gave his life on the cross for the life of the world. We must, however, be on our guard, lest in the ceremonial we lose sight of the spirit that underlies it, and lest by a multiplication of days we return to what the Church found it necessary to abandon, and so lay ourselves liable to the admonition of the apostle to the Gentiles to the Churches in Galatia.

A MINISTERIAL MEETING IN NORWAY.

WE take pleasure in printing the following communication sent us by Bishop Vincent, which shows the vigor with which the foreign field is being worked:

EDITOR ITINERANTS' CLUB: An interesting report comes from a ministerial meeting held recently in Norway. The head of the theological school in Christiania, the Rev. J. Sanaker, writes:

"Last week we had a meeting in Christiania of all the preachers in Christiania and Laurvig Districts. We discussed the following subjects: 'The Relative Importance of Preaching, Visiting, and Study for our Pastors;' 'The Importance of a Deep Religious Experience and Sobriety of Conduct for the Pastor in his Work;' 'How to Avoid Monotony, in Substance and Delivery, in our Preaching;' 'The Human Conditions Necessary to a True Revival;' 'The Importance of our Revival Meetings, and what Part we can Expect our Members to Take in them;' 'Are our Times less Favorable than Former Times for the Proclamation of the Gospel and the Spread of True Godliness?' 'The Importance of Making Members who Move into a New Place and other New Church Members Feel at Home among us;' 'What can be Done to Secure Well-qualified Teachers in Sufficient Numbers for our Sunday Schools?' 'The Press, the Pulpit, and the Pew;' 'What we can Do as Christians, and especially as Pastors, toward Solving the Social and Political Problems of our Times.' We held meetings both forenoon and afternoon for four days; and three of these were of a more private character and were held in private houses. All of the preachers on both districts except two were present. Many stayed over Sunday and preached in our five churches here and, also, in the large new home called Calmeyergardens Mission House. We also had evening meetings all the other days, and in five different places on Sunday afternoon and evening. All the preachers and all our congregations were collected in the above-named large house, which is, I think, the largest building in the city. Our meetings were pronounced a great success. On Monday evening we had by count more than one thousand people at the farewell festival."

JOHN H. VINCENT.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

A GERMAN REVISED VERSION.

THIS is, *par excellence*, an age of biblical investigation. Protestant nations vie with one another as never before in the study of the book. The appearance of the Revised Version, in 1881 and 1884, made an era in Bible study in all English-speaking countries. The impulse then given to a more thorough understanding of the Holy Scriptures can be appreciated by those only whose attention has been called especially to the subject. The most learned and devoted Christian scholars of Europe and America have already acknowledged the superiority of the Revised over the Authorized Version, and have borne testimony to this fact by using the former in their private study of the word, as well as in their addresses and writings. This is especially manifest in our Sunday school literature and in the exegetical articles of our critical scholars in various periodicals. What a pity that there are still thousands of our ministers who do not avail themselves of the best English translation! It is well known that Germany, also, has its Revised Version. The success of this, however, has been insignificant in comparison with that of the Revised Version in our language. This is not the place to account for that.

We now have another translation of the Old Testament into German. It is purely a private enterprise, the joint work of eleven competent scholars, all—except Dr. Socin, professor of Arabic in the University of Leipsic—professional theologians of more or less reputation. The work was done under the supervision of Professor Kautzsch, of Halle—a university long and favorably known for its great biblical scholars. In this new version the translators have aimed steadily at clearness and perspicuity, at producing a work intelligible, not only to the careful thinker and cultured scholar, but to the uneducated and common people as well. The motto of the translators was the same as that of Martin Luther, who, in a letter to Link, said that a Bible translator should ask, "How does the mother speak at home, the children in the street, and the common people in the market?" and should translate accordingly. Professor Kautzsch and his learned associates have avoided Hebraisms or the non-German idioms of every kind which had crept into former translations; and almost everywhere the Hebrew poets, prophets, and chroniclers have been made to express themselves precisely as they would have done had they been Germans living, at the close of the nineteenth century of our era, in the villages and cities of Germany. Obsolete phrases and expressions, no matter how venerable they had become with age, have been replaced, as a rule, with more intelligible and modern equivalents. In this regard Kautzsch's version is greatly superior to the English. The scholarship of the translators is such as to guarantee accuracy.

We are struck with the numerous gaps in this new version. This is the

case where, for any reason, the original defies translation, as when the text has become currupt. The probably correct meaning is given in the margin, instead, as in other versions, of placing the more probable rendering in the text, with a note in the margin. If a word or a phrase is so corrupt as to be unintelligible it cannot harm the humblest reader to be apprised of the fact. These marginal notes suggest the time when the passage was written, how and when interpolations crept in, and how a paragraph or a chapter suffered displacement; and when the meaning of a phrase or a proverb is not perfectly clear an explanation is given. These notes, though the essence of brevity, supply to a large extent the place of a commentary. It would be difficult to say too much in praise of this excellent translation, which, in our opinion, is by far the best version of the Old Testament in any modern language. Another very simple contrivance of great value to the critical student is the insertion of such letters as "J.," "E.," "R.," "Dt.," "Dt^2.," "RI.," "ri.," and many others in the margin to indicate the literary sources of the several books. These letters give at a glance the origin, not only of the section, but often of the paragraph, and sometimes even the part of a verse.

A companion volume is also published with this edition of the Old Testament, something after the style of the helps in our Teachers' Bibles, but much more abstruse and critical. Though this supplementary volume is not prepared for the professed theologian, yet many of our busy pastors may read it with profit. And even the intelligent layman who may have taste for biblical criticism and who may desire to become acquainted with the views and methods of the higher critics would be benefited by its perusal. In this we find valuable archæological *data*, information regarding coins, weights, measures, and divisions of time among the ancient Hebrews, and a survey of Israelitish history, from the time of Moses to the end of the second century B. C. This is arranged in columns, giving the chronology and history of (1) Israel, (2) Judah, (3) the origin of the Old Testament literature, (4) Assyria and Babylonia, and (5) Egypt. This table, though comparatively short, is exceedingly suggestive, and furnishes in a compact and condensed form much and varied information of great value to the Old Testament student. It is needless to say that this survey is presented from the standpoint of the modern historical school of German biblical critics. Its conclusions are so radically different from the views currently held by most Americans of the evangelical school that few, if any, Methodists will be able to accept them. The learned compilers, however, take it for granted that the *data* presented in this table are scientific facts positively established and, therefore, not to be disputed. That the majority of biblical critics in Germany receive these views is not questioned; and that many distinguished men in England and America meekly follow in their footsteps is also well known. But the variety of opinions in regard to details—important details—and the ever-changing positions concerning the origin of the Hebrew Scriptures among these same critics prove beyond contradiction that their conclusions are, at best, but theories not yet reduced to a scientific basis.

According to the table in the supplementary volume above mentioned there is not a scrap of Hebrew literature, of any kind whatever, which dates back to the Exodus. The uninitiated reader will be surprised to learn that the song of Deborah, in the fifth chapter of Judges, written about B. C. 1250, is the earliest thing we possess from a Hebrew pen. Not many years later appeared the fable of Jotham (Judg. ix, 7, *ff.*). For some inexplicable reason, a deep silence falls once more upon the land, and it was fully two hundred years before another line was written, at least as far as we have any proof of it. David broke this silence. He, however, was not the sweet singer to whom so many of the psalms are attributed, but a semibarbarous chieftain, capable of but little religious fervor. If our critics are to be trusted there are only two short poems which bear unmistakable evidence of Davidic authorship—the elegy to Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i, 19, *ff.*) and the one to Abner (2 Sam. iii, 33, *ff.*). Some time between B. C. 970–933 Solomon wrote his dedicatory prayer (1 Kings viii, 12, *ff.*). This period was comparatively productive, for it is quite probable that during this time were written Jacob's blessing (Gen. xlix), the Book of the Wars of Jehovah, mentioned in Num. xxi, 14, the Book of the Just, referred to in Josh. x, 13, and the predictions of Balaam. The next in chronological order is what the critics are pleased to call the "hero stories" (*Heldengeschichten*), marked *H* and H^1 in the margin of the Book of Judges, and written by some Ephraimite. A century later, or toward B. C. 877, appeared the Book of the Covenant (see Exod. xxi–xxiii). The Jahvist portion of the Hexateuch was produced during the reign of Joram, son of Ahab, between B. C. 853–842; while the Elohistic portion was a product of the reign of Jeroboam II, about B. C. 775. These two documents were joined into one more than one hundred years later, or, more exactly, in B. C. 643. The Pentateuch in its present form did not appear till the latter half of the sixth century before Christ. Though the critics cannot agree as to the exact date of the fragments of poems, such as the song of Lamech (Gen. iv, 23, 24) and others mentioned in the Pentateuch, they are practically united in assigning to them a comparatively recent origin.

It will be difficult for many people to see why songs attributed to Moses, Miriam, or Balaam should be later than that of Deborah, or why the former songs could not have been contemporaneous with the events described, as the song of Deborah is acknowledged to have been. After the archæological discoveries, not only along the valleys of the Nile and Euphrates, but in Palestine itself, it will be no longer urged, as was the manner of Wellhausen, that Moses must have been ignorant of the art of writing. And it would be purely gratuitous to assume that he had no taste or time for literary work, that he had no capacity for writing an extended code of laws, or that there were not events in abundance sufficiently soul-stirring to claim his mighty intellect and ready pen. If Egyptian monuments have been correctly deciphered Egypt was highly civilized centuries before the Exodus. To say nothing of special divine guidance, to leave inspiration entirely out of the question, surely there is

nothing unreasonable in supposing that the Pentateuch, in the main, is the work of the great Jewish lawgiver. Equally baseless is the assumption that David left no traces of his poetic genius except what we find in the two elegies above mentioned. Surely, if the son of Jesse could write poetry at all, and no one denies that, if he was able to compose two funeral songs the poetic merit of which is conceded by all schools of critics, he might have written other poems. How arrogant to assume with oracular certainty that David could write elegies, but could not have been the author of the nineteenth, twenty-third, or a score of other psalms bearing his name!

The passion for reconstructing the Hebrew Scriptures has run wild. The old orthodox or traditional view has been coolly laid on the shelf. The early books of the Bible have been brought to the level of the early legends of Greece and Rome. The critics are no longer satisfied with denying the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch or the Davidic authorship of any of the psalms, but they also depress the date of these and other books by centuries. Possibly, as they claim, not a single book of the Old Testament, be it ever so small, is from one single pen. Even the prophecy of Obadiah, comprising only one chapter of twenty-one verses, bears, they say, the unmistakable stamp of composite authorship. In this, the shortest of all prophecies, three, possibly four, fragments have been united into one whole. One section (1–9) belongs to the ninth century before our era; the second (10–14) could not have been written till after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans; verse 15 is of the time of Joel; while the last section as a whole (15–21), though showing some traces of an ancient oracle, yet bears evident marks of a very late revision. And so with all the prophets, poets, and other sacred writers.

Critics who can analyze with such scientific precision and who can furnish such details in chronology and history should produce incontrovertible evidence of their position. Have these learned men any of the original documents which were used in the composition of the several books of the Bible? Not a line. Have they any reference to them in the books themselves? Nothing that is positive and definite. If, however, they had discovered some ancient papyri or tablets, like those at Tel-el-Amarna, containing the original documents, the analysis of some of these critics could not have been more perfect. Upon what, then, do these men base their arguments and conclusions, which are no longer presented to us as hypotheses and possible solutions, but as scientific facts established beyond controversy, which none but the uncritical would think of doubting? Mainly, upon arguments purely subjective. Their conclusions, for the most part, are evolved from fertile imaginations, and chiefly from critics who openly discard the elements of prophecy and inspiration and reject every trace of the supernatural. We do not doubt the sincerity or the learning of those who hold the views presented in this volume; but where is the mediating critic who can harmonize such views with the doctrine of inspiration, as commonly held in the Methodist Episcopal Church and the other evangelical Churches of the United States?

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE MARTYRED MISSIONARY OF MANCHURIA.

Rev. William Chalmers Burns was the father of missions in Manchuria. Leaving Peking, he landed at Ying-tsu, the port of Newchwang, August, 1867. He suffered a chill soon after and died preaching to the people and urging his native helper Wang Whan to remain in Manchuria till other missionaries should arrive. Rev. John Ross, of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, arrived in Manchuria in 1872. The Irish Presbyterians joined the Scotch, forming one presbytery in 1891. The work has been singularly successful. Many Koreans came over the boundary into Manchuria, and through these the mission sent the Gospel into northwest Korea long before "the hermit nation" was open to civilization or to Christian influences from the coast.

Among the missionaries of the Presbyterians in Manchuria was a young man nearly thirty years of age, who entered this work in 1888. A famine, following flood, desolated a part of the country last year in May, and this young missionary, Rev. James Allen Wylie, was active in the distribution of relief, thereby winning the gratitude of the people and securing new openings for the Gospel and a new mission station, Fang Kang Pu, eight miles from Leao-yang, where Mr. Wylie resided with several other missionaries. Another interesting event was the opening of a new church in Leao-yang itself, presented to the mission by men who were yet unbelievers in the Gospel. It happened in this way: Some of the *literati* in the town resolved to oppose the preaching with discourses to the common people on the sacred edicts. They endeavored to get the dispenser at the mission hospital, one Chang, to deliver these discourses, and offered far larger pay for this service than he was getting in the hospital. Chang declined the undertaking. They took a large hall and fitted it up, but failed to get permission from the magistrate for these public deliverances. Those most active in the antagonism then retired from the opposition, and after consultation the more moderate ones, having the hall on their hands, offered it with its furniture to the mission for preaching purposes; and on the 13th of June, 1894, Mr. Wylie and others opened the hall for preaching, explaining to the people the full purpose and plan of their mission work.

In the height of his local favor the Chinese soldiers passed through Manchuria on their way to Korea. As a company of soldiers were passing through the main street of Leao-yang they met Mr. Wylie, who, seeing them approaching, stood aside to let them pass. The soldiers began to jeer at him and abuse him. He tried to move away, when one of the soldiers struck him. This was taken as a signal by the others, who attacked him with fury. Mr. Wylie was thrown to the ground, was stabbed with knives, beaten with musket stocks, and cruelly kicked, the officers

making no attempt to restrain the men, who, supposing they had killed him, marched off. Mr. Wylie was not actually dead, and was carried to a house and tenderly cared for; but in a few hours he died, thus giving to Manchuria that fertile "seed of the Church," the blood of a martyr. It is a dear price to pay, this of a young, educated, and devoted man; but we do not recall any instance in the history of modern missions where the Church has receded from the blood-line of its murdered missionaries. The ground is permanently occupied up to that geographical line. So will it be with Manchuria, whatever becomes of the Manchu dynasty at Peking or its vassal Korea. It is among the remarkable things to be accounted for that during the progress of the Chino-Japanese war so few missionaries have experienced any interruption of their work. Whether on the coast or in the far interior, except at the front of active war operations, missionaries have been secure as in times of peace.

PROVERBS AND THE ETHICAL UNITY OF MANKIND.

MISSIONARIES in West Africa are credited by M. Jean Hess, in an article in the *Figaro*, of Paris, with alone holding the idea that the Africans are to be reckoned with on the plane of human beings. All white men whom he met in long journeys in Africa, except missionaries, said, "The negro is not a man; he is a brute, only fit to be a slave and to be governed by the stick." This widely experienced traveler undertakes to show that the popular proverbs of the Africans furnish a sufficient refutation of this view, and, moreover, show that the same moral ideas are to be found in the savage of the Congo and the highly civilized citizen of Paris. There are abundant parallels between the proverbs of the Yorubas and those of more polished races. They are witty and wise, and reveal the existence of an innate faith in truth and justice; and, what is more impressive still, they substantially recognize the standards and principles of the second table of the Mosaic law. M. Hess is perfectly safe in saying that these maxims are not the invention of people without considerable power of observation and expression. They have the same sententiousness which characterizes the proverbs of Asiatic and European nations. Ethical distinctions exhibit such uniformity in all parts of China, Japan, India, Persia, and now among these rudest African tribes, as marks the unity of the race and the universality of the moral conditions to which the Gospel is applicable; for neither the man on the Congo nor he of the Thames meets the ethical standards which his own proverbial wisdom announces.

The Yoruba recognizes a universal conscience when he says, "When we have committed a fault the punishment is not far away or does not linger; it is called remorse." That a knowledge of wrong is essential to blameworthiness he recognizes in the saying, "He should not be killed who has acted from ignorance." There is some knowledge of human nature in the adage, "We know whom we love, but we do not know by whom we are beloved." The Yoruba places a high estimate on the

results of general experience which have crystallized into proverbs: "When a truth is lost it is found again by proverbs." He does not think that cleverness in wrongdoing will exempt from the consequences thereof: "No more than the careless rat does the cleverest rat escape the trap." Contentment and the thought that happiness does not inhere in external conditions he expresses in the following: "It is better to be a happy slave than an unhappy son." Here are a few general ones: "Hunger prevents the admission of any other sentiment where it is;" "We cannot call the same thing a burden and a delight;" "The free man may appear timid, but he is never afraid."

M. Hess's point is that the same ethical base underlies the nature of the negro and the white, the savage and the cultured races. Our point is, that these negro and savage races not only have the same need of the Gospel, but are just as susceptible of high ethical development under the Gospel as any races known to history.

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION OF ADHERENTS OF RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS.

It is with some curiosity, at least, that we note the lessons of the census of India in the matter of the relative intelligence of the several religious communities in that vast continent. The small community—consisting of less than ninety thousand in all—of the Parsees shows the highest per cent of persons able to read and write. The average is heightened by the remarkable extent of education among Parsee women, one half of whom are educated, at least to the point of being able to read and write. The Jews, numbering seventeen thousand, come next to the Parsees, but the smallness of their number again renders it easier to reach a good average. The same holds of the small Jain and Buddhist communities, about half of the men being able to read and write, though the women are illiterate. The Brahmans and Mohammedans show the low average of less than ten per cent of the men, and less than one per cent of the women, as being in any degree literate. The hill and forest tribes are still much lower, none of the women and few of the men being at all educated.

The relative position of the Christian community is not what it should be, only thirty-three per cent of the men, and thirteen per cent of the women, being able to read and write. Two things must be taken into consideration, however, in weighing this item. The Christian statistics include the Roman Catholic communities, where education is not accentuated. The Protestants alone would show a much higher average. But even these Protestants have been largely recruited from the lower classes, among whom education is nearly *nil*. They have raised the ratio to an amazing degree when it is borne in mind that the rudest and least cultured people have turned frequently *en bloc* to Christianity. This has been true of the large accessions in Mysore and among the Telugus, as, also, among the Karens in Burma and, later, among the races reached by American Methodists in the Nerbudda valley and north of the Ganges. In truth, the educational improvement among these depressed classes has

been so great that they have furnished a large proportion of those who have passed the government examinations, which indicates that the Indian social structure may be turned bottom side up. This development of the lower classes is largely a direct result of Protestant missionary and educational processes.

WHAT IS TAUGHT ABOUT PROTESTANTS IN SOME ROMAN CATHOLIC COUNTRIES.

We are in receipt of a number of *Peru*, an occasional record of missionary labors, trials, and blessings published in Lima, Peru. We have among our acquaintances many excellent Roman Catholics who will be slow to believe that the following can possibly be correct. *Peru* translates some extracts from a *Catechism of Protestantism, for the Use of the People*, which, it says, was prepared by a Jesuit priest and is circulated in Italian and Spanish speaking countries to guard people against Bible agents, missionaries, and evangelists. We select only a few of these utterances, as showing some of the obstacles against which Protestantism has to make headway in Roman Catholic quarters. The *Catechism* defines what is meant by "Protestants:" "The words 'Protestant' and 'Protestantism' are used to signify . . . the rebellion of certain proud men against Jesus Christ, the founder of the Church." In answer to the question, "What is the doctrine of Protestants?" we find, among many others, such statements as these:

"To determine the doctrine or teaching of Protestantism is very difficult and almost impossible, for Protestants, it may be said, change their doctrine with every change of the moon. Their doctrine varies just as the brain of each Protestant varies; each one has his own doctrine, and one very different from that of the rest. . . . As these [doctrines] flatter the passions of man, especially pride, the lust of the flesh, and the love of money, they immediately had for disciples all those who wished to gratify their lusts; and even those who become Protestants now and abandon Catholicism are far from being anything good. . . . The majority of them were lovers of women, of rapine, and anxious for employments in the new sect. Nearly all had a bad end, as did their masters—some of remorse, others of desperation; and others committed suicide, after a life more or less miserable. Luther, after having passed the last day of his life in the midst of a splendid banquet, between buffoonery and laughter, was attacked at night by apoplexy and died impenitent. Calvin died in despair, of a shameful disease, eaten up by worms, blaspheming God, and calling on the devil. . . . They have employed against Catholics executions and torments of such a nature that have, for their refined cruelty, left far behind even the pagan emperors. The iron, the fire, torment, wheels of razors, lakes of ice—all, everything, have served them against the Catholics faithful to their God and their religion. Not even have they spared the women and children. . . . Such persecutions have never been lacking in Protestant countries. . . . They have no fixed belief, no commandments, nor sacraments, nor abstinences, nor fasts."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

J. Petran. Not so much as a leader as in the capacity of an exponent of the popular opinion among certain classes of German pastors do we mention him here. Throughout Europe generally there is less fear of the effect of biblical criticism on evangelical Christianity and evangelical Christians than there is in this country. This arises, especially in Germany, from the courageous belief that truth is mighty and must prevail, and that the way to discover truth most speedily is to encourage free discussion. This belief springs, again, from a strictly logical application of the principle of the freedom of the individual conscience, as enunciated in the days of the Reformation. To all these ideas we would say, with Paul, "All things are lawful; but all things are not expedient." Petran believes, with many others, that the true and proper critical treatment of the Bible helps to demonstrate the eternal and all-conquering power of Christianity, by showing that God's word is not a doctrine embodied in definite forms and words, but a living power, in itself constant, but outwardly changeable, and which is made available by effective testimony, written and spoken. He thinks that such criticism has a tendency to disclose the precious germ now hidden by the outward shell. He firmly believes that, so far from injury to the cause of Christ, great gain would result from the displacement of the customary dogmatic treatment of the Bible by the historical, and thinks that this is clear from the actual present conditions, the character of the biblical documents, and the history of their origin, collection, and transmission. Probably no one would deny the utility of true criticisism; but there would be a serious difference of opinion as to what true criticism is. Petran does not catch the full significance of biblical criticism for the faith of the Church. In the last analysis, it all affects our ideas of Christ and his work. We believe, indeed, that the final outcome of all the criticism of the gospel documents will be to silence the blatant tongues of infidels and to introduce the era when all shall have, at least, an intellectual faith. But very certain is it that to-day the logical outcome of the principles of the radical critics is to seriously interfere with faith in Christ. This is not because criticism is wrong or hurtful, but because the principles and assumptions of much of the prevailing criticism are wrong, chiefly in this—that the critics profess to be seeking truth for its own sake, assured of its final good results, whereas truth is only to be sought for its practical ends.

Professor Dr. Hermann Schell. Among Roman Catholics his place is very high. As a writer and thinker he presents several commendable traits. He is thoroughly scientific in his method, and aims to adapt himself to the highest demands of his most thoughtful disciples. He avoids as much

as possible useless strife over indeterminable questions and spends his strength on the practical phases of theological discussion. That he does not write for mere purposes of controversy is evident from the fact that he is as thorough in the discussion of questions which are not in dispute between Romanists and Protestants as in the treatment of those that are in dispute. He believes that intellectual independence should be respected and demanded. But of course this is to be taken in such a sense as to allow the Church the right to judge whether anyone has gone beyond the bounds of propriety in the exercise of his intellectual independence; and if the Church judges that he has so done he must be willing to make himself think as the Church requires, whether he does so think or not. His views with reference to the relative value of Scripture and tradition are worthy of mention, giving to the former, as he does, an incomparable advantage—in this respect, at least, that in the Scripture we have not merely the contents of the divine truth, but the divine, prophetic, and apostolic word; that, therefore, the Scripture has a certain independence of the Church; and that in its development of doctrine the Church finds a much stronger guide in its search for the truth than in the tradition which grew up at the same time with the Scripture. It is a great pity that the Roman Church is not content with the authority of the "divine, prophetic, and apostolic word." But from the beginning men have felt the force of their own wishes to such an extent that, if they can make themselves believe that there is any other authority which can in any way supplant or modify the plain teachings of God's word, they are glad to find it. Romanists dare not return to the Scripture as the sufficient source of authority in religion, else they would cease at once to be Romanists and the "Church" would fall into ruin.

William Hermann. Among the disciples of Ritschl he easily takes place in the front rank. In common with all Ritschlians, he claims that the German orthodox party stands practically on Romanist ground, that their confessions of faith are a departure from the original doctrine of Luther, and that the Ritschlians are the true representatives in the present day of Luther's doctrine of justification by faith. Hermann is accused of minifying, if not of denying, the guilt of sin in the sight of God. This Hermann declares to be a false accusation, and affirms that he believes in the guilt of sin; and not only so, but also that no man can produce in himself true repentance that, on the other hand, whoever experiences the influences of God upon his heart or lives in the faith will be so affected as to be constantly humbled and pained at his lack of goodness. He does not think, however, that the law can bring one to true repentance. This can only be done by the consideration of love as manifested in Jesus Christ. Some of his ideas of faith are as follows: Faith does not originate from the inner life of an individual, but the effect of faith is to give him a new inner life. The Christian cannot found his faith upon facts reported by others. Least of all, can he confirm the ground of his faith by a pious guarding of sacred traditions. True faith is produced by a

subjection of ourselves to the redeeming power of our Saviour, Jesus Christ. No man has ever believed in Jesus Christ who did not forget all other authorities, cease from all questions of dogma, and place himself, without a barrier between, under the power of Jesus Christ. Not the Bible produces faith in Jesus, but faith in Jesus opens the truth of the Bible to our vision. All this reminds one most decidedly of Methodism. Even with reference to the proof of the divine origin of Scripture, Wesley declares that the only adequate demonstration is found in a religious experience. Hermann's chief contention is that, as we cannot be saved by works, so we cannot be saved by adherence to confessions of faith or to dogma in any form; and that, as the attempt to make works a part of our means of salvation places us in legal, not evangelical, relations with God, so does the attempt to introduce any dogma as a condition of believing. Jesus, the Redeemer, is alone the object of all saving faith. To confuse this by adding to it any other condition whatsoever is to obscure Christ by so much.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Die Bedeutung Benedikts von Nursia und seiner Regel in der Geschichte des Mönchthums (The Place of Benedict of Nursia and his Rule in the History of Monasticism). By Dr. Grützmacher. The lover of Church history need not lack for inviting fields of investigation. More interesting than any romance, although often painfully interesting, is the history of asceticism, mysticism, and monasticism. Grützmacher's book is not a romance, however, but a study of Benedict and his rule. Beginning with the sources of information, he discusses the time of his birth, the founding of his monastery, and his death; then his life, the genuineness of our copies of his rule, the contents of his rule, and its significance in relation to the rules of Basil, Cassianus, Cæsarius, and Columbanus. Grützmacher's views are summed up as follows: The rule of Benedict is by no means epoch-making in the history of monasticism; it is, rather, a skillful and exact application of the developments which had earlier taken place in the monasticism of the West. This Grützmacher regards as the one service of Benedict—a service as truly rendered by Cæsarius of Arles, who has no special name in the history of monasticism, because, unlike Benedict, fewer historically great personages were his immediate followers. We may admit, with Grützmacher, that it was not so much what Benedict taught or instituted as a combination of favorable circumstances which gave him his distinction as a monastic founder. But he surely fails to estimate correctly the contribution which Benedict made to the development of Western monasticism. In the older rules the community life was entirely subordinate to the benefit of the individual, whose efforts were for his own perfection. But with Benedict the idea of the worth of the community life came to its recognition and of necessity somewhat modified the rule for the individual, making it less severe, more easy, and more free. Not only did the past experiences of monasticism point

to just what Benedict instituted, but Benedict rightly interpreted those experiences and the needs of the times, and had the force of character to impress them upon others. The time is past when we can afford to despise monasticism, even though we cannot approve it. It was an honest effort to do for men what the best men believed to be needful, and is, therefore, a most instructive chapter in human history.

Entstehung und erste Entwickelung der Katechismen des seligen Petrus Canisius (Origin and Earliest Development of the Catechisms of the Blessed Peter Canisius). By Otto Braunsberger, of the Society of Jesus. The energy and effectiveness with which the Jesuit Canisius labored in the interests of Romanism in the early days of the counter-reformation lends this study of his catechisms an interest, even in the present day. To the counter-reformation they were what Luther's catechisms were to the Reformation. Braunsberger devotes a loving effort to the work of his comrade long deceased. As a specimen of the means by which it was attempted to check the Reformation under Luther and to produce a reform within the Roman Church this book of Braunsberger will be instructive. His investigations lead to the conclusion that Canisius prepared three catechisms—a larger in 1555, a smaller in 1556, and a smaller still in the latter part of 1558 or the early part of 1559. The larger catechism treated the entire subject-matter in 211 questions, the smaller in 122, and the smallest in 59. They were all originally written in Latin; but the larger was translated into German in 1556, the smaller in 1563, and the smallest in 1558. In all three the order of treatment is essentially the same. The triad—faith, hope, and love—is first treated, and this is followed by the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Ten Commandments, and the Five Commandments of the Church; then come the sacraments, the different kinds of sin, works of mercy, cardinal virtues, the gift of the Spirit, the Beatitudes, and evangelical counsels. The essential insincerity of Romanist writers is displayed by Braunsberger and attributed to Canisius, as follows: he attempts to show that Canisius was well persuaded of the infallibility of the pope, notwithstanding he says nothing about it in the edition of 1555. This omission Braunsberger attributes to the unwisdom of saying anything about it at that time. That he said so little about it in the edition of 1567 he explains on the ground that he did only what the times allowed and demanded. Evidently, the Society of Jesus has lacked from the first the frankness of Jesus. It appears that in the mind of the Roman Church it is unwise to reveal the whole truth and let it win its own way. One never knows whether a Jesuit is expressing his real views or not.

Die Aufgabe der Systematischen Theologie (The Task of Systematic Theology). By Professor H. H. Wendt. Among German theologians questions of method in the development of a subject are regarded as of immense importance. This little work seeks to discuss the questions, "What?" and "How?" in reference to systematic theology. One of

the burning questions of to-day concerning Christian doctrine is the decisive, determinative source of authority in religion. This Wendt finds in the religious teachings of Jesus—a proposition which he has defined and defended in another work. The teachings of Jesus were announced with special reference to the conditions by which Jesus found himself surrounded. Taking this into consideration, it is the task of systematic theology to develop in systematic order and scientific form the teachings which Jesus imparted to the popular mind, and to develop them with reference to our present needs. The assumption underlying this idea is that the teachings of Jesus were of universal and eternal significance, although the particular application of them may change according to country and age. The denial of this truth has led, on the one hand, to the subversion of Christianity in some communions, and, on the other hand, to the offense of many Christians who think the forms must always remain the same. Another important question in systematic-theological method is that with reference to the relation between ethics and dogmatics. Wendt holds that, while it is necessary to develop the entire system of Christian doctrine harmoniously, yet the particular ethical demands of Christianity upon the individual and upon society must be investigated in separate treatises. While this may seem to be demanded by the great importance of some of the problems of individual and social ethics, yet there is danger that, when disconnected from the general doctrinal discussion, the Christian character of ethics will be overlooked. When so treated by Christian authors, a well-defined system of Christian doctrine must, at least, underlie the discussion and be regulative of the opinions advanced. So that, while formally these questions of individual and social ethics may be distinct from the main body of doctrine, they are in fact an organic part of the same.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Protestantism in Austria-Hungary. The following very interesting facts are taken from the recent statistical report of the minister of education of Austria-Hungary. Of the 23,895,000 inhabitants of Austria, there are only 436,352 Protestants, of whom 315,828 are Lutherans and 120,524 Reformed. In Vienna the Protestant colony numbers 41,943 souls. Large Protestant congregations are found in Northern Bohemia, as also in the Czech districts of Bohemia and Moravia and the Polish districts of Silesia. Four fifths of the large German colonies in Galicia and Bukowina are Protestant. The official name of the Lutheran Church is "The Church of the Augsburg Confession," while that of the Reformed Church is "The Church of the Helvetic Confession." The statistics for the kingdom of Hungary are as follows: There are 3,429,126 Protestants, of whom 1,204,000 are Lutherans and 2,225,126 Reformed. In the Hungarian and Transylvania districts the Reformed largely predominate, numbering nearly 2,000,000. Of the 2,000,000 Germans in Hungary, 415,000 belong

to the Lutheran and 27,000 to the Reformed Church. Of the 2,000,000 Slavonians, 500,000 are Lutherans and 11,000 Reformed. Of 7,500,000 Magyars, more than 2,000,000 belong to the Reformed, and only 313,700 to the Lutheran, Church.

Tribulations of German Social Democrats. At their recent congress in Frankfort-on-the-Main various difficulties arose. The Bavarians wanted the utterances of the leaders to be distinguished by a more revolutionary tone; the latter, on the other hand, threatenened to leave the party if this were insisted upon. A great bone of contention was the question of salaries for editors and other paid agents of the party. It was declared that these men had their offices fitted up in a most luxurious style, and that they received salaries much larger than the majority of those whom they serve. It was particularly objected that these large salaries for the intellectual work of the editorship were a violation of the principles of social democracy, which ranks all labor as equal. The threat was openly made in reply that if the salaries of the editors were cut they would resign, as they could earn more by working for the opposition press. This brought the congress to terms, although it did so at the expense of the very principles which social democracy profess to maintain.

Roman Missions and Politics. Only a few years ago Cardinal Lavigerie succeeded in inducing the pope to recall the Italian Capuchins from Tunis, in order to make room for the French missionaries, that thereby the way might be prepared for the French to take possession of the country. Now the same pope takes another turn. He has placed an apostolic prefecture in the hands of the Italians, in order that the French missionaries may be removed from the so-called Erythrian colony, because their presence interferes with the Italian colonial policy. Two things appear perfectly plain from all this, namely, that the pope carries on his missionary operations in the interest of politics, and that he does this in such a way as to place the various governments of Europe as much as possible under obligation to him. The political character of the Roman Church becomes more and more evident every day.

A Roman Catholic President for Switzerland. In the person of Dr. Joseph Zemp, the Swiss Romanists have at last secured a representative as president of the republic. He was chosen by the very large vote of 128, out of a whole number of 156. This large following is not only an indication of the respect in which he is held, but is also in accordance with the custom of electing the vice president to the office of president. Zemp has the honor of being the first Romanist representative in the cabinet. For many years he had been the Catholic candidate, and in December, 1891, was elected minister of the department of post offices and railroads. He is a conservative Romanist, and his movements will be watched with interest by the entire Christian world.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE doors of the great educational institutions of the world seem to be opening but slowly to woman. Of her struggles for a place in the higher schools of learning a woman herself writes in the April number of the *Forum*, under the caption of "Women in European Universities." The author, Alice Zimmern, traces the growth of the movement in the three countries of England, France, and Germany. English universities, she says, "may be divided into two classes: the ancient seats of learning, Oxford and Cambridge, which grew out of the old monastic system, and yet retain many mediæval customs; and modern institutions, such as London, Durham, and Victoria Universities and the infant University of Wales." At London and Victoria women are eligible for degrees; from Durham a petition has been sent up for such an alteration of charter that the university may "confer degrees in all subjects, except theology, on duly qualified women." At Oxford and Cambridge, notwithstanding the recognition of affiliated colleges for women, no degrees are conferred on them. As for France, "the doors of her universities were never closed to women, though it is probable that no one realized this fact until the first adventurous woman found that she had but to knock and walk in." In Germany the case is far different. She is "the last to realize the necessity of giving her daughters a higher education." Proof of this seems to be found in the denial to women of a part in the exercises of the Leipzig Seminary and in the withdrawal of concessions previously granted at Heidelberg. Yet in the establishment of the Victoria Lyceum, at Berlin, and in the institution of a course of lectures to women, at Göttingen, through the agency of Fraülein Vorwerk, the writer finds encouragement for the future. "As we glance back over the position of university women in these three countries," says the writer, in conclusion—"France, with its unconditional equality to all who fulfill the necessary conditions; England moving on slowly 'from precedent to precedent' to the same great end; Germany, half sunk in darkness yet, but with glimpses of light showing here and there—we recognize that all are moving in one direction. . . . In another twenty-five years there will be no need to explain the position of women at our universities. There will be nothing left to say, then, except that, in very truth, 'the woman's cause is man's.'"

THE *New World* for March comes freighted with good things. Its opening article, by C. C. Everett, on "The Devil," aims to show that the idea of Satan was not indigenous to Jewish thought, but was perhaps of Mazdean origin. In the next paper, Maurice Bloomfield discusses "Race Prejudice" as a yet operative force, and hopes for the day when its instincts and traditions 'will be so completely surrounded, so strongly pressed upon, by growing culture that they will be forced to join the

numberless shades of defunct atrocities of the past." A choice estimate of the last "great poet" of the nation is given by T. T. Munger, in his paper on "Oliver Wendell Holmes." The next two articles are "The God of Zoroaster," by L. H. Mills, and "The Truth of the Christian Religion," by Allan Menzies. Of whatever faith the reader may be, he will be attracted by H. G. Spaulding's estimate of "The Preaching of Phillips Brooks." In his paper entitled "Some of Mr. Kidd's Fallacies," J. M. Whiton declares of *Social Evolution* that "a more incoherent and fallacious, while pretentious, piece of reasoning is not often met." The concluding sentiment of his caustic criticism is: "To elucidate so cyclopedic a subject as social evolution within the limits of a little more than three hundred pages would severely tax the ripest learning and the most disciplined powers. If a novice attempts it, it is no wonder if he finds his subject as unmanageable as Phaëthon found his horses." The next article is by F. Meinhold, on "The Origins of the Religion and History of Israel." A place for the poet in the present times is found by C. J. Goodwin. He writes on "The Poet in an Age of Science," affirms that "we have had enough of the poetry of doubt," and concludes, "We need the strong guidance of one who shall show us the order in chaos, the hope in uncertainty, the beauty and glory of human life. The field is ready—it is vacant." In the concluding article, on "The Song of the Well," Karl Budde makes a textual study of the refrain sung by the Jews at the well of Beer, as recorded in Num. xxi, 10–20, infers that "in ancient Israel they were wont always to greet a new-found well with this or a similar song," and shows that "here again, as so often elsewhere, the holy book of Israel approves itself as the oldest, and as the faithful guardian of venerable customs of the Semitic races which otherwise would have disappeared from sight."

THE *Nineteenth Century* for March has as its table of contents: 1. "The Millstone Round the Neck of England," by W. L. Clowes; 2. "The Good Sense of the English People," by T. E. Kebbel; 3. "On Some Legal Disabilities of Trade Unions," by Bernard Holland, with prefatory note by his grace the Duke of Devonshire; 4. "How to Organize a People's Kitchen in London," by Edith Sellers; 5. "The Builder of the Round Towers—a Chronicle of the Eighth Century," by the Hon. Emily Lawless; 6. "What is Church Authority," by the Rev. Canon Teignmouth Shore; 7. "The Wanton Mutilation of Animals," by Dr. Fleming, C. B.; 8. "Rembrandt and Sir Joshua Reynolds," by Sir Charles Robinson; 9. "Officers' Expenses in the Cavalry," by the Earl of Airlie; 10. "Written Gesture (with Illustrative Facsimiles)," by J. H. Schooling; 11. "Maurice Maeterlinck," by Richard Hovey; 12. "The Chinese Drama," by George Adams; 13. "A Night in the Reporters' Gallery," by Michael MacDonagh; 14. Mr. Balfour's "Attack on Agnosticism," by Professor Huxley. The "millstone" in the mind of the first writer is England's "present European policy and its threatening complications." The seventh article rings with stirring denunciation of the mutilation of the dog and horse in

England, and calls for the framing of a law imposing a tax on those using horses so mutilated. In the eighth article we find an interesting discussion as to the authorship of a certain picture on exhibition at the Royal Academy Old Masters' Exhibition. The tenth article is essentially a study of character as taught in chirography, and is accompanied by plates of signatures by Queens Mary and Elizabeth, Charles I and Charles II, Oliver Cromwell, Marie Antoinette, Napoleon, Isaac Newton, Queen Victoria, and others. The thirteenth describes in an engaging way the methods of reportorial work in the gallery of the House of Commons.

THE *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April has: 1. "The Republic and the Debs Insurrection," by Z. Swift Holbrook; 2. "The Authority of the Scriptures," by Frank Hugh Foster; 3. "Historical Method of Interpretation," by James Brand; 4. "The Social Ethics of Jesus," by J. S. Sewall; 5. "Restricted Communion," by J. W. Willmarth; 6. "President Harper's Lectures," by Howard Osgood. The first article ends with the conclusion that the "wage-earners, whom the world needs, must always be, and the reward for physical labor can never be great. It must, however, be a living wage, and the wage-earners must be helped and respected as the children of God and our brethren." One of the fundamental thoughts of the fourth paper is that the hopes and plans of Jesus "were centered on the individual, rather than on a system. He did not project some great sociological fabric. He did not found a new guild, to do its work in the world as an institution. He begins with the individual, as he did with Matthew, with John, with Nicodemus, with the woman of Samaria." The fifth article prophesies the doing away of the "restricted communion." Of the addresses on the earlier chapters of Genesis, given by President Harper in Chicago during the winter of 1894, the writer of the last article says: "These lectures give us, not what science, or higher criticism, or modern scholarship, or the Bible, teaches of the Bible, but simply what their author thinks of the Bible."

WHAT is the legitimate scope of preaching? In answering this question, Bishop Foss follows the article of the Rev. H. R. Haweis on "The New Pulpit," in the *North American* for February, with a vigorous paper in the March number of the same periodical entitled, "The Old Pulpit and the New." Preaching, says the bishop, "must deal with all human interests in their moral and religious aspects. It may shoot wide of the mark, but it cannot go beyond its legitimate range. Its blunder often is, not in touching or treating a great variety of topics, but in dealing with them wrongly. So the question is not so much what the minister shall preach, as how. Shall he preach about politics, municipal reform, courtship, marriage, divorce, the theater, dancing, temperance, the suppression of the liquor traffic, the relations of capital and labor, tenement houses, the water supply of cities, Sunday newspapers, biogenesis, evolution? Cer-

tainly, *if* (alas, a great if), *if* he knows enough to do it wisely. All these things lie within his range as a man divinely called to stand in the front rank of the moral and religious teachers of the world." How to preach "wisely" on politics, the labor movement, and popular amusements is the particular teaching of the bishop's article. The method of treatment, he says, "is highly important. Its moral quality and practical value may be destroyed by a flashy sensationalism. It must go to the Bible, and thence bring forth 'things new and old.' Here is a perennial and exhaustless fountain."

THE "special features" in the *Review of Reviews* for April are: "The Living Greek," "Our Civic Renaissance," "The Foundations of Belief," and "Samuel Dana Horton." The second of these papers reviews the municipal reform movements, so rich with promise, in Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Washington, Baltimore, Detroit, and Albany. The third paper points out some of the merits and defects in Mr. Balfour's recent book.——The *Catholic World* for April has, among its articles, "Brook Farm To-day," and "A New System of Writing for the Blind," both papers being illustrated.——The *Quarterly Review of the United Brethren* opens with a suggestive article on "Unutilized Forces in our Churches," by L. A. Gotwald, D.D. Some of the succeeding papers are: "The Duty of the Christian toward the Liquor Traffic," by the Rev. C. J. Kephart; "Money," by J. McLain Smith; and "The Criminal Classes," by Rev. D. R. Miller, formerly chaplain of the Ohio Penitentiary.——The *Presbyterian Quarterly* for April has: 1. "The Latest Phase of Historical Rationalism," by B. B. Warfield, D.D.; 2. "The Bible in the College Curriculum," by F. H. Gaines; 3. "The Church's Double Commission"—which is to "go" and to "teach"—by P. D. Stephenson, D.D.; 4. "Paul on the Lord's Supper, in 1 Cor. xi, 17–34," by F. P. Ramsay; 5. "Ordination in Heathen Lands," by J. P. Robertson; 6. "Madame De Maintenon," by C. C. Starbuck, D.D.; 7. "The Single Tax upon Land," by J. A. Quarles, D.D.——The April number of the *Missionary Review*, besides its other good things, has an impressive memorial sketch of "Rev. Adoniram Judson Gordon, D.D.," by Dr. A. T. Pierson. Like his illustrious namesake, Dr. Gordon was, "in an exalted sense, a great man." The world will miss his industry and saintliness. "Fifty ordinary men," says Dr. Pierson, "might have been withdrawn without occasioning such widespread sense of irreparable loss." A striking portrait accompanies the memoir.——The *New Church Review* for April opens with an article on "Swedenborg and Aristotle," by Frank Sewall. Some of the following papers are: "The Development of Language," by J. E. Werren, "The Right to Labor," by J. K. Smyth, and "Tolstoi's Latest Book," by W. H. Mayhew.——*Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for April has illustrated articles on "Our National Capital," by Julian Ralph; "Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc, Part I," by Louis De Conte; "Paris in Mourning," by Richard Harding Davis; and "Venice in Easter—Impressions and Sensations," by Arthur Symons.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Old and New Unitarian Belief. By JOHN WHITE CHADWICK. 8vo, pp. 246. Boston: George H. Ellis. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The author of this book is the author of *The Bible of To-day*, *The Faith of Reason*, *The Man Jesus*, and *A Book of Poems*, and is well known as the minister for thirty years of the Second Unitarian Society, of Brooklyn, N. Y. Most of these chapters were delivered to his congregation as monthly lectures in 1893 and 1894. They are entitled, "Historical Introduction;" "The Doctrine of Man;" "Concerning God;" "The Bible;" "Christianity;" "Concerning Jesus;" "The Future Life;" "The Great Salvation;" "Loss and Gain." Mr. Chadwick says the early Christian Church was Unitarian. He thinks Unitarian belief has made great progress in the past fifty years, and tells us how, but expects that some in his denomination will demur at his statements, although he is of opinion that "the unsectarian sect called Unitarians" is now well agreed on the main lines of its belief, having been caught up at the Saratoga convention last year into a sweet heaven of agreement as to the things commonly believed among them. It seems largely an agreement to let each man believe pretty much as he pleases. Mr. Chadwick tells how the conservatives had their way in 1865, in incorporating into the preamble of the constitution adopted by the National Conference a phrase describing Jesus as "our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ," which phrase, he says, was "a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense" to many Unitarians, because it "carried with it a suggestion of authority inimical to spiritual freedom." They were unwilling to bow the knee to the authority of Jesus to the extent which that phrase implies. And soon after the Free Religious Association was formed. Later came the "Year Book controversy," over the question whether the ministerial list in that book should include the names of those who could not conscientiously appropriate the Christian name; and it was settled by deciding that all ministers in charge of Unitarian societies, or who had been so and had not withdrawn from the ministry, should be included as being in good standing, no matter whether they were willing to bear the Christian name or not—from which it appeared that a man could be a Unitarian minister without being even willing to be a Christian. Mr. Chadwick rejoices in that decision; and we ourselves see no necessity for one to be a Christian in order to come within the Unitarian fold. The book tells, also, of the "Western controversy," brought about by "the attempt of certain earnest spirits" to commit the Western Conference to a belief in Christian theism; but they failed, for the Conference refused to limit its fellowship by any dogmatic test, deciding to allow men to reject Christian theism if they pleased, and welcoming anybody who simply had a desire to build

up a kingdom of righteousness and truth and love. It seems that "many individuals and some churches" could not stand this and withdrew. Our author is sure that the time is near at hand when this same large liberty will be formally declared throughout the entire Unitarian body—no requiring of members or ministers to be Christians or Christian theists. He is probably right in his prophecy. John W. Chadwick is no mean representative of his denomination; it has few that surpass him in culture and ability; and, judging from what he tells us, we know no reason why Swami Vivekananda, the Hindoo monk, should not remain in this country as the minister of some Unitarian society. Felix Adler has stood in Mr. Chadwick's pulpit in Brooklyn and assailed there the doctrine of immortality, as not only irrational, but utterly selfish and demoralizing, a stumbling-block in the way of righteousness; and we see no reason why agnosticism and atheism might not be preached there and called religion. The author claims the poet Whittier as in spirit a Unitarian. There is not the slightest truth in it. That claim, which is on page 227 of the book before us, was done to death, in whole and in part, by Dr. Cobern, in the last number of our *Review*. Whittier declared himself an old-fashioned Orthodox Quaker, and once said he saw no reason why the Orthodox Quakers and the Methodists could not come together in one body. And we make the counterclaim that there is far more reason for saying that Whittier was essentially and in spirit a Methodist than that he was, in any degree or any sense whatever, a Unitarian. Mr. Chadwick thinks it is well that Unitarianism has not now a monopoly of literary excellence, because, he says, "there was danger of our being exalted above measure. Our catalogue of Unitarian poets and historians and orators was getting stale and wearisome." We do not quite understand, but we suppose what he says about this is true. The author asserts that the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago was largely Unitarian in its inception and was dominated by Unitarian thought. What does Dr. J. H. Barrows say to that? The book says "Paul was not a consistent thinker." What a pity that Paul cannot return to earth and attend the Second Unitarian Church in Brooklyn, where "a consistent thinker" is revising and correcting Paul's mistakes, as well as those made by Jesus Christ, to say nothing of setting Channing right and showing where Theodore Parker was too conservative! This wise man says that when the Unitarians of forty years ago affirmed the moral perfection of Jesus they did so without intellectual seriousness; for Jesus was not more perfect than others, and it has always been possible for other men to be as good as he. "Bright is the laurel upon Jesus's brow, which once the brier mocked. We would not rob it of one shining leaf. But thousands besides him have done their part, with sea and land, with sun and stars, with history and art, in revealing to us the perfection of the Eternal." So he says; and we may add that Mr. Chadwick also is trying to do his part. He is a free man, and no "slave of Jesus Christ," as that fanatical enthusiast, Paul, called himself. The author is so kind as to acknowledge Christ's "spiritual genius" and to admire his "broad humanity" and his "compassion

for the poor and miserable;" but Jesus "partook of the imperfect notions of his time." He quite heartily commends Jesus for his gifts and graces, but does not admit that God "hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name: that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." Mr. Chadwick thinks Strauss's *Life of Jesus* pulverized the supernaturalist. He says of certain men, "They were no more Trinitarians than Dr. Lyman Abbott is." He asserts that the Unitarian leaven is working among the orthodox, and makes this startling and audacious statement: "In my social contacts with orthodox ministers I tacitly assume that they believe just about the same as I do, and they do not often disappoint my expectation." Who are this man's associates? We venture Methodists are not among them. Such assertions from him will make his friendship as damaging to any orthodox reputation as the attentions of the heir apparent to a certain European throne have long been ruinous to the good name of any lady on whom he bestowed them. Did we hear somebody suggest that a yellow flag be raised over the house of this Brooklyn Unitarian to give warning that it is unsafe for orthodox people to go there even socially? We thank the author of *Old and New Unitarian Belief* for this book. It saves orthodoxy the trouble of framing any indictment against Unitarianism. If we had made such statements about Unitarian belief or lack of belief some one would have disbelieved us and, perhaps, thought we ought to be sued for libel; but who will contradict a high priest of Unitarianism like John W. Chadwick? His book has much repetition, a hesitant and mumbling theism, a doubtful basis for moral obligation or for any explanation of our ethical nature other than natural brute evolution. As we close this book the impression is left that Unitarianism disintegrates toward doctrinal chaos, with a go-as-you-please race among some of its ministers to see who can get there first.

Discourses and Addresses. By GEORGE DOUGLAS, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp, 358. Toronto: William Briggs. Price, cloth, $1.25

In this book are preserved fifteen sermons and seven addresses, delivered on as many important public occasions by one of the most afflicted and enfeebled, yet most eloquent of men. They are characterized by glowing fervor, an illuminating imagination, and great spiritual elevation. There are three Introductions—the Canadian by John Potts, the American by Bishop R. S. Foster, and the British by William Arthur—the last so characteristic of the rarely wise and saintly veteran who wrote it that we are moved to quote its close: "Besides the work of a preacher and pastor, it was the lot of George Douglas to stand in the slippery places of a professor—a place crowned with opportunities and honors, but beset with perils. There I read that he was 'conservative,' which I suppose means that the word of Christ dwelt in him richly and conserved his faith and courage in maintaining it, when others were moved by the assailants of the faith and seemed, if not halting between two opinions, at least to be looking out

for bypaths. I suppose it may mean that he was not forward to display what some call an 'advanced theology.' The only theology which that name can fit is one that moves up closer to the words and doctrines of the Lord Jesus Christ, to those of his apostles, and to those of the men who, at sundry times between his day and our own, have made the Church bear witness that where they toiled the wilderness became a fruitful field. To any who studied at the feet of George Douglas I would with deep respect say, If you ever hear men speak of 'advanced theology,' when it is an advance toward latitudinarianism, or an advance toward arianism, toward socinianism, toward rationalism, or toward any of the countless shifting and covert forms of those modes of dealing with Christian doctrine to which many professors in different Churches show great deference, ask where are the deserts which any of these systems have turned into fruitful fields? None of them is new, none untried, none without its record. It has been my lot to see much on the continent of Europe of fields which have been strewn with the fertilizers of such professors, with the result that, instead of sere leaves being turned green, what were watered gardens have been made dry and barren. We are often told to stand in awe of the scholarship of such men—rabbis they, pundits, wells of learning, deep learning, O, so deep! Do not fear, young man, as George Douglas would not have feared, to put the question, Are these wells, or are they not rather wells without water? Do they make the grass grow? Are their borders, 'where once a garden smiled,' dry, sterile, shriveled? Is it true that those who speak of their depth never speak of living streams flowing out from them, nor of the 'many trees on this side and on that' wherewith those streams clothe former wastes? Then, young man, turn from them and seek an advanced theology in trying to come up nearer to Christ and the apostles, and to those whose business, like theirs, has been to seek and to save the lost, and whose mark made on the sands of time is one, like George Douglas, 'advancing,' not backward, but forward, not downward, but upward, not toward those whom the world hails, but toward those whom it knoweth not." Of George Douglas Dr. Hugh Johnston truly says: "He was world-known for his transcendent gifts of eloquence. The versatility of his powers, the brilliancy and activity of his mind, the greatness and heroic courage of his soul were recognized throughout the entire Church." The last appearances of Dr. Douglas before a great American audience were at the Ecumenical Conference in Washington, in 1891. An address there delivered by him is the last in the volume before us. A memorable occasion it was to all who then listened for the last time to this pale, ethereal, trembling, tottering, blind man eloquent. Of it a description might be given similar to what another has written concerning the appearance of another blind man, Dr. George Matheson, before a similar world-assembly. The description says: "The blind minister of the parish of St. Bernard's, Edinburgh, is a powerful and popular speaker and writer. One of the most moving missionary addresses we were ever privileged to hear was from his lips, after he had groped his way under the guidance of a

friend to get hold of the railing of the platform at the great Pan-Presbyterian Council in Belfast, in 1884. The whole audience was stirred and spellbound by the words of the speaker, as by none other on that great occasion." From Dr. Douglas's address in Washington we quote his reference to one of the chief captains of American Methodism: "I . . . count it the honor of my life to have shared the friendship of Bishop Simpson, whose logic was fire, whose argument was irresistible, whose emotional power was like unto the noise of the wind in the mulberry trees, swaying the multitudes and lifting them to a sublimity and rapture transcendental. Simpson! It may be doubted whether the generations will witness an approach to his pulpit power." Also the closing words of that address: "Mr. President, I feel at this moment something like the ideal statesman of this continent, Henry Clay. He had climbed with some friends the heights of the Alleghanies; he had gone out on a jutting crag. Looking toward the valley of the Ohio and the prairie lands, as yet all silent and desolate, he was seen to bend his head as if listening to a sound that came from afar. 'What hearest thou, senator from Kentucky?' asked his familiar friend. 'Hear?' responded the statesman, 'I hear the thunder tread of the coming millions, who are marching over the mountains to possess those prairies, away and away to the setting sun.' In the presence of these representatives, I seem to hear the thunder tread of the coming millions of Methodism, who will ascend to the mountains of myrrh and frankincense, when the day breaks and the shadows flee away. '*Post tenebras lux*,' cried the hero of Geneva, after darkness, light; after the labor, the conflict, the shadow, the night of earth, we shall clasp hands in the light of heaven, the beatific vision of God." Since February 10, 1894, George Douglas dwells in that light, and his eyes, no longer blind, gaze on that beatific vision.

The Ministry of the Spirit. By A. J. GORDON, D.D. 8vo, pp. 225. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Price, cloth, $1.

The author of this attractive volume, who since its publication has passed into the heavens, was a brother to all believers. While in name he stood as a conspicuous minister of the Baptist faith in the United States, yet, in his broad plans, his catholic spirit, his cooperation with other Christian bodies in practical work, he so belonged to the universal Church that all denominations are poorer in his sudden departure. His preeminent piety, moreover, makes his loss a common bereavement. In the consecration and sweet fragrance of his life he so illustrated the possibilities of the divine indwelling that his textual study of the Scriptures regarding the personality, office work, and abiding presence of the Holy Spirit has a double force; and because his life is the interpreter of his book it is just to preface the notice of this volume with the remembrance of his distinguished piety. For the purposes of clearness, the author aims to dwell upon "the time-ministry of the Holy Ghost, without entering upon the consideration of his eternal ministry." Pentecost, according to Augustine, was "the birthday of the Spirit." When Christ's

earthly work for his Church was finished, the work of the Spirit in the world properly began. The Church is furthermore his body. "So soon as the Holy Ghost was sent down from heaven," writes the author, "this great work of his embodying began, and it is to continue until the number of the elect shall be accomplished, or until the end of the present dispensation." But an enduement of the Spirit is also individually possible. His threefold work of "sealing, filling, and anointing" is vigorously shown by Dr. Gordon. "It is easy," he says, "to cite cases of decisive, vivid, and clearly marked experience of the Spirit's enduement, as in the lives of Dr. Finney, James Brainard Taylor, and many others. And instead of discrediting these experiences—so definite as to time and so distinct as to accompanying credentials—we would ask the reader to study them, and observe the remarkable effects which followed in the ministry of those who enjoyed them. The lives of many of the colaborers with Wesley and Whitefield give a striking confirmation of the doctrine which we are defending. Years of barren ministry, in which the Gospel was preached with orthodox correctness and literary finish, followed, after the Holy Spirit had been recognized and appropriated, by evangelistic pastorates of the most fervent type—such is the history of not a few of these mighty men of God." The chapters of the book, which are entitled "The Communion of the Spirit," "The Administration of the Spirit," "The Inspiration of the Spirit," "The Conviction of the Spirit," and "The Ascent of the Spirit," must be interpreted by their titles in lieu of longer quotation. Such extracts as we have given, however, will serve to make plain the scope, the weighty character, and also the practical value of the book. "We have sought," says the good man who has gone, "to emphasize and to magnify the great truth that the Paraclete is now present in the Church; that we are living in the dispensation of the Spirit, with all the unspeakable blessing for the Church and for the world which this economy provides." For the great lessons that it holds we earnestly commend the volume to general notice. The putting of a copy upon the study table of every Christian minister of the land could but make plainer the personality of the Spirit, and quicken a desire for his more plentiful bestowment in whose dispensation frail and sinful men are preaching the Gospel of the kingdom.

The Money of the Bible. Illustrated by numerous woodcuts and facsimile representations. By GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON, D. Lit. 12mo, pp. 94. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.

Increasing attention is being paid to archæology by all students of the Bible. The careful scholar seeks its aid in all critical studies; and the ordinary reader, almost without knowledge of the means, has gained real instruction from it. The Sunday school teacher who is alert to try every new thing that promises to make more real to his pupils the ever interesting old book ought to turn more and more his attention to archæology. Imagination must always reconstruct antiquity; but imagination is wonderfully assisted by a little knowledge of the dress worn in antiquity or of the customs of eating and drinking and working in antiquity. The aids

to this kind of study of the world of the Bible are multiplying on every hand, and there is no excuse for the withholding of this knowledge from Sunday schools and Bible classes. The teacher who wishes to construct for himself and his class a better and more real picture of the Bible world can hardly begin with anything that is likely to prove more easy and more profitable than a study of Bible money. This little book will supply all that is needed of material in the way of description and illustration. It discusses in simple and untechnical language the whole subject, and makes any ordinary reader, no matter how ignorant of the subject he may have been, an easy master of the elementary principles. The facsimile of coins, which faces the title-page, can be carried to the class, where its raised and colored figures of coins will help the teacher over many a hard place. The book is well written, by a competent and accurate scholar. We cannot agree with the judgment, expressed on page 28, which locates a shekel in the time of Ezra. This coin is correctly, as we believe, ascribed to Simon Maccabæus in the facsimile plate above mentioned. We commend the book very heartily to all Bible students.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Elements of Ethics. By JAMES A. HYSLOP, Ph.D., Instructor in Ethics, Columbia College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 12mo, pp. 470.

We welcome this book as a fresh and original treatment of ethical theories. The discussion meets all our essential demands upon such a work; it is historical, closely reasoned, temperately calm, and it is wholesome in its principal conclusions. We get a special satisfaction out of the fact that the author approaches the subject of ethical data as a scientist, rather than as a theologian, for a particular reason. For some years the scientific brethren adventuring into this region as evolutionists and necessitarians have seemed determined to eviscerate the morality we have inherited. The dreary materialism of some and the relaxed codes of others have prepared us to welcome a thinker who finds a moral nature in man and a will free enough to make men responsible and to justify society for punishing crime. Dr. Hyslop shows himself capable of his task, which is to review and restate and pass a new judgment upon fundamental questions. The moral basis of life, laid in the nature of man, is the most practical matter in human society. In these pages we get down to it once more, and renew our confidence that the materialistic rubbish heaped upon it in much of our popular literature cannot long remain to withhold men's eyes from the solidity and permanence of our moral foundations. We have space for some particular topics only. The seventy-three pages given to a discussion of the freedom of the will offer the reader a fine piece of reasoning, clear, careful, cogent, comprehensive of the whole controversy. The author separates into three the thing called freedom; the three are liberty, spontaneity, and velleity. The first means exemption from external restraint; the second, that the cause of a man's acts is within himself;

the third, a capacity of alternative choice. This last is the basis of responsibility. The fine combination of a historical and a dialectical discussion, the precision of the many definitions required, and the solidity of the whole argument are alike admirable. This chapter brings the history of a great controversy down to date, and shows that the foundations of responsibility still stand sure. "The capacity for active or voluntary adjustment to environment exists, without a doubt, to all who take care to analyze the problem correctly. . . . Once admit the capacity for conscious adjustment to a changing environment, which we described as a quality of rational beings, and the whole case for freedom is proved." These well-chosen words of the author's conclusions are perfectly justified by the foregoing argument. The chapters on conscience are only less important as an addition to ethical literature. It is much to say that on so old a theme the author has a fresh word for us; it is more to add that his new word is not an irresponsible skit, but a sober, discriminating, and illuminating essay. His definition of conscience, albeit provisional, is, to say the least, helpful. It is this: "Conscience is a name for the consciousness of moral distinctions and of the obligation to respect them." He finds conscience a synthesis of various functions of the mind. An intellectual element affords us "an ideal object to be attained" and "a discrimination between what is right and what is wrong." An emotional element presents us with a judicial feeling of approbation or condemnation and of a law over us—Kant's categorical imperative—and a desiderative feeling taking the forms of "reverence, conscientiousness, respect for a law of virtue, and respect for man." Intellect, desire, will, conspire in the making up of the dictates of conscience. We are not too sure that the complex theory is the best; but it is certain that an act of conscience is environed by intellectual elements, though the conception of conscience as a distinct kind of moral emotion—evoked, as an æsthetic emotion is, by intellectual action and followed up by an executive volition—more fully discloses the majesty of conscience. But, unfortunately, emotion is a little out of favor at court in these days—in part out of favor because the kingly emotion of conscience is dispersed and shattered in the popular brain-cell lucubrations of our times.

Life and Letters of Robert Browning. By Mrs. SUTHERLAND ORR. Two volumes, crown 8vo, pp. 646. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. Price, cloth, $3.

A Guidebook to the Poetic and Dramatic Works of Robert Browning. By GEORGE WILLIS COOKE. Crown 8vo, pp. 451. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

He who has Shakespeare and Browning has the two most powerful poets of three centuries—poets whose works make us acquainted, not merely with literature, but with life; not with dreams, but with human nature. This is far from saying that they are the only great poets. Mrs. Orr's *Life* really includes Elizabeth Barrett Browning, as well as Robert. They were married in 1846, when he was thirty-four and she was six years older, and they lived and worked together for fifteen years, she producing so much more easily and rapidly than he that he some-

times pretended to be discouraged, as when he writes to a friend: "You are wrong, quite wrong. She has genius; I am only a painstaking fellow. Can't you imagine a clever sort of angel, who plots and plans and tries to build up something—he wants to make you see it as he sees it—shows you one point of view, carries you off to another, hammering into your head the thing he wants you to understand; and while this bother is going on God Almighty turns you off a little star?—that's the difference between us. The true creative power is hers, not mine." Mrs. Orr is an interesting, and means to be a frank and faithful, biographer; yet we believe she fails to be entirely just to Browning at one or two points. Mr. Cooke's *Guidebook* is valuable to the student of Browning. It is an explanatory and interpretative commentary, and contains full and clear analyses of nearly all Browning's poems, rendering intelligible many things which some readers may have found obscure and puzzling. For its purpose it is excellent, serviceable, admirable. Not a little of its interest is in giving, in many cases, time, place, and circumstances under which the poem was written; as, for instance, telling us that "Prospice" —that poem so full of a fearless challenge of death and faith in personal immortality—was written in the autumn following the July in which Mrs. Browning died. And then is added what Browning, shortly before his own death, said to a friend: "Death, death! It is this harping on death I despise so much, this idle and often cowardly, as well as ignorant, harping! Why should we not change like everything else? In fiction, in poetry, French as well as English, and, I am told, in American art and literature, the shadow of death—call it what you will, despair, negation, indifference—is upon us. But what fools who talk thus! Why, *amico mio*, you know as well as I that death is life, just as our daily, our momentarily, dying body is none the less alive and ever recruiting new forces of existence. Without death, which is our crape-like churchyardy word for change, for growth, there could be no prolongation of that which we call life. Pshaw! It is foolish to argue upon such a thing even. For myself, I deny death as an end of anything. Never say of me that I am dead." Again our commentator, explaining "A Death in the Desert," says that Browning wrote that poem to combat the teachings of Strauss's *Leben Jesu*, and to maintain the truthfulness of Christianity and its trustworthiness as a spiritual interpretation of life and the world. Both books are well indexed and in good form for usefulness.

Demon Possession and Allied Themes. By Rev. JOHN NEVIUS, D.D., for forty years a missionary to the Chinese. 12mo, pp. 482. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This book is a valuable one, because it adds to our knowledge of a very difficult group of phenomena. The substance of the information is that converted Chinese have reported to the author and other missionaries many cases of demoniacal possession, and also that these demons departed from their victims whenever the Scriptures were read, prayers were offered by Christians, or Christian hymns sung in presence of the afflicted persons. In short, some of the native helpers or catechists are in the habit of cast-

ing out devils in the name of Christ. Those proceedings are reported from the province of Shantung, for the most part, though some cases occur in other parts of the far East. Dr. Nevius had for some forty years collected testimony on this matter, and it is well that his researches did not die when this faithful apostle passed away. If the testimony has no other value than to prove that the imitative Chinese convert reenacts in his mind the healing miracles of the New Testament the lesson would be worth the labor of writing this book. Dr. Nevius thought much more highly of his "facts," and he was better able than we are to appreciate them. He saw in his collection of testimonies proof of the existence and persistence of demon possession, though he shows a scientific hesitation which adds to our confidence in his character as an observer and reporter. Fortunately, he gives us the full narratives of a number of witnesses, and thus enables the reader to sift and weigh them. The critical reader will easily find defects in those narratives. (1) The witnesses in most cases are native Christians, and in the few other cases the missionary, knowing personally a part of the case, has had to trust the natives for most of the facts. (2) These witnesses know their gospels, and the resemblances to gospel cases are *too close*. For example, on page 88 we are told that the demon cried out, "My name is Legion." The successful catechists, on another occasion, say, "Even the devils are subject to us." These quotations suggest, perhaps, rather self-deception than concerted falsehood; but the close copies of the New Testament cases raise a doubt as to the validity of the evidence. There remain, however, after fair deductions, probable proofs of the survival in China of the belief in demon possession which prevailed in gospel times. This fact is a precious one for the biblical student, and it is to be expected that it will be very thoroughly investigated. The missionary in contact with the less enlightened villagers of Shantung has an opportunity to find the lost key to an important part of the work of Jesus. The cases circumstantially related by our author suggest the several forms of disease usually mentioned to explain the gospel narratives—epilepsy, hysteria, trance, and insanity—but there are other elements in the cases, or in some of them; yet localism may account for these variations. It does not follow, however, that our rationalizing tendencies take us along the road to the whole truth. Demonism remains unexplained in our scientific age; that is to say, our explanations leave us with a doubt whether the simple faith of the contemporaries of our Lord did not grasp a truth which we miss. The strongest argument for our views is that, even in the East, we must seek rural spots and uneducated people for our demon phenomena, and that as soon as we enter the city or the cultured class we become acquainted with a demon business yielding a revenue. The foregoing critical suggestions are, of course, too brief to more than indicate the lines for further study. Granted that demon phenomena, just like those of the New Testament, are found in oriental countries, the inference is only that the study of the former may throw a flood of light upon the latter. The precise nature of the instruction such study may impart cannot be known in advance. But one of

two lessons must emerge: (1) the phenomena of demonism will be definitively classed as diseases physical or mental; or (2), the reality of demoniacal possession as a permanent fact will be established. The difficulties in the way of studying the Chinese demonology seem almost insurmountable. If the author of this work, with forty years of life in China, deeply interested in this subject, left the task barely begun, if he left so much to be desired in the testimony of his witnesses, we may well remain in doubt whether our busy missionaries may find time to prosecute so arduous a task to a satisfactory result. It may be well to add that the connection which may possibly exist between these demon phenomena and those of spiritism in a modern sense may wait to be considered after fuller study of all the facts. The author has worthily begun a work of observation and induction; theorizing may be postponed until we are well acquainted with our facts and have thoroughly taken them to pieces in search of their essential nature. Thus far, their very validity as facts is shaken by doubts. In truth, this remains the stumbling-block of theory over the whole field of spiritism—the doubtfulness of a large part of the induction. The bibliography and the index of this work give it a special value for readers who may desire to investigate the literature of a subject which, more and more, enforces respectful consideration.

The Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier. Cambridge Edition. 8vo, pp. xxii, 542. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

Whittier's poems need no introduction to the readers of the *Review*. But it is a pleasure to call attention to this new edition, which is destined to take the place of all other one-volume editions of the Quaker poet. We do mere justice when we say that it is as beautiful and perfect a specimen of book-making as has ever issued from the American press. It is worthy of its companion volume—Longfellow. We specify particularly the clear, new type, the excellent quality of paper, and the binding. Open the book where you will, it remains open of its own accord at that identical place. We notice, also, the etching portrait which serves as frontispiece, and the fine vignette of the "Home at Amesbury" on the title-page. Mr. H. E. Scudder furnishes a brief, yet comprehensive, biographical sketch. The poems themselves are grouped in new divisions—a rearrangement effected by Mr. Whittier before his death. Among the headings of the new divisions we find "Narrative and Legendary Poems," "Poems of Nature," "Personal Poems," "Antislavery Poems," "Poems Subjective and Reminiscent," "Religious Poems," etc., though many of the poems defy a narrow classification, several of the legendary poems, for instance, being essentially religious. We miss, however, the happy title, "Voices of Freedom." Many of the poems, too, are preceded by liberal notes describing the occasion of their composition. An Appendix of thirty-three pages, in smaller type, contains "Early and Uncollected Verses," and "Poems Printed in the *Life of Whittier*." Occupying the place of honor in this subordinate division we notice the once conspicuous "Mogg Megone." At the end are a chronological table of the poems, arranged according to years, and indices of first lines and of titles. Mr.

Whittier is preeminently the poet of conscience and of simple faith; and we know of nothing better that can be done when mind and body are weary, and the soul is weary also and discouraged—in short, when one has the "blues"—than to read and inwardly digest one or two of these poems, choosing almost at random. They are so homely—in the true sense of the word—so soothing in their spirit of quiet and sober meditation, so full of latent cheerfulness, and they so reach down to the very rock foundations of our moral being and lift our best selves up again to the surface of this work-a-day world, that we close the book with a renewed mental and physical vigor, with a brighter outlook on the affairs of life, and a recovered spiritual tone to help us on our way.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Life of Frances Power Cobbe. By Herself. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 662. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. Price, cloth, $4.

No one would think of circulating this book as a Methodist tract, yet there are few biographies out of which a minister may get more. Parts of it will stir the thoughtful reader to the top of his mind and the bottom of his soul. For one thing, it is a transparently honest book, and much can be forgiven to pure honesty. The tone of absolute sincerity rings clear from first to last and dignifies and, in some sense, sanctifies the book. The verity of life and the truth of reality fill the pages. In it a powerfully intellectual woman tells the story of her inner and outer life, showing the inner to be deep and strong, while the outer is rich in associations of a noble sort. Miss Cobbe calls herself a theist; but this book of a heretic woman has in it for the intelligent thinker far more that makes for faith than for unfaith, and contains, not only stimulation and provocation toward sermonizing, but some real preaching which might fitly borrow for itself the title of Henry Van Dyke's sermonic volume, *Straight Sermons.* In some places the Christian thinker will find himself challenged and provoked to fight, but it is by a fair and honorable dissenter—a foe-woman worthy of his steel—and it will do him good if he knows anything about his weapons; and if he does not it may do him good by compelling him to get acquainted with them. It will probably seem to other readers, as it does to us, that if she were thoroughly consistent and loyal to all her Christward concessions she would become an avowed Christian. She confesses that her book contains a good deal of "old woman's gossip;" but it is the lively chat of a marvelously vivacious and engaging woman, and about people and things we are interested in. Such persons as Dean Stanley, Professor Jowett, Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, the Brownings, John Tyndall, Charles Darwin, W. R. Greg, and Lord Shaftesbury, with James Russell Lowell, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Fanny Kemble, are described, reported in interviews, and shown by many of their letters in correspondence with Miss Cobbe. In her Preface this brave, true, generous woman writes, "Though I entirely believe in a higher existence here-

after, . . . I would gladly accept the permission to run my earthly race once more from beginning to end, taking sunshine and shade just as they have flickered over the long vista of my seventy years." Concerning her religion she says: "For fifty years theism has been my staff of life. I must soon try how it will support me down the last few steps of my earthly way. I believe it will do so well." About Kant's philosophy: "I can say for my own mind (as his German disciples were wont to do for themselves), 'God said, Let there be light;' and there was—the Kantian philosophy.'" "Kant will finally be recognized to have been the Newton of the laws of the mind." "The science of morals belongs to the class of exact sciences, and it has, consequently, a right to that credence wherewith we hold the truths of arithmetic and geometry." Here is what a sister of Mrs. Hemans wrote in 1819: "We saw Lord Byron. . . . A more wretched, depraved-looking countenance it is impossible to imagine—his hair streaming almost down to his shoulders, and his whole appearance slovenly and even dirty. Still, there is a something which impels you to look at his face, although it inspires you with aversion—a something entirely different from any expression on any countenance I ever beheld before. His character, I hear, is worse than ever; dreadful it must be, since everyone says he is the most dissipated person in Italy." Mr. M. D. Hill, recorder of Birmingham, did much to improve the treatment of criminals, especially juvenile delinquents; and this philanthropist told Miss Cobbe that his experience led him to believe in the aggressive power of love and kindness, and that it at last had struck him that all this was in the New Testament, that Christ had revealed the religion of love, and that he had noticed that few, except religious Christians, ever aided the great causes of philanthropy. When she refers to Recorder Hill as venerable he writes, "As I don't mean to give up the follies of youth for the next eight years, that is, until I am eighty, I don't choose to be called 'venerable.'" Professor Jowett, master of Balliol, taking tea with Miss Cobbe, "said he felt writing to be a great labor, but *regularly wrote one page every day.*" And thus his great books got gradually and laboriously written. D'Azeglio is quoted as saying, "Miracles! I do not believe in them. They are celestial *coups d'état.*" Browning is described as always full of spirits, full of interest in everything, from politics to hedge flowers, cordial and utterly unaffected; stamping on the floor in a frenzy of rage at the way some spirit-rapping mediums were trying to deceive Mrs. Browning; glorying in his wife's fame with utter unselfishness and generosity, and never in his own; always the same absolutely unassuming, genial English gentleman. Harriet Beecher Stowe taught her little boy that anger was sinful. One day he asked, "Mamma, why does the Bible say so often that God was angry?" She replied, "You will understand that when you are older." The boy pondered seriously a while, and then burst out, "O mamma, I have found it out! God is angry, because God is not a Christian." "Mrs. Somerville thinks no one can be eloquent who has not studied the Bible." A poor Scotch schoolmaster wrote a pamphlet, about which he said, "I found out that *there is only a very little*

thing to be done to stop all pauperism and all crime." And the great secret was all in his pamphlet! John Gibson, the artist, was "an old Greek soul, born by haphazard in a Welsh village." From the coming of Christ, says this sub-Christian woman, this professed "theist," "we trace through history a new spirit in the world, a leaven working through the whole mass of soul." "The language of the old world was one of *self-satisfaction;* the language of the new world is one long cry of longing *aspiration:* 'Would that I could create the ineffable beauty! Would that I could discover the eternal and absolute truth! Would, oh, would it were possible to live out the good, the noble, and the holy!'" "Christ was he who opened the age of endless progress." All this and much more like it conceded to Christ; and yet Frances Power Cobbe is not a Christian, only a theist! But has she any more positive ground for faith in God than she acknowledges for faith in Christ? Sir Charles Lyell preferred music to conversation, because "it allowed him to go on thinking his own thoughts." "We are all familiar with a certain tone of lofty superiority common to Roman Catholics and Anglicans in dealing with dissenters of all classes—*the tone, no doubt, in which the priests of On talked of Moses when he led the Israelitish schism in the wilderness.*" R. W. Mackay, author of *Progress of the Intellect*, agreed with Miss Cobbe that "the one direct way of reaching truth about religion was prayer, and all the rest mere corroboration of what may be so learned." Concerning her little book, *Dawning Lights*, which vindicates the efficacy of prayer for spiritual benefits, John Tyndall writes her: "Your images are too concrete and your personification of the mystery of mysteries too intense for me. But so long as you are tolerant of others—which you are—the shape into which you mold the power of your soul must be determined by yourself alone." Charles Darwin wrote, with a touch of irony: "I fully feel how presumptuous it sounds to put myself, even for a moment, in the same bracket with Kant—the one man a great philosopher, looking exclusively into his own mind; the other a degraded wretch, looking from the outside, through apes and savages, at the moral sense of mankind." On which Miss Cobbe properly comments, "Man's consciousness is not only a fact in the world, but the greatest of facts; and to overlook it and take our lessons from beasts and insects is to repeat the old jest, of Hamlet with Hamlet omitted." In her *Darwinism in Morals*, she showed the absolutely fatal and deadly import of Darwin's theory of the origin of conscience. She thinks Keshub Chunder Sen the most devout man with whose mind she ever came in contact, and also the only Oriental she ever knew who could thoroughly enjoy a joke. She tells of a certain fanatic, named Harris, who taught a method of obtaining fresh supplies of the divine Spirit by the process of holding one's breath for some minutes. She reports a sermon by James Martineau in Little Portland Street Chapel, in which he said that all theological reformation was by "return to the three pure articles of faith—God, duty, immortality," and presented the distinction between extent of creed and intensity of faith. Dean Stanley wrote that F. W. Newman's book, *The Soul*, is of more value to true, solid, catholic Christianity than all

the writings of John Henry Newman. Miss Cobbe thinks that, of all the tens of thousands who have studied about Jesus Christ during nineteen centuries, Renan was in some respects the least able to comprehend him; and in this she is right. Renan is just no authority at all. "No man has done so much as Tennyson to express poetical feeling by sound; Titian has done as much with colors." "Many of us look upon Mr. William Watson as the poet of the future in England." One of Miss Cobbe's warmest friends was the great evangelical philanthropist, Lord Shaftesbury, who wrote of his labors on behalf of homeless children, "In thirty years we took off the streets of London, and sent to service or provided with means of honest livelihood, more than two hundred and twenty thousand 'waifs and strays.'" The Christlike compassion of his soul speaks in these words: "When I feel age creeping on me and know I must soon die, I hope it is not wrong to say it, but *I cannot bear to leave the world with all the misery in it.*" To him on his birthday, April 28, 1881, Miss Cobbe sent seven verses, of which this is one:

> O friend of all the friendless 'neath the sun,
> Whose hand hath wiped away a thousand tears,
> Whose fervent lips and clear, strong brain have done
> God's holy service, lo! these eighty years!

If these extracts shall turn our readers into Oliver Twists they can find plenty "more" like them in the volumes we now reluctantly close.

A History of English Literature. By J. LOGIE ROBERTSON, M.A., First English Master, Edinburgh Ladies' College. 12mo, pp. 394. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This book, as is indicated on the title-page, is designed, not for colleges, but for the use of seminaries and secondary schools. For this purpose it is concise, without being meager, and, so far as we have examined, is intelligent and generally correct. It will answer well as a text-book suited to study and recitation, the instructor having opportunity to add ampler information wherever he wishes, with the book as a sufficient record for the pupil. It has developed out of twenty years' experience in teaching, and is a compendium of English literature from the year 449 to 1894. This stretch of thirteen centuries, beginning with the arrival of the English in England in the middle of the fifth century, is divided into six periods, the political aspect of each period being noted, as well as the literary. In treating of the poets, characteristic extracts are given as specimens of their style. Minor authors of established reputation are included. Each period is closed with a chronological list of the authors belonging to it and their works. Some notice—rather more than might have been expected from Edinburgh—is given to American literature and its producers. Concerning the Venerable Bede, Mr. Robertson repeats the oft-told, but always affecting, incident recorded by his pupil, St. Cuthbert: "During April and May of the year 735 Bede suffered from asthma, but in spite of it he worked on, that he might complete his translation of St. John's gospel into English. On May 26 only one scribe was with him, the rest being gone to the festival of the Ascension. 'Dear master,'

said the boy, 'there is yet one chapter, and it is painful for thee to dictate.' 'It is quite easy,' replied the venerable old man; 'only write quickly.' And thus they continued working the whole day. When daylight was fading—'There is only one sentence now to write, dear master,' said the boy. 'Write it quickly,' said the old man, speaking with difficulty. 'At last it is finished,' said the boy. 'You speak truth, indeed,' said the old man, 'it is finished—all is finished now.' He slipped on the floor; the young scholar knelt beside him and tenderly supported his head. And in this posture, with the words, 'Glory to God' on his lips, Bæda the Venerable, the greatest scholar of his day, expired." Of Herrick the author says: "The real Herrick, who is pagan, is in the *Hesperides;* in the *Noble Numbers* it is the Reverend Robert Herrick, the Christian clergyman, who seeks to adapt his song to the piety of his profession." Of Shakespeare: "He has twenty styles and is master of them all. There is no type of character he has not portrayed." Gibbon's own account of the genesis of his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is given: "It was at Rome, on the 15th of October, 1764, as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the capitol, while the barefooted friars were singing vespers in the temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started into my mind;" and also his description of the completion of his history at Lausanne: "It was on the day, or rather night, of the 27th of June, 1787, between the hours of eleven and twelve, that I wrote the last lines of the last page in a summer house in my garden. After laying down my pen I took several turns in a *berceau*, or covered walk of acacias, which commands a prospect of the country, the lake, and the mountains. The air was temperate, the sky was serene, the silver orb of the moon was reflected from the waters, and all nature was silent. I will not dissemble the first emotion of joy in the recovery of my freedom and, perhaps, the establishment of my fame. But my pride was soon humbled, and a sober melancholy was spread over my mind by the idea that I had taken an everlasting leave of an old and agreeable companion." We quote a few of the authors' opinions: "The most popular book in England, next to the Bible, was the production of an illiterate man, born in the humblest rank of life. That book is *The Pilgrim's Progress.* Next to the poetry of Milton, it is the finest and most characteristic literary outcome of English Puritanism." Wordsworth's poetry is mainly the expression of "emotion recollected in tranquillity." "Scott is to Scotland what Shakespeare is to England and Goethe to Germany." His last words, uttered on the day of his death, were, "To-night I shall know all." Of Coleridge, Stopford Brooke says: "All that he did excellently might be bound up in twenty pages; but it should be bound in pure gold." Tennyson's "prevailing note is the pathetic." "It is chiefly in a sense of humor that he is weak; he seems unable to express humor without the aid of a dialect." "The great object of Browning's poetry seems to have been to exhibit the mystery of human nature and set forth daily duty as the end of life. His religious views are those of the orthodox Christian." Longfellow "has given more people a

taste for poetry and purified and comforted more young minds than any poet of modern times." Dickens wrote of his own books: "Like many fond parents, I have in my heart of hearts a favorite child, and his name is David Copperfield." Carlyle is "one of the greatest forces in English literature, and probably the most stimulating literary force of the nineteenth century." Macaulay's sole ambition was literary fame. To him she was "the glorious lady, with eyes of light, and laurels clustering round her lofty brow," who had sat by his cradle in childhood "warbling a sweet, strange music." "Macaulay's first quality as a writer is lucidity. He is intelligible at once." "Writing with a brilliant and animated pen, he had the art of making fact appear as novel and attractive as fiction." Mr. Robertson's manual is a convenient guide to Engish literature for private use and the home library.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Wesley's Letters to Young Women. A Series of Letters Written by Rev. JOHN WESLEY to Several Young Christian Women. Edited by FRANK G. PORTER, B.D. 12mo, pp. 169. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

We have long felt that Wesley's letters, buried in the tomes that constitute his collected works, ought to have a resurrection from this tomb and be brought out into the light of modern day. The editor and publishers have done a good thing in giving us this installment. May its success lead to further researches among these buried treasures! These hundred and twenty-nine short letters, addressed to a number of female correspondents, abound in the words of pithy wisdom and solid common sense which characterize nearly all that the great founder of Methodism ever wrote. If all young ladies of the present heed the good advice prepared for their predecessors and now proffered to them they will greatly profit. For, although circumstances have considerably changed, the human heart is about the same in every age, and most of all the counsel here given relates to spiritual things. We would gladly give many extracts did our space permit. The following must suffice: "Health you shall have, if health be best." "You are in danger whenever you look at any circumstance without seeing the hand of God in it." "See the hand of God in Shimei's tongue." "In religion, as well as in all things else, it is use that brings perfectness." "Some wrong temper, at least in a small degree, almost necessarily follows from wrong judgment." "I am in doubt whether there be any soul clothed with flesh and blood which enjoys every right temper, in which is no degree of any wrong one." "Our understanding, as well as our temper, we ought to improve to the utmost of our power, which cannot otherwise be done than by reading authors of various kinds, as well as by thinking and conversation. If we read nothing but the Bible we should hear nothing but the Bible, and then what becomes of preaching?" "Anger at sin, accompanied with love and compassion to the sinner, is so far from being itself a sin that it is rather a duty." "Always there should be gradual growth in grace, which need never be

intermitted from the time we are justified." "Though I am always in haste, I am never in a hurry, because I never undertake any more work than I can go through with perfect calmness of spirit." "There are few persons in the kingdom who spend so many hours secluded from all company. Yet I find time to visit the sick and the poor."

The Play-actress. By S. R. CROCKETT. 16mo, pp. 194. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.

A story of a Scottish preacher; and it begins with his opening prayer in the kirk on Sunday morning: "For the weak and the sinful, O Lord, we pray; for those who often say to themselves, 'I will make a full end,' and the end is not yet; for lonely men with hidden sins gnawing their hearts, who are compelled to wear a fair front, we pray. Do thou have mercy on them. For the weary and the heavy-laden, Lord, we pray; for those who have none on the earth to whom to tell their grief. Teach them to know how to tell it to thyself when the nights are long and the morning watches silent. Them that are young forget not, even when they have forgotten thee. May they know that the heart of the Father is willing to receive and to forgive. Remember, Lord, all those whom others have forgotten, those who have been wronged and trodden upon, whose burden is heavier than they can bear. Be thou near them, great Bearer of burdens, Sharer of the yoke, thou strong Son of the strong Lord." An American bishop once prayed in a college chapel, "Lord, bless the under dog in the fight!" That is not a bad prayer. Many a worse one has been offered. If a collection could be made of singular prayers it would be interesting, if not edifying. A layman once prayed in public for his minister, "Lord bless him, and may he always hear the rattle of his master's hoofs behind him."

Cadet Days. A Story of West Point. By Captain CHARLES KING, U. S. A. 12mo, pp. 293. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Captain King needs no introduction. His army stories are well known to be among the best. This is the latest from the author of *A War-time Wooing*, *Between the Lines*, and *Campaigning with Crook*. It is a book difficult to lay down until the reader, whether he be fifteen or fifty, has finished it. It will help to give any boy or youth a living conception of a brave, truthful, hardy, and wholesome manliness. It is dedicated to "a mother who gave her only son to our army, who lived for him, through trial, to final triumph, and who, even in her saddest days, brought hope to other hearts and sunshine to other homes."

Religious Progress. By ALEXANDER V. G. ALLEN, Professor in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge. 12mo, pp. 137. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

To many it will be enough that this is the latest from the author of that remarkable book, *The Continuity of Christian Thought*. They will immediately order a copy of these lectures on religious progress, and will lament that there are only two of them. They were delivered before Yale Divinity School last March. One is on "Progress in the Experience of the Individual," the other on "Progress in the Organic Life of the Church."

METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1895.

ART. I.—A FORTNIGHT ON AN ICELANDIC FARM.

THE peculiar charm of Iceland, to one somewhat acquainted with the old saga literature, is that the modern Icelandic civilization is in most essentials the civilization of a thousand years ago. There are, indeed, differences enough. The people no longer worship Odin and Thor, and they no longer go armed with spear and shield; but in a vast number of particulars they are removed but a step from their Viking ancestors. Fortunately for one whose time in the country is limited, the life of modern Iceland presents few puzzles to a stranger. A visitor to England or France or Germany faces with a certain despair the complex life about him, and is confused by meeting at every turn something new and strange. In Iceland there is assuredly enough that is strange; but the civilization, as a whole, is so simple that even the casual visitor can hardly fail to grasp its salient features.

Iceland is preeminently a land of farmers. From the time of the first settlement the people have found but two chief occupations—farming and fishing. Of the nearly seventy-one thousand inhabitants two thirds are engaged in farming. Even the fishermen not infrequently eke out an existence on what they call a farm. Whoever knows the farm life, then, knows Iceland on its most characteristic side. In thinking of an Icelandic farm we must lay aside most of our preconceived notions about farming; for, in spite of the forty thousand square miles of Iceland, there are not more than two hundred and fifty acres that are really cultivated. Farming consists in

making hay and in raising sheep, cattle, and horses. Such a thing as the rotation of crops never occurs to an Icelandic farmer. He lets the grass grow where it will and takes it as a gift of Providence. In rare cases he raises a few turnips and potatoes, but these may be practically disregarded.

The reason for this narrow range of activity lies, in part, in the poverty of the soil and the rigor of the climate. The truest description of Iceland that I have ever heard came from the bluff and profane old Scotchman who has, for a score of years, lived in Reykjavik and who knows every mountain torrent and every glacier in the country. "Iceland," said he one day, with a pious addition—"there's nothing to see in Iceland. It's nothing but a big cinder that's got cold on top." The entire country is, indeed, a vast volcanic mass about the size of Virginia or Ohio, or more than eight times as large as Connecticut. If we could get a bird's-eye view of the country, we should see a great barren plateau, three hundred miles long at the longest and two hundred miles wide at the widest—the whole elevated at the center more than two thousand feet above the level of the sea. The south coast would present the form of an irregular bow, bending toward the south and broken by few inlets. On the east, the north, and the west we should see deep *fiords* indenting the coast line; and we might learn, according to one estimate, that if we were to sail round the island from one headland to another we should make a voyage of nine hundred miles, while if we followed the windings of the coast we should go more than twice as far. From our height we should look upon plains of barren volcanic sand, inclosing black lakes, with shores hardly tinged with green; upon long, jagged floods of lava, rent by earthquakes; and upon interminable fields of ice and snow, from which would dart gray rivers in terrible cataracts to the sea. Here and there we should note volcanoes, like Hekla or Askja or Krisuvik, and many reddish-brown ash cones, that burned themselves out thousands of years ago. But columns of steam and bursting geysers would still remind us that, if this is a land of ice, it is, also, a land of fire.

Many people imagine Iceland to be exceedingly cold, and they sometimes picture the Icelanders as dressed, even in summer, in robes of fur and as living in houses built of blocks of

ice. But the climate is not so severe as one might expect. During the winter of 1892-93 the frost was almost unfelt, and on the coldest day the mercury stood twelve degrees above zero. In sheltered nooks flowers sometimes bud and blossom in midwinter. Yet Greenland, the land of icebergs, is but a few hours' sail west of Iceland; and sweeping down the eastern coast of Greenland so as to strike the northern coast of Iceland full in the middle is a polar current, which fills every *fiord* on the north and the east with drift-ice that remains till June or July. On the south, the polar current is met by a branch of the warm Gulf Stream. These two great ocean currents are thus in a perpetual struggle for the mastery, and Iceland is the breakwater between them. Whenever the flow of Greenland ice is great the summer is cold and wet. Furious storms of icy rain, accompanied by dense fogs, sweep over the country, stunting the grass and killing every other green thing. Taking the year through, we find that the average annual temperature on the north side of the island is just at the freezing point. In summer it is about 45° Fahrenheit, and in winter nearly 21°. On the south side of the island the average temperature is seven degrees above the freezing point. In July and August I was constantly reminded of our October weather. These are somewhat dull facts, but they are indispensable for a right understanding of the condition of the Icelandic people.

We are now prepared to consider the significance of these facts. The soil of Iceland, as already remarked, is volcanic rock, which has weathered a little, so that in some of the river bottoms and along the *fiords* an attempt at agriculture may be made. The desert of the interior is surrounded by a belt of turf, skirting the ocean. This turf has, at widest, a breadth of less than fifty miles; and where the naked cliffs rise precipitously out of the sea the strip of green has almost no breadth at all. Yet wherever the *fiords* cut into the coast wall we may expect to see bright greensward and, outlined against the hillside, the low gables of a turf-roofed farmhouse, with the thin blue smoke of a peat fire curling above it. The conditions outlined above are realized on most farms in Iceland. We may now turn to a particular farm and study the everyday life a little more closely.

Every visitor to Reykjavik has his attention drawn at once

to the great mountain barrier of Esja, a few miles to the northeast of the town. Anyone standing on the top of Esja might see a narrow trail winding round the bay, round the base of the mountain, and then up the valley on the west side to the farmhouse of Háls. This road I followed, three days after my arrival in Iceland. I had become acquainted at Reykjavik with the farmer from Háls, and had arranged with him to have my luggage taken to the farm in his boat, while I should go on horseback. Promptly at nine o'clock on a Saturday morning, my guide, a dignified man with a patriarchal beard, appeared at the hotel door with two horses. We mounted at once and soon trotted out of the ugly little town. My guide rode ahead, prodding with his heels the flanks of his horse at every step, so as to keep up a trot. When we paused, after an hour or two, to graze our horses the old man showed me his sheepskin breeches, which had the wool inside, and his high sealskin boots, which were lined with fur and tied at the ankle. The boots, he said, cost eight or nine crowns, and the breeches about six.

Two or three hours more of hard riding brought us to a red-gabled farmhouse at the foot of the mountain. Here we obtained a cup of lukewarm coffee and some stale sweet biscuits. It was late in the afternoon when I caught my first glimpse of the great valley through which the brawling Laxá dashes down to the sea. The rugged hills rose, brown and treeless, and part way up the opposite slope was the square, white farmhouse of Háls, with its cluster of farm buildings. We dashed into the river, our horses' hoofs slipping on the stones as we rode between the two falls, and then climbed the bank to the narrow road that led to the house. Five minutes later I was standing in a diminutive bedroom with a single tightly closed window and a bed that occupied one whole side of the room, and endeavoring to see how I might turn without injuring myself or the furniture. The farmer received me very cordially and made me feel at home at once; but most of the rest of the family, in true Icelandic fashion, kept carefully out of sight, and thus afforded me an excellent opportunity to study my surroundings.

Háls valley is a typical Icelandic farming country. On both sides rise impenetrable mountain ridges, perhaps two thousand

feet high, that sweep in great curves to the northeast and make the valley look like a huge oblong bowl with one end broken off. Away to the northwest stretch long fields of snow, contrasting sharply with the black peaks. Through the middle of the broad valley courses the sinuous Laxá, which at length rolls into the *fiord* in two broad, low cascades. Huge columns of basalt form a dike on the brow of the mountain above the farmhouse; but so great is the height that their outlines are but faintly visible from the valley. The play of light and shadow upon these brown hills is almost magical. A hundred times a day I used to watch the sunshine breaking through the clouds and turning them to golden mist. The light was reflected by the glistening snowbanks, until the whole mountain was aglow. Yet the sun was not visible, and I could see only long bars of light that brought out sharply the rugged lines in the cliffs and the bright glint of the turf on the mountain slopes.

The extent of the farm was not easy to estimate. There was no other farmhouse within two or three miles, and the boundaries of the land were not sharply drawn. In all there must have been several hundred acres; but much of the land consisted of long stretches of rock and gravel, with only the faintest trace of green. The group of farm buildings consisted of a story-and-a-half frame house about twenty-four feet square, a shed for storing peat, a detached kitchen, a small blacksmith's shop, used also for smoking salmon, a cow shed, a horse shed, and a hay barn. At two or three different points on the farm were large sheep houses. The farmhouse was a very modern structure, of a type that has appeared within a few years. The older types are more picturesque, if not more comfortable. A New England farmer builds his house, in many cases, fronting boldly to the highway, and places the outhouses, the sheds, and the barns somewhat in the rear. The Icelander builds his house low, rarely more than a story and a half in height, and ranges half a dozen gables, often painted red, side by side, with low connecting walls of turf and stone. A suitable gradation is thus observed. A cow stable or sheep pen may begin the series, and a parlor or guest room may end it. Not infrequently, the farm buildings form an irregular square and at a little distance look like a considerable village. An Icelandic farm is, indeed, almost a village community of itself, and

necessity often makes it sufficient unto itself to a degree unknown on our farms that lie just outside of a town.

The interior of the house was divided on the ground floor into four rooms of unequal size—a narrow kitchen, with a pantry at one end, two sitting rooms, and a tiny guest chamber, which was assigned to me. None of the rooms was plastered; but they had walls and ceilings of painted, matched boards. Sheepskin rugs supplied the place of carpets. The principal sitting room contained upholstered chairs, a sofa with a sloping seat, a table, and two chests of drawers. In one corner was an iron stove, and in another a large clock. Most attractive to me was a case containing about a hundred and fifty books, some in English, some in Danish, but most in Icelandic. In my little room I had feathers to sleep on and feathers to sleep under. There was also a washstand, with bowl and pitcher, a cake of soap, and a well-worn toothbrush that had evidently served more than one visitor. The rooms above were still plainer than those below. They were reached by a narrow flight of stairs, like a ladder, at the top of which was a heavy trapdoor. The upper floor was, indeed, a mere garret, with no ceiling or other finish, and was cut into three sleeping rooms. The first occupied half the space up stairs and contained four beds. Two small bedrooms, shut off by low partitions, used up the remaining space. The partitions were a mark of advancing civilization. As a general thing, an entire Icelandic family sleeps in one long room—master and men, mistress and maids. The old sagas are full of allusions to this custom, which is one of the most characteristic of modern Icelandic life. Decorum is decently observed according to Icelandic standards; but American notions might at first be slightly shocked.

It was in this largest sleeping room that I caught my first glimpse of most of the household the morning after my arrival. I had settled down to read in the sitting room when I heard, shortly after eleven o'clock, a weird sort of crooning from the rooms above. I looked inquiringly at the farmer. He pointed out the word *húslestur*, "family prayers," in a little dictionary and asked if I would like to go up. I said, "Yes;" and we went softly up the creaking stairs. He took a seat on the edge of his bed, and I sat in a chair at the door of his bedroom. The mother was at the service, with her daughter Kris

tín and her five sons. Three or four girls and women and two of the men-servants completed the company. All the older members of the household had psalm books and chanted the strange melody which one of the boys had started. After the psalm was sung Kristín began to read rapidly and monotonously, but with admirable gravity, the prayers for the day. Meanwhile, one of her brothers lighted his pipe and puffed away calmly as he half reclined on his bed in a corner. After the prayers followed another psalm, and in half an hour the service was over.

Of the household we shall get a few glimpses later; but we must now complete our survey of the farm buildings. After the house the most important building was the large hay barn. This was a substantial structure, built partly of wood and partly of courses of stone and turf. As it was placed against the side of the hill, the upper entrance to the haymow was almost on a level with the roof. Hay was almost the only crop at Háls. The few potatoes and turnips raised in the little kitchen garden were hardly worth counting. The haymaking was at its height while I was at the farm. A dozen or more farm hands were at work every day from about seven in the morning till about ten at night. They mowed the grass with scythes having nearly straight blades about two feet long and perfectly straight handles. The steel cutting edge of each scythe was fastened with screws or rivets to the blade. The hayfield was full of little frost hummocks, that rose everywhere, like beaver huts. One might imagine that the farmers would level these mounds; but the Icelanders think that the inequality of the surface adds largely to the amount of the crop. With a quick, jerky movement, the men shaved the grass close to the ground; the women, girls, and boys raked it into windrows, and then tied the dried grass into balls about three feet in diameter, which they slung, like panniers, over the backs of horses. Thereupon a fantastic procession, with the tail of the first horse tied to the head of the second, and so on, zigzagged down the steep hill to the barn. The hay was carried to market in the same clumsy fashion.

Adjoining the barn were the sheds for the cows and horses. These sheds, like the barns, had wooden roofs and walls of stone and turf. In neatness they left something to be desired; but

they were as well kept as many similar buildings in New England. The cattle, of which there were a dozen, were mostly hornless, but not otherwise remarkable. Horse sheds are somewhat less common in Iceland than cattle sheds. Horses are expected to forage for themselves during most of the year, and they are housed only during the most inclement weather. Hay is the usual food; but if the stock runs low it is eked out with heads of dried codfish. The twenty-three horses at Háls were in constant use. Three times within a fortnight the farmer went up to Reykjavik. Like all Icelanders, the farmer's family abhorred walking and depended upon the horses at every turn. Even the children rode perfectly, and seemed to be equally comfortable with or without a saddle. When the farmer's wife went to town she had a great square sidesaddle, like a chair. Yet more than once I saw women and girls riding astride at full gallop, with not even a sheepskin to sit on.

The Icelandic farmer is thrown so much upon his own resources that he is obliged, in spite of himself, to be a jack-at-all-trades. He must be ready at a moment's notice to be fisherman, miller, tailor, carpenter, blacksmith, and saddler. He never thinks the equipment of his farm complete without a little forge and a kit of blacksmith's tools; but fuel is so scarce that he often shoes his horses without heating the shoe to fit it more exactly. I have even seen a farmer pare the hoof with his jackknife and fasten the little iron shoe with ordinary nails and a hammer. The whole process is so simple that anyone can be a blacksmith who looks on once. The manufacture of a packsaddle is quite as easy. One evening, when a thick mist was blowing from the north, I spied the farmer vigorously clubbing something laid over a stone wall. This proved to be a strip of turf four or five feet long, two feet wide, and three or four inches thick. The matted fibers made a tough, coarse felt which was already seasoned to the weather. When the earth was thoroughly beaten out the soft turf, surmounted by a wooden frame, was used as a packsaddle.

The Icelandic ponies have in the course of centuries become well adapted to their surroundings. In appearance they are somewhat lacking in dignity, for they have short, shaggy manes, short legs, and small hoofs. Then, too, they are not so enduring or so long-lived as some other breeds of horses; but perhaps

that is because they are half starved during the winter, and scarcely have time in the short summer to recover their strength before they have to face another season of starvation. Most Icelandic horses do not see a quart of oats or of bran in a lifetime. But the little beasts are wonderfully sure-footed and sagacious. They have become so accustomed to look for rolling stones and inequalities of every sort that they will gallop over a bed of rough lava or a field of bowlders and frost hummocks, where an ordinary American horse would hardly dare to walk. They swim like dogs, but they cannot be induced to go over mire. The gait of an Icelandic pony is not above criticism. He is not usually large enough to walk rapidly and must, therefore, constantly be urged by the heels of his rider into a gallop or a trot. The gallop is easy and delightful; but the trot is at first anything but agreeable. It is neither a run, nor a walk, nor a trot of the ordinary sort, but a rapid succession of spasmodic jerks, like the combined motion of a corn popper and a tack hammer. The Icelander seems not to mind it much; but most Americans find it a very modified form of amusement.

Since everything has to be carried on horseback, one might expect that much attention would be given to improving the roads. But this is not so. Scarcely anything deserving the name of road is to be found on an Icelandic farm. What passed for such at Háls was a narrow path or two, hardly fit for rough carts. To my remark that an American would probably try to make better roads the farmer good-naturedly replied: "What is the use of roads without bridges? Our rivers are generally wide and shallow and have low banks. To make bridges of any value you must have long and expensive approaches and build great piers. Furthermore, you must build a bridge every few miles. The farmers cannot do the work alone, for they have no iron, no wood, and no suitable appliances, to say nothing of the necessary skill. On the other hand, the government cannot undertake the work, for the cost would be more than the farms are worth. What, then, is the advantage in making short roads on a single farm?" I had to admit the force of the argument; but I am satisfied that the farmers could easily combine during the season when farming is impossible and greatly improve the roads. The fords

could be cleared of great slippery stones, the roads could be widened and smoothed. The government has already constructed a few bridges over the most dangerous rivers, but much still remains to be done. Everything counted, the highways are probably inferior to what they were centuries ago.

I might say much more about the horses and the roads, for the difficulty of transportation affects every side of Icelandic life; but I have too long neglected the sheep. The farmer at Háls had three hundred and eighty, and derived from them the greater part of his income. The most elaborate building on the farm was the large sheep house, where most of the sheep were kept during the winter. This was situated half a mile from the farmhouse and was a model of its kind. Unlike the smaller houses, which consisted of a single shed, entered through a narrow door, this was made up of four such sheds, placed side by side and solidly built of stone and turf. Through the middle of each shed was a rack for hay. Back of the sheds was a large hay house, roofed partly with galvanized iron and partly with turf. The hay was brought from the field up a sloping path in the rear and dropped through a hole in the roof. Narrow openings from the haymow supplied the hay to each rack. Within the last few generations sheep raising has become the most important industry in Iceland. Much may be said in its favor; but in the opinion of the most competent judges it has engaged somewhat too exclusively the energies of the farmers. The home market is not what it ought to be. What everybody has nobody wants. Yet it is not surprising that the people are given to sheep raising. The labor is comparatively light during a large part of the year, and so simple that it requires little thought. Moreover, the flocks supply both food and clothing. The sheep have a long fleece of fine wool, almost like hair. The wool is sometimes sheared, but more often plucked out by hand.

At Háls most of the everyday clothing was made on the farm from wool furnished by the farm sheep. The stockings were especially soft, being more like silk than like wool. The dress of the family and of the servants was not very different from our own. Homespun, of course, predominated. The women tied old shawls about their heads while at work in the open air, and they had skirts as numerous as the coats of an onion.

Kristín usually wore a little black silk cap, like an inverted saucer, with a long silk tassel, caught in a silver ferrule, hanging from the center. All the family had soft, pointed shoes, like moccasins, and for cold work out of doors great flapping, two-thumbed woolen mittens. None of the ordinary costumes at the farm were especially picturesque in shape or color, and some were decidedly conventional. When Thorbjörn, for instance, was dressed in his neat Sunday suit of black he looked much like any American farmer's boy. The Icelandic gala gowns are brought out only on great occasions, and even these but faintly rival the costumes of the Dalecarlian peasants, with their marvelous blending of bright colors.

The sheep were milked twice a day, and were usually driven down to the pen by little Helga. This odd combination of girl and witch was very shy. If I stepped outside the house I usually spied her head peeping round a corner at me. She generally wore a shawl over her head and a short skirt, with long pantalets. Accompanied by two dogs, she would dart up the mountain slope and in a few minutes bring the whole flock of sheep, with a wild rush, to the light poles within which the milk-maids were waiting. The milk was drawn into pails, allowed to stand for some hours, and was then made into *skyr*—a kind of soft curd, slightly acid, eaten with cream and powdered sugar, or even perfectly plain. Any one of the family at Háls could consume a huge plateful in a few minutes. What the other food at Háls was we shall see in a moment.

One of the chief difficulties in the way of supplying the kitchen on an Icelandic farm grows out of the scarcity of fuel. In the olden times people living along the coast had the accumulated driftwood of centuries to draw upon. Even yet the sea adds no small increment to the farmer's stock of fuel. But for most purposes wood is imported from Norway, and is far too costly to be burned. While I was at the farm some loads of stunted bushes were brought several miles on horseback for the purpose of smoking salmon, but the wood was almost worthless for fuel. The bushes were about as large as any trees in Iceland; but the largest stems were little more than an inch in diameter. A few families at the seaports use English coal; but the national fuel is peat. Sometimes the people use dried manure. A peat fire is good enough in its way, and the

pungent smoke partly stifles odors that are worse; but, since a hundred or a hundred and fifty pounds of peat are required to do the work of ten pounds of coal, we need not be surprised that food is often but half cooked.

Before I went to Háls I had some misgivings about the food I should find there; but I really fared much better than I had sometimes done on an American farm. My usual breakfast began with boiled eggs, for which, by the way, I was provided with an egg cup and egg spoon. Then came fried mutton, cold salmon, and cold lamb, with brown bread, large, thin crackers, fresh butter, cheese, and tea or coffee, with a pitcher of cream. Supper was much the same, with the eggs and warm meat left out. Dinner always consisted of two courses: first, a thick, sweet soup, much like a pudding, containing tapioca and flavored with wine, raisins, and cinnamon, or a handful of Iceland moss, which has a pleasant but indescribable taste; for the second, there was lamb or mutton, baked or boiled, and, for a change, a boiled fish, with boiled or fried potatoes. Other vegetables and fruits were conspicuously absent. One fact that especially impressed me was that no one but the father and one of the sons ever sat down to eat with me. Kristín would generally bring in the food to the sitting room and indicate, by a curt "Be so good," that the meal was ready; but the women and all the rest of the household ate in the kitchen. In table manners Thorbjörn and his father were irreproachable; but I could tell moving tales of the confusion in many Icelandic minds as to the functions of a knife, a spoon, a finger, a fork, and a toothpick.

With the living at Háls I could find little fault; and I appreciated it more highly while making my trip across country, when I had to put up at any farmhouse that appeared. Now and then I was treated to delicacies of a somewhat doubtful character—large, round, black pancakes, as tender as leather; black bread, that cut like hard cheese; raw, dried codfish, salted and beaten with a stone hammer till the shreds were well separated. A few trials of this convinced me that one might as well chew a handful of salted twine. My most amusing meal was at a farmhouse on the south coast. In the center of the table was the food—a great round heap of codfish, fried in huge chunks. Beside the platter stood a cup containing a mysterious liquid,

which proved to be melted tallow, evidently intended as a faint imitation of drawn butter. At one of the farmhouses a heap of blubber for table use lay just outside my bedroom, and by its fragrance entirely satisfied my appetite. Taken as a whole, the food of an Icelandic farmer of the poorer class is not remarkable for variety; but anyone who is fond of *skyr*, and black bread, and butter that has been melted and kept for several years, and who likes hammered codfish and fried codfish and boiled codfish and baked codfish and chopped codfish, will get on very well.

Thus far we have looked, for the most part, at the externals of the farm life, and have, perhaps, left too little space for considering the people themselves. Yet externals have so much to do with making the Icelanders what they are that we can hardly understand them without having a definite picture of their surroundings. It is difficult to see an Icelander at his best. The country people meet so few strangers that they are painfully timid. For the first two or three days of my stay at the farm I was let alone almost as severely as if I had brought the plague. The farm hands would scurry around a corner to avoid observation, and blush and tremble at being caught in their everyday clothes. The children, especially, would vanish with an elvish shriek if I ventured near them. Little Helga and the boys would climb without fear to the ridge of the barn or cling in sport to the mane of a galloping horse; but not until the newness had worn off would they come near enough to take a stick of chocolate out of my hand. Most of the family, except the father, seemed taciturn, though not ill-tempered. With the daughter I read Icelandic several hours a day. She would answer all my questions pleasantly enough, but she never volunteered a syllable of information and never relaxed her impassive face, except for a half-suppressed laugh. Yet she had spent a year in Copenhagen and was by no means lacking in intelligence. The second son, a boy of sixteen, who was studying at the Latin college in Reykjavik, rarely spoke except when spoken to, and then very briefly. The third son, a lad of fourteen, would often come into the sitting room and stand stock still in a corner for fifteen minutes at a time, without uttering a syllable. He was not sullen—he was only making his manners.

When I came to know the farm hands a little better I found

that they had considerable grim humor; but their faces always seemed to be mourning. They concealed under a stolid exterior a keen curiosity with regard to everything and everybody new. Notwithstanding their apparent taciturnity, they were inveterate gossips, familiar with the scandal and the tattle of remote districts that they had never visited. Whenever a horseman from a distant region dismounted at the door he was mercilessly questioned till he had yielded up all he knew. He in turn cross-examined his questioners. Chance visitors largely supplied the place of the newspaper. After spending a few days at the farm I could easily pardon this irrepressible inquisitiveness; for the daily round was dull enough and afforded small incentive to the household to come out of themselves. Of attempted amusement there was exceedingly little. The children did not even quarrel, as children should; but as they had no marbles or jackstraws or other toys they could hardly be blamed for being good. Kristín used often to play chess with one of her brothers, and she would now and then attempt a little music on the family accordion. The most ambitious entertainment was a dance one Sunday afternoon in the large upper room. This was active exercise enough to keep one warm even in Iceland; but the most partial admirer could hardly call it graceful.

The most constant source of quiet entertainment was reading. Even the farm hands would now and then listen while one of them read aloud the story of Njál or Frithjof or Egil. The farmer and the older children would often pick up a book from the table and busy themselves till some duty more pressing required attention. None of the family spoke English except one of the sons, who had learned a few phrases; but the daughter and two of the sons understood Danish and read Danish ballads and novels and Danish translations of Tolstoi, Daudet, Zola, and Guy de Maupassant, to say nothing of Icelandic stories, histories, and poems. The father was fond of Samuel Smiles's *Thrift*, Herbert Spencer's *Education*, and John Stuart Mill's essay *On Liberty*—all of which he had in Icelandic translations.

My final impressions of the farm life were more favorable than I had dared to expect. I realized, in my fortnight's stay, the charm of a civilization strangely isolated and

primitive, and yet pervaded with much that is best in the thought of the world. But, after all, why should not the Icelanders be civilized? Their ancestors came from Norway and were own brothers to the Normans—perhaps the most brilliant people that Europe saw in the Middle Ages. The first settlers of Iceland were among the best of their race. They produced a literature which, in variety and beauty, was the rival of the French and the Italian. Strange would it be if the Icelanders should utterly forget such ancestry and sink into barbarism. Centuries of privation and of political dependence have left their stamp upon the people and partly broken their spirit. Yet time and again I was impressed with the essential unity of the old life, as I found it in the sagas, and the new life, as I found it on the farm. The family at Háls used in their everyday talk almost the very language of the sagas, and they unconsciously showed that it would be perfectly possible, by making slight verbal changes, to construct from the literature of centuries ago a tolerably accurate picture of the life of the country as it is to-day.

William Edward Mead.

ART. II.—A DOCTRINE OF CIVIL LIBERTY.

THE briefest exposition of civil liberty must include a statement of the source of governing power, of the relative rights, under law, of the subjects of government, and of the principle of limitation upon governmental authority. I quite agree with Professor Burgess, in his work on *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law*, that "mankind does not begin with liberty," but "acquires liberty through civilization." Hence, as he also asserts, "the higher the people of the State rise in civilization the more will the State expand the domain of private rights." Our own recent history strikingly confirms this, in the action of the nation overthrowing slavery. Dr. Lieber declares:

> That civil liberty, or simply liberty, as it is often called, naturally comes to signify certain measures, institutions, guarantees, or forms of government by which people secure, or hope to secure, liberty—unimpeded action in those civil matters or those spheres of activity which they hold most important—appears even from ancient writers.

This comes about as near a definition of civil liberty as his book on the subject contains, though, upon another page, the "conclusion" is reached that "liberty, applied to political man, practically means, in the main, protection or checks against undue interference, whether this be from individuals, from masses, or from government." No aid is given here by the truly great work of President Woolsey on *Political Science*.

For the purposes in view, however, it is sufficient to say that civil liberty is the liberty which comes from, or is found under, civil government. In part, it is created by the civil authority, the remainder arising out of the fact that the civil power exists. To illustrate: civil law confers the right of saying to whom one's property shall go after the owner's death, while its mere existence enables one to pass from place to place unmolested; or, as Professor Burgess states, in discussing the "idea" of "individual liberty," it "has a front and reverse, a positive and negative side. Regarded upon the negative side, it contains immunities; upon the positive, rights." According to this view, then, civil liberty becomes coincident with civil right, in the two forms the latter may assume, of positive

and negative. Civil government, therefore, in what it directly confers upon, and in that which its existence indirectly assures to, its subjects, is at once the measure and muniment of their civil liberties. Hence, it follows that one's civil liberty, in fact, is the body of rights which at the time, under or by virtue of civil law, he enjoys. As a consequence, also, what one's civil liberty should be consists in the rights to which, under or by virtue of civil law, he is entitled. For, as respects the question now before us, the classification of rights into political and civil is not important. They all alike come by law, which in the aggregate of its various forms is the government.

What a right is, in legal contemplation, becomes the first point of inquiry. A masterly work by T. E. Holland, D.C.L., after stating that "jurisprudence is specifically concerned only with such rights as are recognized by law and enforced by the power of a State," says:

> We may, therefore, define a "legal right," in what we shall hereafter see is the strictest sense of that term, as the capacity residing in one man of controlling, with the assent and assistance of the State, the actions of others. *That which gives validity to a legal right is, in every case, the force which is lent to it by the State.* . . . If it is a question of might, all depends upon a man's own powers of force or persuasion. If it is a question of moral right, all depends on the readiness of public opinion to express itself on his side. If it is a question of legal right, all depends upon the readiness of the State to exert its force in his behalf. . . . Moral rights have in general but a subjective support; legal rights have the objective support of the physical force of the State. The whole purpose of laws is to announce in what cases that objective support will be granted and the manner in which it may be obtained. In other words, . . . law exists for the definition and protection of rights.

To the same effect are the recent lectures of that eminent jurist, Judge Dillon, on *The Laws and Jurisprudence of England and America.* He says:

> By legal rights are meant only such rights as are recognized and enforced by the power of the State. The thing to remember is that coercion by the State is the essential quality of law, distinguishing it from morality or ethics.

Speaking generally, the creation of civil government is to be regarded as the act of a body of people constituting a nation, though all may not take part in it. The privilege of participating in that action, as well as in the exercise of the essential

functions of government, is of fundamental importance, however, inasmuch as it involves the question of the true source of governing power. That this may be clear, and in order to find the grounds for a doctrine of civil liberty, we must see what civil government is in its essential elements, together with the principles which should determine its form, the exercise of its functions, and the area over which, as against the will of the individual, its powers legitimately may be extended. Professor Fiske, in his able volume on *Civil Government in the United States*, says:

> Our verb "to govern" is an old French word, . . . *gouverner;* and its oldest form was the Latin *gubernare*, a word which the Romans borrowed from the Greek, and meant originally "to steer the ship." Hence, it very naturally came to mean "to guide," "to direct," "to command." The comparison between governing and steering was a happy one. To govern is not to command, as a master commands a slave, but it is to issue orders and give directions for the common good; for the interests of the man at the helm are the same as those of the people in the ship. All must float or sink together. . . . Government, then, is the directing or managing of such affairs as concern all people alike—as, for example, the punishment of criminals, the enforcement of contracts, the defense against foreign enemies, the maintenance of roads and bridges, and so on.

This clearly states the general objects of government, indicates its relation to society, and is suggestive of what, in itself considered, government will be found to be.

Following out the hint given by the figure that to govern is analogous to the pilot's work in steering a vessel or boat, we may easily find what is essential to the conception of civil government. As all are aware, government in the concrete, or as we see it in operation, is a body of rules which we term laws. In constitutional systems these may have the three forms of organic, statutory, and customary law. Now, as Blackstone long ago stated, law, in its character of civil government, is a "rule of civil conduct." It is also a "prescribed" rule—that is, one that may be known by those who are to be affected by it. Further, it is a rule recognized or declared by the "supreme power in a State;" which can mean only that it is the will or wills of the one or more who may be invested with authority to make law. Finally, this "rule" is made efficient by a "sanction" or "penalty annexed to it," in which, as Blackstone truly remarks, "the main strength and force of a law consists." Hence, we

get the result that civil law, and, therefore, government, is *the published will of a person or persons as to conduct, so supported by power to compel obedience to its dictates as to secure conformity to what it requires; or, in the alternative of disobedience, to inflict adequate penalty.* Consequently, whether the form be that of an absolute despotism or of a pure democracy, there always are present the two elements (1) of a will to be obeyed, when its mandates are known, and (2) of a power to compel obedience thereto or, when disregarded, to vindicate them by penalty. Will declared, then, and power to enforce it are the essential notions in the conception of civil, as of moral, government. All that goes beyond these or is built upon them relates to forms, which may vary from the ideas of the despot to those of the democrat.

Looking out from the ground thus reached, it is clear that to the theist the one instance of a perfect government is the moral government of God; for in this, although obedience is not always secured, the law, when disobeyed, is completely vindicated by penalty absolutely commensurate with desert. Imperfect types of divine government are those of the family and of purely despotic forms in Church or State, as in these the will which makes the law is not itself subject to it. Therefore, as based upon the idea of the essential superiority of the governing, over the subject, will, all these are also autocratic. Here, it may be remarked, was the root of the old doctrine of "passive obedience," which so troubled our English ancestors three centuries ago.

But while, from the conceived perfections of his nature, God rightfully may exercise absolute authority over all the subjects of his will, the imperfections of the best of men obviously invalidate all claim by them to a like power over their fellows in civil government. Hence, in the latter field, the governing wills also must be subject wills. This in later times, indeed, has come to be a postulate of civil authority, though in legal theory our British cousins still hold to the maxim that "the king can do no wrong." What now is sought, however, after denying to any man autocracy in civil affairs, is a principle which shall enable us to say which wills, in a society large enough for a State, ought to be the governing wills. Our fathers took a long step toward the solution of this problem

when they declared that the "just powers" of government are derived "from the consent of the governed;" for this is easily convertible into the proposition that the will of the governed is the government, which under certain limitations, presently to be stated, is true. But they stopped short of stating any principle or, aside from their practice, giving a criterion by which to decide who, of all the subjects of government, must "consent" in order, by force of this utterance, to make its powers "just." In considering this question, children and youth may be dropped out of account because of immaturity, as also for presumable general lack of knowledge and experience. But women still remain, intellectually and morally equal to men; yet they, too, are excluded from the category of governing wills. Now, if this exclusion be not arbitrary, and so savoring of injustice and tyranny, what is the principle on which it depends? To ascertain this the power to compel, or the element of force in government, must be further considered.

As already shown, it is not sufficient merely to will in order to govern. The ability to enforce what is willed must always accompany the volition, potentially, if not in fact, or the latter cannot eventuate in government, however it may operate as influence. Now the rude, harsh instrument of physical force is what alone gives its compulsive power to civil law. So that, at last, civil government is the will, as to conduct, of one or more persons, made efficient to control by means of physical force, actual or potential. "The State," says Woolsey, "acts by authority—that is, by law and constitution; but it is essential that it should have might, which consists of armed men." Thus it ever has been, and so, from the nature of things, will continue, unless government is displaced by a system of mere influence. Washington, it may be observed in passing, perceived the vital distinction between these and clearly marked it. When urged by friends to try to "influence" those engaged in Shays's Rebellion to obey the laws he wrote: "I know not where that influence is to be found, or, if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for the disorders. Influence is not government." I further digress to say that, in view of current tendencies and events, the question of how far society may safely go in the substitution of influence for government is one of the most serious of our times. Now, the circumstance that men, and they

alone, furnish government its indispensable element of force gives the principle by which to determine what wills, of all within the nation, should be, and justly are, the governing wills. Those wills which represent the power which constitutes government obviously are the ones that should govern; and these are the wills of men. Stated in other words, the general principle is that the persons who alone, in the last resort, enforce law when resisted, and so give it compulsive power, should make law.

From the foregoing the true conception of government, moral or civil, is seen in essence to be will expressed as to conduct, in union with power to enforce it. The absence of either will or force makes government impossible, while these, united and exerted, always necessarily establish it. The question of popular, as against despotic, government is one of substance, as well as of form. For while, in the latter view, it relates solely to whether the rule or law to be obeyed shall be the expression of many wills or of one only, in the former it goes to the vital point—whether those who constitute the force which gives to government its efficiency shall say what it is to be. The principle, then, that the wills of those in whom resides the might which enforces law are, directly or by representation, its legitimate makers covers the ground. It puts the two essential elements in the conception of government in balance and gives it popular character by defining the source of governing power to which the principle unmistakably points. An eminent English scholar and legal writer of the last century got very close to the truth on the question before us in some noble lines which, though often quoted, may well be given here:

> What constitutes a State?
> Not high-raised battlement or labored mound,
> Thick wall or moated gate.
> No—men, high-minded men,
> . . . . . .
> Men who their duties know,
> But know their rights and, knowing, dare maintain,
> Prevent the long-aimed blow,
> And crush the tyrant, while they rend the chain—
> These constitute a State.
> And sovereign Law, that State's collected will,
> O'er thrones and globes elate,
> Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill.

Humanly speaking, therefore, the will of the men of a State is the source of all just powers of government. This, however, need not be unanimous. A vital principle of republics is the rule of the majority, for otherwise popular government would be impossible. Thus, we find at once the true import of the clause referred to in the Declaration of Independence and the source of governing power—the first element in a doctrine of civil liberty. It scarcely needs to be said that the three great functions of government, legislative, judicial, and executive, though usually assigned to different persons, are not necessarily so distributed. A despot, like a democracy, as each has done, might act in turn in all these capacities. Hence, whether they shall be devolved for exercise upon different persons is not a problem which essentially affects government *per se*, either in substance or form, but is a question of policy relating to the best mode of doing the necessary work of government. Evidently, therefore, it calls for no further notice in the present discussion.

The next matter to be considered is that of the relative rights in law of those who are the subjects of government. On the principles which have been presented, not all the members of a community can be participants in its civil authority. Some never could be, were women, equally with men, to be regarded as a source of governing power. Young children, alike with the governing class, are citizens and subjects of government. They, also, are entitled to the protection which law affords and to that justice which it is a prime object of government to establish. Yet none will claim that they should have any part in government. What, then, is the principle by which the rights of the nongoverning classes, in common with all, shall be determined? The advancement made in free institutions during and since the Rebellion makes the answer easy. It has become popularized in the simple but expressive phrase, "equality before the law." Properly applied, the principle it embodies bars slavery and all forms of class legislation. With at least approximate fairness, it puts the burdens of government upon all who, under its operation, alike participate in the benefits of government. There is, of course, no ideal perfection here, as probably there never can be in the actual workings of civil authority in any essential particular. More-

over, this principle applies in determining the relative rights, among themselves, of the governing body—the rules by which men may, or may not, have part in government—and requires the same law for all. For example, take the suffrage. Age or intelligence, as a condition for it, must operate to give each one the privilege by the same test. And, as manhood with citizenship is the basis of the franchise, all within that category become entitled, on the principle here involved, to the franchise, if fulfilling the other uniform conditions. There can be no arbitrary exclusions, as on the ground of color or place of birth. The principle of equality before the law, then, is the one by which the relative rights of all the subjects of government may, in the interests of justice, be determined, and so logically becomes the second element in a doctrine of civil liberty.

We come now to the final question, of the area over which government rightly may be extended, as against what otherwise would be the private liberty of the citizen. Assuming its popular form, as expressing the will of its manhood, and that its functions are so exercised as to give equality before the law, what principle shall guide here? As we have seen, government is an agency of a community—its most potent instrument for good, as often as it has been for evil. To it we are individually responsible. In most of the varied activities of life it is simply as individuals that we act. Still, all are, and must continue to be, members of society and, therefore, under the authority of government. As representatively the agent of the whole body for some purposes, how far may it go, consistently with a true civil liberty, in restriction or control of private, individual action? What, if one there be, is the principle of limitation at this point? Plainly, acts seriously injurious to the well-being of society should be restrained, even when directly affecting a single member only. On the other hand, there are a thousand things which all agree must be left to the individual, though his conduct often may be against what is for his own welfare and the good of society, so far as the latter is influenced by him. Here we reach the ground upon which the extremes of socialism and individualism meet in hostile array. The one would take government much farther than in modern times it has gone upon the extended area of private, individual action.

The other, following the lead of *doctrinaires* like Spencer, would greatly narrow the present authority of government, by leaving, for instance, all education, all benevolences for the relief of the helpless classes, with many other things of like nature, to private action, rather than with the State, subject to public control, and maintained by compulsory taxation.

Perhaps any limitation will always be by a movable line, varying with the judgment of each generation, except as experience may show that the general welfare is promoted by keeping it within points which gradually become fixed. But what we now have in view is to get at a principle of limitation, if one there be, to the end of completing a statement of the doctrine of civil liberty. To my mind, after some thought, the matter seems quite clear. In addition to what is necessary for its own preservation, those things, whether of regulation, direction, or compulsion, which society needs to have done and best can do by means of government it is entirely compatible with a true liberty to accomplish in that way. This statement evidently has two branches. First, what is requisite to preserve social order? That, whatever it be, government may do. But beyond this there are many things of general necessity and that better can be done by government than by private individuals. Those things, also, it may legitimately do. We find, then, that the proper scope of government is (1) the preservation of social order and (2) the conducting of such matters of common interest as it can manage to greater advantage for the community than could private persons. The principle of limitation on the powers of government, therefore, becomes obvious. Except what is necessary for the conservation of order and those things of public need which government is the more efficient medium for doing, all the movements of society, social, industrial, or religious, belong to the voluntary action of the individual; and the authority of government, by a true doctrine of civil liberty, is restricted accordingly. Until much now in debate has been settled by experiment there will be differences of opinion, no doubt, respecting the application of the principle thus brought out. For example, how far, on the ground of social order, government properly can go in controlling the sale, and even the manufacture, of intoxicating liquors, is a question which still excites controversy. Upon the other

hand, government ownership and operation of the great lines of railroads, with, perhaps, other instrumentalities of general use and necessity, and the extension thus of the authority of government where, in this country, private control has heretofore been the rule, is a proposition already before us, on which, ere many years, we will likely be compelled to pass. The apparent tendency is to the opinion that both are within the proper sphere of governmental action, the really debatable questions touching merely time and mode. So far as concerns a true doctrine of civil liberty, it is difficult, if not impossible, to say that this tendency is wrong, though much in practical objection can be said against it.

Our discussion, manifestly, has conducted to the conclusion that a sound doctrine of civil liberty may briefly be stated in three general propositions: 1. The true source of governing power is the properly expressed will of the men of a nation. 2. The relative rights of the subjects of government are determined by the rule of equality before the law. 3. Government is limited in its powers to such action as may be necessary to preserve social order, and to affairs of a public nature which it can better manage than could private persons. The first gives to government its popular character and presents the true antithesis to monarchic, oligarchic, and aristocratic systems. The second prevents the rule of the governing class from degenerating into tyranny, and so conserves justice, the great end of government. The third adjusts the balance between the freedom of the individual, as such, and the control over him, as an integral part of the social organism, which the governing body may exercise. Tried by this doctrine, governments which rest upon the consent of the governed, whose subjects are equal in fact before the law, and whose powers are kept within the limits stated are in the fullest sense free, while those which trench upon liberty at either of these points are not.

Hiram L. Sibley

ART. III.—GLIMPSES OF WORLD-WIDE METHODISM.

THAT Methodism has become, in the most literal sense, world-wide is certainly cause for devout thanksgiving to the Almighty. God has most assuredly been glorified and the world made better wherever it has gone. Spreading East, West, North, South by the inevitable law of Christian expansiveness, it has increasingly taken possession of the earth, until now there is no section of the globe but has felt its influence, and at a moderate computation fully twenty-seven millions of people are being molded by its institutions.* Exactness in the matter of such figures it is idle to affect, since the numbers change each month, and some of the items entering into them can only be more or less accurate estimates; but the following tables have been prepared with much care—using the latest *Methodist Year Book*, the United States Census for 1890, with Dr. Carroll's additions for 1894 in the *Independent* of January 3, 1895, and other reliable authorities—and they are believed to be substantially correct. The total number of communicants in world-wide Methodism, including traveling preachers, lay members, and probationers, is about 7,440,000. They are divided in respect to Church organizations as follows:

Wesleyan Methodists	750,000
Primitive Methodists	200,000
Welsh Calvinistic Methodists	125,000
Other Methodist bodies of Great Britain	170,000
Methodist Episcopal Church	2,700,000
Methodist Episcopal Church, South	1,500,000
African Methodist Episcopal Church	525,000
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church	425,000
United Brethren	250,000
Methodist Protestant Church	170,000
Evangelical Association	160,000
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church	130,000
Minor Methodist bodies in the United States	75,000
Methodist Church of Canada	260,000
Total	7,440,000

* This total is reached through multiplying by three and a half the communicants in the Methodist Churches of the United States, and multiplying by four and a half the communicants in the Methodist Churches of Great Britain and Canada, where the conditions of membership are somewhat stricter.

The division as to countries gives the following result:

United States	5,765,000
United Kingdom	970,000
Canada	270,000
Australasia	110,000
Asia	100,000
Africa	95,000
Continental Europe	60,000
West Indies	60,000
Mexico, Central and South America	10,000
Total	7,440,000

To give any adequate idea of what the different Methodisms have done in these various lands would far surpass the limits of an article like this. But it may be possible to afford some interesting glimpses of the work achieved and the methods of its accomplishment. To bring the sketch within any kind of manageable bounds we shall have to ignore the older, central seats of Methodism, concerning which so much is constantly being written, and confine our attention to the newer developments in distant regions. In short, we shall deal exclusively with Methodist missions. And, still further to narrow the theme, our own missions, with which the readers of this *Review* may be presumed to be familiar, must be set aside, and those of the other Methodisms briefly touched upon.

Of the thirty-one recognized bodies of Methodists, sixteen, or just about half, including, of course, all of any special importance—twelve of the others have less than fifty thousand communicants, all told—have foreign missions. Six of these sixteen are across the sea, nine are in this country, and one is in Canada. The Methodist Church of Canada has missions in Japan and West China, the latter only just begun. The Wesleyans of Great Britain, after having had the pleasure of setting off as independent, though affiliated, bodies the French, South African, West Indian, and Australasian Conferences, maintain missions in India, China, Africa, and Europe. The United Methodist Free Churches are at work in Australia, New Zealand, Africa, China, and the West Indies. The Primitive Methodists are in Australia, New Zealand, and Africa; the Bible Christians in the two former countries and in China; the New Connexion Methodists in China only; and the Welsh Cal-

vinistic Methodists in India and Brittany. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has missions in Mexico, Brazil, China, and Japan; the United Brethren in Germany and Africa; the Evangelical Association in Europe and Japan; the Methodist Protestants in Japan; the Wesleyan Methodists in Africa; the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Africa and the West Indies; the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in Africa; and the Free Methodists in India, Africa, Europe, and the West Indies. Of the 430,000 communicants assigned to these mission lands, the Wesleyans have gathered about 250,000, and the Methodist Episcopal Church about 125,000, leaving only 55,000 to be divided among the other fourteen denominations. But the work of some of these minor Methodist bodies has been in every way creditable and successful, though, from lack of means or recent entrance on their fields, not very much fruit has yet been gathered.

In China, for example, the New Connexion Methodists have a very prosperous mission, which stands second in point of numbers among the seven Methodist missions at work in the Celestial Empire and ranks easily in the first third of the forty Protestant organizations. Their headquarters are at Tien-Tsin, which they entered in 1860. But their chief strength is one hundred and forty miles south of this, in the Shan-Tung province. The beginnings there in 1866 were very remarkable. An old man, Chu Tien Tsiun by name, a village farmer, feeling deeply his sinfulness and "being warned of God in a dream," came to Tien-Tsin to inquire about a remedy fors in which he had incidentally heard was preached there. He was directed to the Methodist chapel in the main street of the city, and soon became an earnest believer in Jesus. Returning home, he spread the good news; and when the missionary, after a little, followed he found one hundred and forty persons desiring to receive baptism. People came to the village from a distance of twenty-three miles and spent Sunday to hear the Gospel—a thing unknown before in China. It was manifestly a movement from the Lord, with very little of human agency in it. The whole district was stirred. Rooms for public worship were fitted up on all sides, without expense to the mission. Persecution was bravely borne, and noble testimonies were given to the power of divine grace. It was the most glorious awakening which China

had up to that time experienced. The terrible famine which descended upon the Shan-Tung province about ten years after this redounded to the glory of God, and 1877 and 1878 proved revival years. Several hundred, residing in one hundred and twenty villages and towns and very carefully selected from the multitudes of inquirers, were added to the Church. In 1881 the membership had reached 1,319; and all opposition seems now to have ceased. "We have a free field," write the missionaries. "We may even stand on the steps of the heathen temples and, in the very hearing of the priests, denounce in unsparing terms the idolatry of the country." The mandarin at the city of Lao-Ling, the head of the district, on being applied to to stamp the deeds of some land purchased by the mission, remitted most of the usual fee and said:

> I wish, before leaving this district, to make some acknowledgment of my indebtedness and thanks to the teachers who have come from the great English nation and have not only, by large distributions of money in the recent calamity, saved thousands of my people from actual starvation, but by the teaching of the holy religion of Jesus have raised the tone of the moral, social, and public character of the people. It is only fair to say that I have less trouble from Christians than from others. Allow me to take the bare sum to be paid to the government, and to ask you to take back the remainder as a token of my high respect for the good you have done to my countrymen.

The magistrate who succeeded this man showed himself equally friendly, taking pains at New Year's to come to the missionaries in his official capacity and wish them all the blessings of the season. In 1891 they received thirty-nine invitations to open preaching houses in various places, the letters in each case being signed by from twenty to one hundred people. Services were established in twenty of these places. The inhabitants of one village made over to the mission the whole of their temple property, worth £87. The membership is now considerably over two thousand. And the missionaries unitedly declare that their success "has been due to the character and ability of the native workers God has given to us, more than to any other single cause." Some of the preachers have shown most remarkable devotion, enthusiasm, and good judgment. Both their gifts and their piety have commanded the respect and admiration of all who have met them.

Among the nine Methodist bodies toiling to enlighten the Dark Continent the United Brethren in Christ stand second in point of numbers gathered, quite distancing the Methodist Episcopal Church, which is surpassed, also, by the United Methodist Free Churches, as well as by the Wesleyans. The United Brethren landed on Sherbro Island, off the coast of Sierra Leone, in 1855. Their main station, however, is at Shaingay, on the mainland near by, where after long struggles they became well established. Almost nothing was done—only two converts baptized—until 1871, when the right man for the place appeared in the person of Mr. Joseph Gomer, a layman from Dayton, O. The chief, Thomas Stephen Caulker, who had been hitherto more or less hostile, now wholly changed his attitude and in a short time publicly professed faith in Christ. Many followed his example; and, though he lived only a few months after his conversion, the prospects of the mission were completely altered. His son, George Caulker, continued the policy of his father and, though not himself a Christian, rendered hearty assistance, often acting as interpreter at the Sunday services, for which his education in England rendered him most capable. Things now moved on apace. A new stone chapel, costing $3,000, was completed at Shaingay in 1875. In the same year the Mohammedans, who had projected a war for the express purpose of destroying the influence of the Gospel, were signally defeated, and the mission was correspondingly strengthened. The people said, "God done take the country." In 1883 the American Missionary Association, deciding to withdraw from its foreign work, turned over its Mendi mission to the United Brethren, and this, of course, much increased their sphere. In 1885 the missionaries were sowing the Gospel seed in 294 towns; the membership was 1,526. Mention is made of sixty raw heathen who walked several miles near the hour of midnight and awoke one of the missionaries, to have him tell them of Christ. He had preached in the evening to about thirty persons, among whom were a couple of men from a neighboring town. They went home after meeting and told what they had heard, which so interested the people that sixty of them started back forthwith. They waked up the missionary, saying they wanted to hear "that same God-word" he had spoken a few hours before, and they feared he would be gone

before they could get there in the morning. He, of course, dressed himself, got a light and his Bible, and preached, to the great delight of the people and the joy of his own heart; for the Master was there. Bishop Kephart, after thoroughly inspecting the work in 1893, declared, and apparently with good reason, "I am confident that no other denomination having missions in Africa has accomplished nearly so much with an equal amount of means as our Church has." Only three missionaries have died in this mission in the whole forty years of its history—a record without a parallel. One reason for this and, also, for the exceptional success achieved has been that the workers have been mostly colored men of a remarkable grade of ability. Mr. Gomer, who died in 1892, having been in the service twenty-two years, nearly all the time as superintendent of the mission, was an invaluable worker. His African descent explains his long endurance of the climate. Another strong man, who long served as presiding elder and head of the training school, was the Rev. Daniel F. Wilberforce, one of the converts of the mission, who was brought to America as a boy in 1871, well educated, and sent back in 1878. He is now ruler of quite a section of the country, having been by inheritance legal successor to the position. One of the principal stations is in charge of Mrs. Thompson, a daughter of the late Bishop Crowther. Another principal worker is Mrs. Lucy Caulker Curtis, daughter of the old chief. There are now about six thousand members in the churches, and four hundred and nineteen appointments. The territory occupied by the society covers seven thousand square miles. The appropriation by the board to its African mission for the current year is $7,000.

The United Methodist Free Churches have nearly five thousand communicants in Africa, divided between the west and the east. Over four thousand of these are in Sierra Leone. But it is on the east coast, among the Gallas, where operations were begun, not far from Mombasa, in 1862, under the lead of Dr. Krapf, that interest has of late years chiefly centered. The terrible Masai, the devastators of all that section, have greatly hindered the work. In 1886 they murdered the missionary at Golbanti, Mr. Houghton, and also his wife, destroying, indeed, the whole station. But it was built up again more substantially than before, with a stone house and stockade able

to resist attacks. The Somalis, also, have shown great hostility and made repeated onslaughts. Their last one, in 1894, was repulsed by the prowess and powerful weapons of a number of Englishmen in the neighborhood, aided by armed natives. Full security will not be reached until the English power is completely established in all this region. The mission of the Free Churches in China has also done well. It has as many communicants as the Wesleyan mission, though at least thirteen, if not sixteen, years younger, being practically founded in 1868, when the Rev. F. W. Galpin reached Ning-Po. It is at this city, one of the open treaty ports south of Shanghai, and at Wen-Chow, about two hundred miles further down the coast, that the missionaries have chiefly labored. In 1884, during the great anti-foreign riot, the mission property was totally destroyed, and the missionary himself narrowly escaped death. But the native Christians spent the whole night praying for their beloved teacher, and openly worshiped God in their own homes on the Lord's day while their chapel was still smoldering in the half-extinguished flames. Some, indeed, were led to accept Christianity from what they witnessed of the noble bearing of the Christians on that terrible night of peril. In the following year, the prospects being just then anything but bright, Mr. Soothill could think of only one thing in the line of further consecration that might possibly be desirable—the adoption of the native dress. Mr. Chang, his one reliable native helper, when spoken to about this, replied, "Please don't; we have enough to bear without that; appear in your true colors; pray, wear your own clothes;" which he did.

The Methodist Church of Canada, whose only foreign mission until three years ago was in Japan, has done very well there, having about two thousand communicants, or half as many as the Methodist Episcopal Church, and considerably more than the other three Methodist bodies (the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the Methodist Protestant Church, and the Evangelical Association) combined. It entered in 1873, the year our work was begun, but has had nothing like as much money to spend. It puts out on its mission about $25,000 yearly, while we appropriate $60,000. The first convert at Tokio, baptized within a year from the beginning, was the principal of the normal school for the education of schoolmistresses

in Japan, who is described as "an eminent Chinese scholar and a gentleman of the highest social standing." He became the leader of the first Methodist class formed in Japan. Other excellent native preachers were speedily raised up, who have been a prime factor in the prosperity of the mission. One of them has for some years been chairman of a district. Another, in 1880, reporting on the sisters of his charge, quaintly says: "They, old and young, are nice and quiet, but strong in the Lord. They trust in Jesus, all pray earnestly, help mutually from their falling, push themselves toward perfect holiness, comfort each other, and talk of their love of God with tear and cheer." In 1889 an Annual Conference was organized, with three districts (since increased by one), sixteen appointments, and thirty-four members to be stationed.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, while fairly successful in its Japan, China, and Brazil missions, has laid out much more money and reaped much more fruit in Mexico, where it has almost twice as many converts as in the other three countries combined. The two great Methodist Churches of the United States began practically at the same time, early in 1873, their combined attack upon the superstition, ignorance, and immorality of "our next-door neighbor," waging a peaceful war of words and kindly deeds where twenty-five years previously hostile bayonets had gleamed and hot cannon thundered. They have cooperated with great harmony ever since and have had very similar success. Together they reach nearly every State of the republic, from El Paso on the north to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec on the south, and from the Pacific Ocean to the Gulf. The work of the Church South is divided into three Conferences—that of Central Mexico (organized in 1886, and reporting for 1894 2,500 members), that of the Mexican Border, largely in Texas (organized in 1885, with 1,606 members), and that of Northwest Mexico (organized in 1890, with 757 members). If the border work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as represented by its New Mexico Spanish Mission Conference, with 2,105 members, be added to that of its Conference in central Mexico, the total will be 5,190, over against the 4,863 in the above-named three Conferences. Many interesting instances of persecutions bravely endured might easily be given, but the limits of our article forbid.

Leaving the important work of the Primitive Methodists in Africa, both on the west coast, at Fernando Po, and in the south, at Aliwal and on the Zambezi, together with the hopeful beginnings of the Bible Christians in connection with the China Inland Mission, in the province of Yun-Nan, and the splendid triumphs of the Welsh Methodists on the Cossyah Hills in northeast India, we must devote the remainder of our space to the grand achievements of our Wesleyan brethren. Many volumes could not do justice to their exploits. Africa, India, and the South Seas are their principal fields at present. A former generation saw noble deeds accomplished in the West Indies, where the work dates from the days of Nathaniel Gilbert, Esq., the first Methodist of that region, who held religious meetings in Antigua in 1760; and from the days of Dr. Coke, who was blown to those shores in 1786. There were 20,000 Wesleyan Methodist communicants on the islands in 1815, 43,000 in 1839, and 53,000 in 1850. There are only a little more than that number now. For the past forty years there has been scarcely any growth. The moral, as well as material, condition of the people has been, and still is, far from satisfactory, so that we do not now turn in that direction when we are wishing to give sketches of thrifty Church life.

The same must be said, if the truth is spoken, concerning a part of the work among the blacks in Africa. The old Sierra Leone and Gambia missions, started in 1811 and 1821, have not of late years been progressing. In the Gambia district, in 1839, there were nearly 600 Church members; at the beginning of 1893 there were 489. In Sierra Leone, in 1852, there were 6,192 full members; in 1893 there were 5,894. The chief trouble seems to be that, while the climate has been fearfully destructive of European health and life, practically prohibiting any protracted stay, few, if any, natives of sufficient ability to properly push the work have been raised up. In the first twenty-eight years of the Sierra Leone mission the lives of twenty Wesleyan missionaries were laid down for Christ. In the course of fifty years sixty-three Wesleyan missionaries and wives of missionaries fell sacrifices to the climate of West Africa. Some lived but a few weeks after their arrival, others a few months. On one occasion, in less than six months there were eight deaths from yellow fever. But there was no trouble in

filling vacancies. "I beseech you, by the blood of souls, not to hinder me from going," cried one to his parents when they objected, and the objections were withdrawn. Another, William Rowland Peck, when his mother said, "Rowland, if you go to western Africa you will be the death of me," replied, "Mother, if you do not consent to my going to Africa you will be the death of me." So, after much prayer, she consented, saying, "I see it is of the Lord, and I will not resist his will." He lived only six months. "Nothing," said he, the day before his death, "grieves me so much as the thought that my death will cause the hands of our friends in England to hang down." In later years the period of service has been longer and the deaths have been much fewer. Nevertheless, for some reason, though many experiments have been made, a proper native agency has not been found, and the churches suffer in consequence. Amanda Smith, in her autobiography, reluctantly bears witness to the same rueful fact, that "the colored missionaries are not men that can be depended upon to advance and develop the work. . . . When the whole work is left to them the interest seems to flag."

The missions a little further south, on the Gold Coast, have for some reason done much better. It was here that the Rev. T. B. Freeman, a colored man who proved to have staying power, labored from 1838 to 1890. His great natural ability and thorough education, all sanctified by quenchless zeal, rendered him an invaluable worker; and to his endeavors much of the great success of the mission can plainly be traced. His courageous visits to Coomassie, the capital of Ashantee, rendered his name very familiar to the Christian public of England and America fifty years ago. He planted a thrifty Gospel tree in that dark land; but the breaking up of the Ashantee kingdom by Sir Garnet Wolseley in 1873 pretty effectually destroyed Christian opportunities in that special direction. But at Lagos and Abbeokuta there have been large results. The Gold Coast mission celebrated its jubilee in 1885 with great enthusiasm. The work had grown to be self-sustaining, except on the more recently established stations. The total yearly native expenditure at that time was £4,000, only £450 being received from London to be applied to newer work. On the Cape Coast section alone a jubilee fund of £10,000 was raised; and in connection with

the celebration scores of heathen turned to the living God. There were then 6,778 members. They have since grown to 10,086, with the children in the Sunday schools. This is progress of a most unquestionable kind.

In South Africa, also, where Barnabas and William Shaw began operations eighty years ago, there has been great prosperity. Here the climate has been favorable, and the population has steadily increased. The baptism of Chief Kama in 1825 gave a great impetus to the mission. For fifty years he maintained his integrity against all seducers and opposers, furnishing a noble illustration of the power of divine grace. He was the first Christian Kaffir chief, and up to a few years ago, at least, the only paramount chief in southern Africa connected with any Christian Church. His son, William Shaw Kama, was for many years a missionary to the heathen and a regular member of the Conference. Since his father's death he has filled the position of chief with great acceptance and usefulness. Connected with another family of Zulu chiefs was a very successful evangelist, Charles Pamla. When the Rev. William Taylor conducted his marvelously fruitful evangelistic campaign along the coast, from Cape Town to Natal, in 1866, Pamla was his right-hand man, his constant interpreter, and a large portion of the result was plainly due to his agency. About seven thousand additions were made to the churches. The first session of the South African Conference was held in 1883, there being then 20,739 members. At present there are in the Conference about 57,000, besides 5,713 more in the Transvaal and Mashonaland districts, which are still administered directly from London.

The Ceylon mission, begun in 1814, will ever be thought of in connection with Dr. Coke, who gave his life for it. It has been fairly prosperous. Scarcely more than that can be justly claimed, since after eighty years' existence it has on its four districts less than five thousand members, including those on trial, and is only in small part self-supporting. On the continent of India, also, where work was begun in 1817, the mission was but feebly maintained and no very marked progress was made for fifty years. The net results of half a century of labor on the Madras, Mysore, and Calcutta districts was only about five hundred members. The native membership to-day, in the entire

northern part of the country, including the Burmah, Calcutta, Lucknow, and Benares districts, amounts to less than six hundred, with about as many more English communicants. But in the Nizam's dominions in the south, entered in 1879, a more fruitful opening has been found. Baptisms by hundreds are yearly reported, the actual membership is over two thousand, and more than three thousand, in ninety-three towns and villages, are connected with the mission. This has come about largely through the zeal of the new converts, eager to make known to others the joys of their faith. As many are now ready to be gathered in as the force of teachers can properly instruct; and this single district—the Hyderabad—seems likely to have in a short time more Wesleyan members than all the rest of India together.

The work among the savage Maoris of New Zealand, entered upon in 1822, formed a chapter of thrilling interest in the days of our fathers, and marvelous transformations were wrought. But, now that that noble old race has so nearly departed from the face of the earth under the cruel impact of civilization, there is, of course, but little of importance to relate concerning them. In 1855, when the Australasian Conference was formed and the New Zealand missions passed under its control, there were 3,070 Maori Wesleyan members against 508 European, and 7,590 Maori adherents. At present there are only 548 Maori members and probationers, with 3,460 attendants on worship. No pains are being spared to win them to Christ, and the membership has almost doubled in the last six years. There are about 9,000 English members.

The triumphs of the Wesleyan missionaries in the South Seas are of undying fame, and are known to all who have acquaintance with such things. The names of Walter Lawry, Nathaniel Turner, William Cross, David Cargill, Charles Tucker, John Hunt, James Calvert, James Watkin, Robert Leyth, and John Waterhouse, whom God so marvelously blessed in Tonga and Fiji, the Christian Church will forever honor. The struggle in both groups was severe; but the baptism of King George, of Tonga, in 1830, and the submission of King Thakomban, of Fiji, in 1854, were the turning points of triumph, after which matters moved on with speed. King George proved to be a man of superior judgment and ability and unswerving

religious principle, thoroughly converted, and every inch a king. He served for many years as a regular local preacher and won great numbers to Christ. The Rev. Robert Young, of England, who spent some time in the islands in 1853, testifies that during the three months he was with King George he never heard a foolish word drop from his lips, nor did he see anything in his spirit or deportment inconsistent with the most entire devotedness as a disciple of Christ. The king died in 1893, at a very great age. Twenty-five years ago it was announced that not one heathen remained in any of the Friendly Islands. The mission had become, not only self-supporting, but a generous contributor to the funds of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. King Thakombau, baptized in 1857 under the name of Ebenezer, lived a life of good works and died in great triumph in 1883. His last audible prayer was, "Hold me, Jesus! My faith in thee is firm." His country passed, with his full consent, in 1874, under the rule of Great Britain, and is now almost wholly Christian. The Wesleyans have on these Fiji Islands, according to the latest report, 849 churches, 475 other preaching places, 11 missionaries, 69 native ministers, 52 catechists, 1,117 teachers, 2,325 school-teachers, 2,064 local preachers, 3,680 class leaders, 30,583 full members, 5,299 on trial, 7,431 catechumens, 36,675 scholars in Sunday schools, and 99,031 attendants on worship. There are, also, in Samoa 2,274 communicants and 6,365 attendants. In New Britain, New Ireland, and New Guinea the same blessed changes are being accomplished under the efforts of faithful men, mostly native helpers from Fiji and Samoa, who count not their lives dear unto them. Thirteen thousand attendants on public worship are reported from these places, and over twelve hundred members.

Very hurried has been this survey of Methodist mission work. Very brief have been the glimpses that could be allowed. The door has been opened but a crack, and then hastily shut. Our readers would, perhaps, have been wearied had we asked them to go with us over Europe, where, in Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Bulgaria, Methodist hymns are sung and the Gospel according to Wesley is preached; had we introduced them to the missions in Korea, north, south, west, and central China, Malaysia, Australia, and South America; had we tried

to familiarize them with the five Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India, on which God has so marvelously poured forth his Spirit that by many in America it seems to be in no wise believed, however explicitly the most trustworthy eyewitnesses may declare it unto them. To make our sketch at all complete we should have had to include Honolulu, Havana (where the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has a station), Patagonia (where the Welsh Methodists have four churches), Central America, Bermuda, the Balearic Islands, Malta, Cairo, Algeria (where the French Wesleyan Conference is striving to evangelize the Kabyles), and the wild northlands of British America. It is far easier to say where Methodist missionaries are not than where they are. They have girdled the globe. They are attempting still greater things for God, venturing on new enterprises in the name of Jesus all the time. They are confident that they have the truth which the nations need. It is only about a century and a half since the founder of Methodism started forth with his message. If in that time twenty-seven millions have been gained, besides the millions sent to heaven, what enormous hosts ought to be enrolled in the century before us, and will be if we are faithful to our great trust! Not pride and gratulation should be the emotions called up by such summaries of facts and figures as the foregoing, but thankfulness, humility, and a more earnest girding of the loins for greater endeavor, that the fathers may have no occasion to be ashamed of their sons, and that the future, even more than the past, may redound to the glory of God, in the salvation of countless souls through the labors of a consecrated, vigilant, flaming, world-wide Methodism.

James Mudge

Art. IV.—LIBERALISM—TRUE AND FALSE.

The Middle Ages have been called the "ages of faith," by way of contrast to the modern era, which began with the Reformation and which has been eminently scientific and rationalizing in its spirit. When the spirit of mediæval devotion culminated in the fourteenth century western Europe was a veritable theocracy. Kings and emperors received their crowns as humble vassals from Christ's vicegerent. The authority of the Church was supreme in every department of thought or activity. It was a civil, as well as an ecclesiastical, crime not to be orthodox. It is a gross mistake, however, to call these dark centuries the ages of faith, unless we degrade the word "faith" until it mean nothing higher than superstition. Except a very small and unworthy minority in the Roman Catholic Church, no Christian to-day looks back to those days as a time of success or supremacy for true Christianity. It was the dark and barren seedtime of truth. Ours is an age of greater faith—of faith more intelligent and fearless. We do not immure men and women in convents to keep them orthodox. We have more faith than the mediæval Church had in the power of Christ over individual lives.

Christianity has nothing to lose, but everything to gain, from the scientific, rationalizing spirit of modern times; its enemies themselves being judges, it flourishes in greater vigor the more the intellect and conscience of men are liberated. Outworn scientific theories are hurried into their graves without remorse every year. Misinterpretations and perversions of Christianity are being as ruthlessly stripped off and abandoned—not without protests and painful rendings of some strong old ties; but the Christian religion itself is growing in favor and power in ever-increasing ratio. In spite of the materializing tendencies of our times, it remains true that theology is still the most popular study of modern life. With true insight the French philosopher Amiel says, "There is but one thing needful—to possess God." Every age must find its definition of God. We are entering upon a dawning age of what we may call brotherhood—if "socialism" be an offensive word. The fierce individualism which has made the nineteenth century great is leading us into

a greater age of fairer and freer living. Questions of humanity are the absorbing interests of these times; and whenever a question of humanity is raised it is invariably associated and identified with a question of theology. Anthropology and theology are always inseparably connected, because God and man are as intimately related as father and son.

Questions of theology, then, are to-day, as always, of surpassing popular interest. Moody and Ingersoll each draws great audiences. Both are teachers of a theology—one positive, and the other negative—and people of widely divergent views listen to their favorite teacher. Questions of theology, interpretations of life from a religious standpoint, enter into and color all our literature. The fiction of the last fifty years is strongly flavored with theological discussion. George Eliot broods continually, in a sad, hopeless way, over these things. In Dinah Morris she has drawn a character of such pathetic beauty and invested with such unusual dignity that one might be led to think that its creator must be a very champion of orthodox evangelicism. Such a character shows how tenderly and longingly this great woman clung, with her heart, at least, to her earlier faith. At other times she seems to lose all hope of a conscious immortality, and sings that ode, so atheistic in thought, but so full of the Christian spirit of altruism—

> O may I join the choir invisible
> Of those immortal dead who live again
> In minds made better by their presence—live
> In pulses stirred to generosity,
> In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
> For miserable aims that end with self,
> In thoughts sublime that pierce the night, like stars,
> And with their mild persistence urge man's search
> To vaster issues. So to live is heaven.

In fact, the use of theology in novel writing has become almost a fad. Such writers as Olive Schreiner and Mrs. Humphrey Ward, who attack the orthodoxy of the Churches by implications and assumptions and questionings, rather than by argument, show that the prevailing attitude of men and women in these days is a feeling after God, if haply they may find him. The most characteristic poetry of our times is theological in its prevailing tone. The two poets who are most worthy to be called representative of the highest in thought

and feeling of our times—Tennyson and Browning—are, indeed, doctors of divinity, teachers of religion even more potent than if they were ordained ecclesiastics. "In Memoriam" is *the* poem of the age, a mirror of the scientific spirit, joined with the devout faith—"believing where we cannot prove"—and the human brotherly yearnings, which we recognize as characteristic of that which is highest in modern religious life. If we needed another illustration of the popularity of religious inquiries we should have it in the Parliament of Religions at the Columbian Exposition, whose sessions awakened universal interest and unbounded discussion.

The nineteenth century, the age of individualism, has dealt the principle of infallible authority a fatal blow, and, as the result of the liberation of the individual conscience, every man is his own theologian. Necessity is laid upon him to choose his god. There is henceforth no infallible power to choose one for him. It has been truly said: "The Protestant Reformation has its principle and its method. Its principle is salvation by faith, not by sacraments. Its method is private judgment, not Church authority." * It is this method of Protestantism that has withdrawn the study of theology from the monopoly of a professional class and cast it trustfully abroad, like potent seed, to be watched over and matured by the ever-present Spirit of all truth. In our days we are watching with amazement, and not without misgivings, the various luxurious growths of opinions and institutions which have sprung up as a result of that sowing, unpruned by Holy Inquisition or infallible councils; and we ask, not without alarm, "What shall the harvest be?" A young man entering the ministry of the Gospel in these days, and wishing to be at the same time both honest and consistent, is met by the buffeting currents of opinion that surge about him and is led to question the reliability of his faith and to fear lest he may make shipwreck of his faith. He envies the apostle who, having safely weathered every sea, drops anchor with a glad shout of deliverance—"I have kept the faith." Times of transition are confusing; but this age of multifarious opinion is preeminently the age of faith, as well as the age of liberated thought. No sect monopolizes the liberalizing tendencies of this age. The movement is general,

* James Freeman Clarke.

prophetic of the time when men shall know the truth and be made free. It has been said:

> In Protestant countries there is a tendency to Rome, but in Roman Catholic countries an equal or greater tendency to Protestantism. Orthodoxy tends to liberal Christianity, liberal Christianity tends to orthodoxy. Each longs for its opposite, its supplement, its counterpart. It is a movement toward a larger liberty and a deeper life.

The next century will be more brotherly and social than this age of the assertion of individuals and sects. The danger lies in the pendulum movement, lest, in breaking away from this century, we lose the rich deposit of truth which the age of individualism has left us and seek only the great half truth which socialism is to teach. The Protestant watchword, "My soul and God," must not be lost sight of or perverted into "Humanity and no God." It will be strengthening to our faith and satisfying to our hunger for truth if we can, in any degree, distinguish between that which is true and that which is false in this intensely Protestant tendency of our times.

There are people who have specialized the word "liberal," as the followers of Alexander Campbell have, rather arrogantly, specialized the word "Christian;" and these so-called "liberal" people of the religious world make such a disproportionate noise in comparison with their numbers that a man raised in orthodoxy, but whose mind is somewhat timidly open to conviction, is half inclined to accept their assertions and believe himself a blind bigot for having a creed. We allow the "liberal" theologian to construct, for the sake of his own argument, a definition of orthodoxy which no two people who call themselves orthodox would accept, and then to demolish it with a triumphant satisfaction altogether out of proportion to the size or importance of the victory. In an article called "The Inevitable Surrender of Orthodoxy," Mr. Savage, of Boston, —after constructing a caricature of evangelical Christianity, composed of a fossil Calvinism made lurid with liberal contributions of fire and brimstone, which he libelously misnames "orthodoxy"—weeps ill-timed tears over the hypothetical millions of deluded Christians who to-day bow in worship to this Moloch of his own constructive imagination. His sentiment is as purely artificial as the weeping of the moping girl who thinks how awful it would be if she should marry and have

a child and it should die. Says the writer of the article in question, "There is not one single feature of the orthodox plan of salvation, starting with the fall and ending with heaven and hell, that does not outrage the sense of justice of any intelligent and unbiased mind." Such a comment would be accepted by every evangelical Christian when applied to the "orthodoxy" of the "liberal" imagination, just as Mr. Ingersoll's eloquent attacks on certain monstrous perversions of Christianity would be indorsed by the whole Church if uttered in the truth-loving spirit, and if they were not loaded down with conscious falsehoods and defiled with the venom of malice.

Like Don Quixote, the knightly plungings and fencings of such assailants, which would have been *en règle* in the Middle Ages, are now decidedly quaint and obsolete as directed against old-fashioned windmills and other defenseless antagonists. The liberalism that insults the orthodox Church by flaunting in its face the graveclothes of buried dogmas, and raises a *post-mortem* clamor against theories which are now but little insisted on, if not entirely ignored, in the more earnest demands of the age, is narrow, insincere, and unworthy of respect. Such liberalism partakes of the bigotry of the mediæval schoolmen, who obscured truth in their efforts to be logical. Truth does not progress according to the programs and formulas of logicians.

> Our little systems have their day,
> They have their day and cease to be.

Nor is it necessary to pronounce a funeral oration over them and make an ostentatious display at their obsequies. What orthodoxy has been in the days of Aquinas, in the time of the Inquisition, and in the time of Calvin is matter of history; and it is unfair if we, who use the word as a convenient designation of general evangelical Christianity, must bear all the intolerable burdens of error which have imposed themselves on the word in times past. If the definitions of so-called liberalism and of infidelity be the true ones, let the word "orthodox" perish forever from the Christian vocabulary! The word "orthodoxy" ("right teaching"), however, as used to designate evangelical Christianity, as received and taught by the Protestant Churches, is a constantly progressive and always noble word, keeping pace with the general advance of Christian thought. The word, as used by evangelical Christianity, has taken on mean-

ings altogether broader and nobler than have yet been conceded by our ungenerous liberal critics. Almost within our own day orthodoxy has been broadened so as to include us Methodists, the freest thinkers of Protestantism, who preach a free salvation, and who do not believe in the "decrees" or "five points" any more than the "liberals," or, for that matter, the Presbyterians themselves. It is to be hoped that the expression "right teaching" may be extended in simplicity and breadth, until all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and who by faith in his name are trying to lead men out of sin into holiness shall be called orthodox.

The word "orthodox" ought never to be used as an antonym of "liberal." Phillips Brooks once said, "Let not religion come to seem to men the affair of a party." The same ought to be said concerning liberality of thought. It is vain for any set of thinkers to form a party and assume proprietorship over an idea or a spirit that is the common gift of the century—a spirit poured out on all flesh and affecting every denomination of opinion. Liberality of thought is a good spirit, which ought to pervade all Christian Churches; nor can it be specialized and made into an "ism." Dr. Thomas very sensibly said, at a recent meeting of the Sunset Club, of Chicago, "It ought not to be that, whenever a man has a new thought on the subject of God, he must build a Church to house it in." Perhaps the doctor has learned that when a man tries to make a creed out of liberality of thought he finds that it serves him very poorly in that capacity. Thus it comes to pass that whenever a man professes to be a liberal it generally means that he is nothing. Dr. Paul Carus closes an article on the "Dawn of a New Religious Era" with these words, full of sublime sound and—emptiness: "There is but one religion—the religion of truth. . . . The religion of the future can only be the religion of truth." Any sect of thinkers that deals in such commonplaces as to say that the religion of the future will be the religion of truth can have but little influence in persuading men to leave their denominations to form a new one. A world of sinning and needy men will respond to such a sentiment by saying bitterly, with jesting Pilate, "What is truth?" and, like him, will not wait for a reply. In reading "liberal" literature one is amazed to find everywhere a supercilious assumption that there are no

broadly charitable thinkers in any other schools of belief—an assumption that so-called evangelical orthodoxy is synonymous with a sour bigotry. There is an unaccountable failure to recognize the tolerant, truth-seeking spirit which is to-day the most conspicuous and attractive attribute of evangelical Christianity. Senseless exhortation and shallow self-congratulation are not limited to orthodox preachers. Such a liberalism, in boastfully assuming a private ownership in that which is, in fact, the common property of our age—the *Zeitgeist* of the century—is made intolerant through egotism. Such a self-assumed proprietorship of the liberalizing spirit which God has breathed into this whole age of Protestantism leads to the result that might be anticipated as inevitable. Liberalism, as a sect or denomination of theological opinion, becomes, not a positive agency for the edification of mankind in truth, but a negative and carping body of teaching, which, like the doctors and lawyers who subsist on the infirmities of body and of conscience which afflict society, is useful chiefly in discovering and parading—not without profit, it is true—the blemishes of those who are imperfectly, but earnestly, doing the Christian work of the world.

Let us consider some of the inherent weaknesses of liberalism, considered as an "ism" or school of theological thought. As already hinted, its most conspicuous weakness is the negative, vague, illusive character of its teachings. It abounds in generalities, mostly so commonplace as not even to be "glittering." It is even harder to define the word "liberal" than the word "orthodox." Its vagueness almost saves it from indictment. "Liberalism" is a word similar in character to the expression "the opposition," as used in politics, and expresses something negative, rather than positive. Nonconformity to generally received theological opinions is the loose bond that holds liberals together in a semblance to unity. "Anything to beat Grant" was a watchword that formed a party of opposition of widely divergent elements. So, when we use the word "liberal" we do not think of a system of constructive theology, but a multifarious group of thinkers who agree only in disagreeing with the commonly received tenets of evangelical Christianity—a group beginning almost inside the pale of orthodoxy, with such truly Christian teachers as Dr. Channing and James Freeman Clarke, and extending out to such end men of Unitarianism as

the Rev. M. J. Savage. Perhaps we should stop there; but the negative tendency still pushes on—still out—through the scientific atheism of Huxley and Spencer, through the agnosticism of Auguste Comte, to the gross, ribalda theism of Ingersoll, and still beyond, if anything more empty and negative can be conceived.

Doubtless the Liberal Congress which met last year in our city, with a flourish of trumpets and flutter of anticipation, ought to give us some adequate idea of the *personnel* and common tenets of liberalism. In studying this congress it was evident that the only ground for agreement was objection to orthodoxy; and these objections arose chiefly from overstatements or misunderstandings of its principal doctrines. In the congress were assembled all grades, beginning with the so-called "liberal orthodox," through Universalism, Unitarianism, through Judaism (revised edition), out to ethical culture, which by its very name disclaims all connection with theology, liberal or illiberal. And in this congress the centrifugal tendency was strikingly apparent. It was hard to resist the outward drift. One brother grew merry over the situation and gayly declared that all space was hardly broad enough to furnish him a platform. The longer they sat the more confused they became. With some evident chagrin they closed their deliberations, feeling farther apart than ever, and with a conviction that the spirit of missionary propagandism was not consonant with their negative doctrine. Somewhat inanely did they talk on matters on which no two agreed, and adjourned a little crestfallen and with a dim consciousness that the great world, in its need and hunger of soul, was but little helped—with a dim consciousness, we hope, also, that after all the so-called orthodox Churches have some share in the liberalizing spirit which is God's gift to this age, and something positive besides. The centrifugal tendency of liberalism is its most notable feature. From the denials of orthodoxy which all hold in common, it drifts out broadly into thinner and ever thinner atmospheres, through pantheism and agnosticism, out to blank atheism. Almost the only characteristics common to all liberals are in the nature of denials.

But it is worthy of remark that often, in this vast system or, rather, chaos of beliefs or unbeliefs, are wandering bodies, like

comets, traveling in parabolic orbits, which, after tracing illimitable wastes of negation, return ever and anon to a close and fiery perihelion of credulity around some center of positive error, like theosophy, spiritualism, or Christian science—only to drift out again, through all the widening circles of doubt and liberalism, into thinner and thinner ethers of cold agnosticism. Well did the poet exhort,

> Hold thou the truth; define it well;
> For fear divine philosophy
> Should push beyond her mark, and be
> Procuress to the lords of hell.

The superstitious credulity of infidels is proverbial. Men who are too rational to accept biblical Christianity start at omens, have their secret fetich *Lares* and *Penates*, see divine reasonableness in the skillfully veneered teachings of Vivekananda, and lend willing ears to the spirit rappings of the Fox sisters. Refusing the knowledge of God, they "became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools."

The weakness of liberalism, resulting from its being negative and critical, is illustrated in two notable features of its doctrine: (1) its treatment of the subject of sin; (2) its neglect of the devotional element of religion.

I. One of the most conspicuous causes of the weakness of liberalism is its inadequate method of dealing with sin. In this theology sin is an ignorance to be educated out of man, a lack—something negative, not a positive resistance of God. In making sport of the doctrine of the fall of man liberalists lose sight of the actual fallen men about us who need deliverance. Their easy-going contemplation of sin leads them, of course, to neglect, and even deny, conversion. As a Unitarian writer who deplores this tendency says, "It is common among liberals to doubt the reality, or deny the importance, of such changes." A liberalism of theology which shuts its eyes to the most conspicuous and terribly significant phenomenon of human life on earth—the fact of sin—and makes no provision for the cure of the fatal disease of humanity, is like the false watchman who is so unkindly tender-hearted as to say, "Peace, peace," to the defenseless city when the enemy are already scaling the wall. Such theologians treat moral disease as the

so-called Christian scientists treat physical ills—by ignoring them. They say to the troubled and sin-sick soul, "Go in peace;" but they do not give the healing touch. That was a very "liberal" rector who, when George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, went to ask advice for the distress of his soul, told him to amuse himself and divert his mind. James Freeman Clarke, in criticism of this tendency of liberals to underestimate sin, declared, "There are some preachers among us who would not know what to do for a penitent and anxious soul which really saw the greatness of its need."

In contrast to this negative view of sin we have the orthodox view, which is radical and definite, supplying the *raison d'être* of the methods and institutions of evangelical Christianity. According to orthodoxy, Christ was manifested to take away our sin, and Christianity is a system of redemption first, and then of education. If the time-worn doctrines of the fall of man, original sin, total depravity, etc., be not correct and unalterable expressions of absolute truth (and no one to-day claims that they are); if orthodoxy, in exalting the atonement and the supernatural change effected in the human heart by the regenerating Spirit, has tended to an almost Antinomian extreme, making the Christian life solely a passive submission to irresistible sovereignty (and no one denies such perversions) —nevertheless, the intensely earnest view which orthodox Churches take of the exceeding sinfulness of sin and their equally intense belief in Christ as the Saviour from sin have been the motive power of modern evangelical Christianity—a power that has found expression in the missionary and revival movements which have made the nineteenth century what it is; a power that promises to lay a hallowing hand on the modern socialistic tendencies and save them from hurling society into atheistic anarchy, guiding them, rather, to the establishment of a universal household of God on earth. Judged by the test of ethical utility, as a working hypothesis in making men better, orthodoxy, in its treatment of sin, is strong, and liberalism weak. Phillips Brooks says, "I think that it is in the exhibition of their moral consequences and connections, far more than in the discovery of their abstract truth or falsehood or their proof or disproof from the Bible, that doctrines to-day must be established or refuted in the eyes of men." By this

test of ethical utility liberalism as a creed ranks with atheism, in being weak in the pulling down of the strongholds of iniquity.

II. The weakness of liberalism because of its negative character is again illustrated in its neglect of the devotional element of religion. The most essential thing about a religion is that it be religious. This explains why so many highly intellectual people remain devout Catholics. They prefer an irrational or superrational religion to mere intellectualism. Mark Pattison says, "Men have never given up their beliefs on account of the difficulties raised against them; they will not plunge into a vacuum." To banish God as far as possible from the personal consciousness of men, to communicate with him only through the long-distance telephone of impersonal laws and evolutions, and finally to dispense with him altogether is the strong tendency of liberalism, the only logical stopping place being the soulless materialism of Huxley. When liberal theology has thus drifted out into so-called scientific free thought we encounter a limbo of confused ideas. These self-styled free thinkers are found wandering in pathless bogs of credulity with a complacency that puts to blush the darkest ages of faith. Such thinkers, teaching, as they do, that the states of the mind are but chance movements of the molecules of the brain, become too gross to understand or treat with fairness the religions of men. It has been fairly alleged against Huxley that "his manner of approach to the Christian system is to represent it as a clerical intrigue or, at least, as in the main an exhibition of tyranny, ignorance, and self-seeking on the part of churchmen." The great heresy of modern science is to make physical phenomena the only realities. It is not to be wondered at that such a philosophy can become a religion only to a very small, highly cultivated, but parasitic class, while the mass of mankind still cling to supernatural religion and, in lieu of something better, to superstitions and idolatries. The healthy human consciousness will always protest, with Goethe, that God is, and that he is not far off, but present in nature and humanity:

> Not so outside doth the Creator linger,
> Nor let the all of things run round his finger,
> But moves its center, not its outer rim;
> Comes down to nature, draws it up to him,
> Moving within, inspiring from above,
> With currents ever new of light and love.

Liberalism, in all its forms, lacks that sense of the presence of God in his Church which alone can give enthusiasm and life. A prominent Unitarian says of his own Church, "A Unitarian congregation usually consists of intelligent, virtuous, well-meaning people, but destitute of enthusiasm and with little confidence in the new birth or religious life." In avoiding anthropomorphism the liberalist tends to make God more and more an abstraction, to lay less and less stress on the emotional and mystical elements in religion, to make theology an intellectual theory, and to obscure the personal dependence of the individual on God, as a Father and Friend. Such a religion is necessarily weak; for humanity seeks God, and the heart often cries out against the head:

"There is no God," the foolish saith,
But none, "There is no sorrow;"
And nature oft the cry of faith
In bitter need will borrow.
Eyes which the preacher could not school
By wayside grave are raisèd;
And lips say, "God be pitiful,"
Who ne'er said, "God be praisèd."

A religion will be strong in proportion as it makes men realize the presence of God. Moses felt the force of that truth when he said, "If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence." The complaint which the Christian justly makes against liberalism is, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him." At the late congress of liberals one of the speakers on ethical culture—an earnest, sad-faced man—took occasion to say, "The name Jesus, beautiful though it be, must inevitably be a name of ever-lessening potency as the minds of men are emancipated from error and are taught that every man must save himself." Those of us who were there will remember that a sudden hush smote the audience, as if they were chilled and frightened at the awful leap into the dark which they were invited to take.

Evangelical Christianity is the most powerfully influential religion the world has ever seen, because it teaches so strongly the intimate relation between God and man. Its message to society is, "Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men;" its message to the individual is, "Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost?" No matter how emancipated

men may become intellectually, it is by no means probable that liberalism will profit by it at the expense of evangelical Christianity. As a prominent infidel admits, "It is true that people have become indifferent about theological subtleties; but they still remain under the sway of religion, and the Churches are becoming more truly religious as they are becoming less sectarian." A great deal is being said about the religion of the future. It is not saying too much to predict that the religion of the future will be the form of religion which, in its teaching and practice, brings the divine Father nearest to the human soul and which, in human society, makes men realize that the tabernacle of God is, indeed, among men.

Having noticed some of the more conspicuous weaknesses of liberalism, we are not to forget that there is another side to the discussion. The whole movement is reactionary against opposite errors in orthodoxy. In all these liberal writings we find protests against the traditional and long-established interpretations of God and his dealings with mankind. There is a legitimate demand that new wine be put into new bottles, that the Church conscientiously face new conditions with improved adaptations. It is not to be wondered at if Protestants do too much protesting. One extreme of the pendulum movement is evidence of an opposite extreme. If liberalism has been too negative it is because orthodoxy has been too positive or, rather, falsely positive.

This tendency is seen in its treatment of truth derived from other than scriptural sources—as, for instance, the discoveries of science. Intolerance is always a cowardice, resulting from weakness of faith. The Church, in assuming to be the sole channel of truth, has sometimes usurped the office of the Holy Ghost and has made wretched work of leading men into all truth. Afraid to trust the Spirit of truth, she undertook the impossible task of defining truth herself. It was a pathetic sight when Galileo, over seventy years old, with one hand on the gospels and the other on his heart, at the command of the Holy Inquisition solemnly repudiated the truth which God had given him concerning the material universe, on the ground that it was plainly repugnant to the teachings of Holy Writ. In those days and since, some men were more careful to be orthodox than to be right. It is equally pathetic to hear some Prot-

estant preachers of our day rant, with unbecoming confidence, against the findings of modern science—which ought to be judged as facts, independently of any possible bearing on any-one's creed—and with a vehemence that betokens a cowardly fear lest, if Darwinism should be proved, the whole fabric of the Christian system must fall. If our Christianity is to stand or fall with some old theory of natural science or of biblical interpretation, such as mediæval geology or the chronology of Usher, we have, indeed, built our house on the sands. It is essentially cowardly in a Christian preacher to-day to indulge in pointless sarcasm against the much-abused higher criticism, as if the results of this earnest study were not as likely, and more so, to establish, as to undermine, the true power and authority of the sacred word. Orthodoxy has manifested the same spirit as Romanism in its faithless fear of private judgment. No sooner does Protestantism win its great fight against papal authority than it is stricken with panic lest God should not properly conserve the results of the Reformation; and it seizes hold of the dethroned principle of infallible authority and proceeds to enthrone it in the canon of Holy Scripture and to foster an enervating idolatry of the letter of the word, saying to the people, "These be your gods, O Israel!" In our age the Bible is being relieved of many intolerable burdens which it has been made to bear; and the more it is studied and rightly interpreted the more conspicuous does its divine purpose and inspiration shine forth, its purpose being, not to teach occult science, but to guide men out of sin into holiness.

Orthodoxy has been too positive, also, in its insistence on creed statements. By reducing theology to an exact science it has invited attack. Nicæan formulas and hairsplitting definitions of the Eternal One seem in our day almost irreverent. The whole Christian world is learning that absolutely identical belief is not essential to identity of Christian faith and life. The tendency of the age is toward a more simple, reverent, and tolerant attitude in reference to the hidden things of God, together with a more stalwart and earnest attention to practical ethics. It has been truly said:

> No creed ever made satisfied even the majority. How, indeed, can any statement proceeding from the human brain be an adequate and permanent expression of eternal truth? Even the apostle says, "We know in

part, and we prophesy in part," and "Whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away." If Paul declared that he had not the power of making a perfect and permanent statement of truth, how can we believe that anyone else can ever do it?

Is there, then, no assurance of faith for the Christian teacher or believer? Is there no satisfying *via media* between a narrow, self-contented orthodoxy, on the one hand, and the thin, vapid liberalism, on the other, that starves out the religious life and chills into paralysis the warm enthusiasms of devotion? Is there no attitude toward truth more satisfying than either of these? The answer to these heart-searching questions must be found in an earnest study of the essential nature of Christianity, which is a life, not a carefully elaborated set of opinions. A great orthodox writer has truly said:

> Men must be made to feel that the Christian religion is not a mass of separate questions, having little connection with one another, on all of which a man must have made up his mind before he can be counted a believer. The spiritual unity of the faith must be brought out and its simplicity asserted in the prominence given to the personal life and work of Jesus Christ and loyalty to him, as a test of all discipleship.

Under such a noble conception of Christianity there is no narrowness in belonging to a denomination or holding a creed, if we at the same time cling to the simple spiritual unity of the faith. John Wesley had the right idea of Christian unity and of essential orthodoxy when he said, "I desire a league, offensive and defensive, with every soldier of Jesus Christ." It has well been said, "The Church, if she holds her creed as a creed ought to be held, is neither dogmatic nor skeptical, but keeps both to the special and the universal and makes them minister to each other." A good definition of essential Christianity was given at the Parliament of Religions by a Christian Japanese: "The essential nature of Christianity is not dogma, but the ethico-religious life in each individual soul and in humanity at large. Live the life and do the work of Jesus Christ. The orthodoxy of dogma shall give place to the orthodoxy of life and work." As George Macdonald said, "I find that doing the will of God leaves me but little time for disputing about his plans." Even in this age, then, of vast and often excessive liberality of thought, it is possible to say, "I have kept the faith." An honest looking forward toward the things that are before,

not assuming that we have already attained or were already perfect; a cordial acceptance of Christ's teaching that the Holy Spirit is in the world to lead us into all truth; an open eye for the light that is yet to break upon the dark problems of human life, from God's word of Scripture and from his words that can be read in the social, political, and economic movements that are making history under our very eyes—such an attitude will save us from the stupefying self-contentment which is the result of a blind adherence to rigid formulas of belief, wrought for us in the heat of irritating controversy.

What, then, shall save us from drifting too far out and losing our religious life in the inanition and paralysis of a false liberalism? May we not find that safeguard in the realization of a present God—a recognition of the fact that the God and Christ of the New Testament are present to-day in mighty power in the Church? Or, in other words, may we not find a corrective to a false intellectualism in the cultivation of a personal religious experience. "Rooted and grounded in love," we shall be able to comprehend "what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge." The facts of personal religious experience and observation are now, as in apostolic days, to be our strength as Christian teachers. Christianity is eminently an historical religion, resting on facts, to-day, as always—not on philosophy. Men will believe in the Christ whom they see in the Churches and in Christians. It is comparatively futile to argue with an unbeliever in favor of miracles alleged to have been wrought nineteen centuries ago. But if we can show that these were but the things "that Jesus began both to do and teach;" if we can show proof to-day of a "power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth;" if, as one of the converts of the Pacific Garden Mission so eloquently declared, a second New Testament might be written from the deeds of Jesus Christ in Chicago—deeds of regeneration, healing, and raising from the dead—then we have an argument in favor of orthodoxy ("right teaching") which cannot be gainsaid.

Hugh D. Atchison.

ART. V.—NEWSPAPER RESPONSIBILITY IN RELATION TO INTEMPERANCE.

THERE are few social forces which claim to equal the potency of the periodical press. Specially is this true of its newspaper department. Its inconsiderable cost puts it within reach of the poor, its convenient form and serial visits render its perusal possible by the busiest, while the compass and ability of original and contributed articles fully sustain its high claim. The range of its discussions embraces almost every conceivable topic. It introduces us to all lands and makes us familiar with the passing events of all countries, so that, whether in matters relating to literature, science, philosophy, or the sayings and deeds which make up the history of everyday life, there is no reasonable apology for anyone's being in ignorance. Nor does it relegate to class and professional journals exclusive consideration of specialties; but in the table of its diversified contents space is devoted to their intelligent and popular consideration.

A daily newspaper is a comprehensive compendium of the freshest and best in every department of literature, and contributes largely to such a fund of valuable information as must have its influence on the popular mind. As a means of education it takes a foremost place and acknowledges no secular superior. It is to be feared that large numbers of the people allow their religious or secular paper to do their thinking for them, and so are likely to receive without question and impart without hesitation what was oracularly stated in their familiar journal. Away from the more highly favored centers of intelligence the home is but sparsely supplied with books, while public libraries are institutions promised only to the strongest faith. Persons in such circumstances have but few opportunities for study, which makes it all the more natural that they should turn with pleasure to the newspaper as the most promising source of intelligence within their reach. We are here stating a fact, and not offering a criticism. It is a matter for gratulation that, in the absence of the best environment, there goes so unobtrusively into the homes of every community a means of accomplishing so much in relieving the darkness of ignorance and neutralizing its terrible results. We are

not affirming that our description will apply without exception; on the contrary, it is possible for the unscrupulous to impose upon a community their hurtful publications.

When we speak of the newspaper as an educational force we are warranted in using the phrase in the widest and best sense. All true education looks through words to opinions, to the implanting of the germs of truth, and to the development of worthy sentiment. Every community will be prosperous in proportion as it regards and practices such principles as accord with truth, whether that truth be in the physical, mental, or moral nature. It is, indeed, neither feasible nor desirable that every newspaper column should be an objective lesson in some department of virtue; but the best interests of society demand that in conducting a journal the most enlightened judgment be used, in order that it may with all its power protest against the wrong and encourage the right. There is, of course, no one profession or agency to which this duty can be exclusively relegated. There is no assumption of wisdom or of virtue which makes it a special privilege. It is coming more and more to be considered the prerogative of anyone to engage in this great work before whom opportunity has opened its inviting door. Philanthropy and patriotism, as well as religion, demand it. The highest privilege of intelligent citizenship is to make men wiser and better. There is no selfish interest which may be allowed to excuse any from this natural obligation. He cannot claim that his vocation is secular, and that it is the special sphere of the pulpit to monopolize this work. But it is rather a question of opportunity; and with opportunity comes a responsibility that cannot be evaded.

For the dissemination of truth and the consequent overthrow of error the newspaper press possesses opportunities which are strangely complete. Because of a peculiar and confidential relation to its readers, it can manufacture a sentiment which will soon demolish the strongest walls of the worst enemy of society. Our thought pertains to abstract truth only in so far as it may be applied to the experiences of practical life. It is in order that society may be made better and homes happier, in order that crime may be banished and good will may abound, that we are thinking of the best and fairest agency for accomplishing the great revolution of the reformation of society.

We are warranted in looking to the newspapers of the land as being fully adapted to this great work. This should not be considered a strange demand, since so many of them remind us, with repeated emphasis, that it is their purpose to prove friendly to every virtue and uncompromisingly hostile to every vice, and specially to such evils as jeopardize the morals of the masses, add to the burdens of society, and paralyze what ought to be the protecting arm of the State. We are not imposing on this agency any unreasonable task, but only those responsibilities which, in the light of repeated assumptions of the most distinguished journalists, we have a right to expect.

Now, let this powerful engine determine with the force of truth to demolish the walls that environ the strongest enemies of society, and the issue cannot long remain in doubt. We are brought to this conclusion by observing the influence of any teaching when presented to the popular mind with care and perseverance. By such a method Cato contributed to the overthrow of Carthage; while by similar persistence Garrison and Phillips did the same for "the sum of all villainies." Napoleon is reported to have declared that four hostile newspapers were more to be feared than a thousand bayonets. Justice Story's opinion of the province of newspapers is seen in the following significant utterance:

> Here shall the press the people's right maintain,
> Unawed by influence, and unbribed by gain;
> Here, patriot truth her glorious precepts draw,
> Pledged to religion, liberty, and law.

In an editorial paragraph a widely circulated Boston daily, a few months ago, claimed for the press the most powerful influence for good. In connection with the assertion that the Louisiana lottery had been routed by the denunciation of the newspapers there appeared this very significant sentence: "There is probably no evil so gigantic or so powerfully intrenched that it cannot be denounced out of existence by a unanimous, or nearly unanimous, press." Again: "Great is the power of just criticism; and the newspaper is a more powerful factor in maintaining law and order than the statute book." These must be regarded as the considerate statements of an influential journal. Its claim, so all-embracing in its assumption, is worthy of close attention. The press had, it affirmed,

achieved a glorious victory over one of the most strongly intrenched foes, had driven him from his fastnesses, and relieved the land from his cancerous presence. To have done this is to have established a claim to an incalculable force, whose responsibility reaches to the same vast extent. Our only wonder is that the conqueror did not immediately look about for fresh laurels from other promising fields and again verify the wisdom of an old declaration:

> Take away the sword;
> States can be saved without it. Bring the pen.

There is no lover of his kind whose heart will not glow with richer hopes as he considers what a powerful ally he has in this efficient literary force, and whose prayers will not be most earnest that it may assume the responsibility of its vast influence, exceptional intelligence, and brilliant self-consciousness.

To assist us in a more complete estimate of the influence of the newspapers of the United States we invite attention to their great number. According to the American Newspaper Directory for 1894, there are in the United States 1,853 daily newspapers and 14,077 which are published weekly, making of these two classes alone an astonishing total of 15,930 papers engaged daily or weekly in the wonderful educational work above described. In addition to these are semiweekly, triweekly, biweekly, monthly, and bimonthly publications, which bring the grand total of such periodicals to the vast number of 19,302. Not that these are all equally intelligent or equally conscientious; but they all belong to a corps in the army of reform, are responsible for a certain degree of effort, and are entitled to share in the common glory of success. But, great as is the number of these different publications, we are astonished beyond measure at the figures representing the number of copies of a single issue of each and all combined. A careful estimate places this single issue at forty-five millions of copies. This supply would furnish a copy to nearly three fourths of the people of our entire population. Let us further make the estimate for the year, and to our astonishment the grand total amounts to thirty-two hundred and eighty millions of copies. Surely we should not take exceptions to the assumptions of this mighty array, for too much cannot be

expected of its purest motive and highest purpose. Its existence is assured by a sympathetic and sustaining constituency. The ground is ready for the seed, the mind is strangely responsive to the thought thus brought to the millions of waiting readers, so that all places and their peoples are prepared to respond to the sentiments expressed on the hundreds of millions of pages of these publications.

We should fail to compliment this intelligent host by suggesting that it ignore such gigantic evils as are deeply intrenched and are surrounded by powerful friends and turn its mighty enginery against the friendless sins of our time. There are forms of wickedness which have no apologists, and for their denunciation no special heroism is required. Indeed, to arraign them frequently and with virulence appears to be the thing to do, and it is roundly done. We should be thankful that any evils are denounced and brought into contempt, that there exists against them a healthy sentiment which makes their existence a burden, and thus causes them to hide away from the light and accomplish their baneful purposes in the dark. We should be grateful that the number of evils thus placed under ban is increasing and their general reputation is growing deservedly darker. We are willing, too, to award to newspapers all the commendation they may claim for their part in this progressive work. But this denunciation should not be restricted to those infamous sins that have none to do them reverence. It would be decidedly uncomplimentary to suggest that the press leave to other agencies the development of a sentiment against those evils which are strongly intrenched in the habits or cupidity of society; that it follow in the wake of humbler forces where, by its professions and its proportions, it should be expected to lead; that it await the rise of a popular sentiment in order at the last to join in a victory secured by other heroes and ride on the wave like valorous champions. Such warfare would not impart the

> Stern joy which warriors feel
> In foemen worthy of their steel.

In such case the attitude of this giant force would subject it to unfavorable criticism. Indeed, it is frequently suggested that the press follows, rather than leads, public opinion, and that it

is swift to share the plaudits of victories whose battles it had not cared to wage.

It would be difficult to assign any just reason why the unchallenged claim that newspapers are published in the interest of the social prosperity should not cause them to concentrate all their forces against the rum traffic. Among the most intelligent and conscientious of the people, there is exceptional unanimity in the verdict which charges on the liquor business the fearful responsibility of nearly all our woes. Outside the circle financially interested, but few persons are so reckless as to defend the drinking of liquors as a beverage. Their baneful character cannot be ignored. Testimony to the fact that they are the frequent causes of the most diabolical, unnatural, and inhuman crimes easily places them in the category of national, social, domestic, and personal enemies. There can be no other conclusion. They are enemies to the general good. If this be true, every force which aims at the welfare of society should level its mightiest weapons for their overthrow and destruction. And any power which assumes to be the guardian of society's interests, and yet loses an opportunity of arraigning society's fiercest enemy, will hardly be able to maintain the impression that it is fearless in the advocacy of the brightest virtues and in denouncing the most virulent foes.

Scientific temperance education in forty States of this Union is crystallizing a sentiment which seems destined to become universal. This great movement advances on the supposition that rum drinking is deleterious to the physical tissues, that it sadly, if not fatally, deranges the vital organs, that it crazes the mind, impoverishes families, ostracizes children, multiplies crime, increases the burdens of taxation, and in every way tends to defeat the end of good government. Only acres of whirling cloud on a frowning sky could be an appropriate background for a faithful delineation of this most terrible of all pictures. You may see the original in disgraceful exhibitions every hour of the day and night. There are wrecks of manhood drifting aimlessly on the stagnant pools of existence; there is the squalor which characterizes brutally impoverished homes; and, what is the most deplorable of all, there are the inevitable street schools, into which neglected and abused children are ruthlessly driven to learn fiendish lessons through

which they are prepared for a life of crime. Such scenes are outrageous in the extreme; and the only wonder is that every voice is not lifted in indignant chorus against the possibility of such conditions. They only dare to thus trample the ordinary claims of justice in the dust until there shall arise a common sentiment which shall drive them into the darkness of all such leprous crimes. But so long as this monster is not scathingly rebuked, and rebuked as often and as bitterly as the philanthropist would rebuke other sins causing a tithe of the sorrow and ruin which accompany this, it argues and demonstrates a most reprehensible indifference to the ordinary claims of humanity. Who denies this arraignment? Who charges that the picture is overdrawn? No one. These things are not done in a corner, but they parade their offensiveness before the faces of purity and innocency as if they had any semblance of right to do so.

It has not been our purpose to arraign the liquor traffic further than to show that it is the master evil of the class which the press professes to antagonize. Denunciations of this wickedness might be expected to proceed from considerations of that humanity and patriotism which find their consistent expressions in extinguishing whatever threatens the dearest relations of life. Who doubts that rum belongs in this unenviable place? Why, then, does it receive exceptional treatment through inconsiderate silence? Why does it not, rather, receive exceptional treatment in faster and harder blows than all other wrongs combined? Of course, we are proceeding on the unchallenged conviction that its gigantic importance, demoniacal spirit, and inhuman work greatly surpass the aggregate of all other wrongs. It would seem that, if one desires to champion the cause of the unfortunate, to defend the oppressed, to assist the weak, to protect the unoffending, and unshackle the enslaved, he should seize humanity's common truths and hurl them, as Titanic bolts, against the drink demon.

But the liquor business is not suppressed. It lives and thrives. It has even ceased to apologize for its impertinence in living. It has fastened a relentless hold on every community. The terror of its ravages is only equaled by the impudence of its presumptuous demand for legal protection. Both are colossal. The surprise of some future day will be that our

Christian civilization ever submitted for thirty days to such an imposition. The crimes resulting from alcoholism are of every degree of turpitude and are committed against every phase of the individual, domestic, and national life. It is a treacherous, vile, reckless, brutal, and bloody enemy. It is just that kind of foe for whose suppression governments were instituted and printing presses set in motion. Government can never be consistent or faithful to the righteous claims of its subjects while the wrongs of which the liquor business is the acknowledged author are unavenged or while this demonizing process continues. Its earliest inspiration is greed, its undiluted purpose is unrelieved selfishness, while its successful methods are rank with corruption. To accomplish its self-aggrandizement it knowingly tramples upon the very heartstrings of society.

We are told that this fearful and painful condition of the individual, family, and social life must be endured until relieved by a healthy public sentiment. Whither, then, shall we turn for the creator and leader of this public sentiment? An answer is suggested by the legitimate purpose for which newspapers exist and by their repeated declarations of guardianship over the most cherished interests of life. In these publications there is a latent force which, if actively employed, would speedily accomplish the desired reformation. The personality of a newspaper is found in its editorial columns. There we discover its sentiments and ascertain its policy. On all questions which it cares to discuss its position is unmistakably displayed. What it thus commends finds easy favor with many who could only be persuaded by the established confidence of an old friend; while its denunciations would probably kindle strong aversion against the object of its antagonism. Much of this proceeds from a general concession to reputed editorial ability. It is in the editorial columns, rather than in those devoted to local and telegraphic news, that we may expect to find such opinions as will go far toward denouncing wrongs out of existence. The philanthropist has reason to envy the editor of a great newspaper the favorable opportunity he possesses for purifying the social atmosphere and bringing into homes, now distressed and cursed by drink, a beauty and sweetness which could not fail to call down the sincerest blessing of many distracted sufferers.

But just here we are confronted by a most inconvenient

dilemma. Either a unanimous, or nearly unanimous, press cannot denounce a gigantic evil out of existence, or the newspaper fraternity has been seriously negligent in failing to meet its greatest opportunity. Some familiarity with journals in different sections of the land, as well as a desire that they might rise to the majesty of a great situation, have made us carefully observant of the topics discussed in their columns. Our constant watching and continued waiting have not been frequently rewarded by such earnest protests against the tyranny of rum as it most certainly deserves. There is, therefore, forced upon us the conviction that, for some reason, the latter of the above alternatives must be accepted. We are convinced that the press has the power, but has failed to exert it. We do not forget that there have appeared from time to time, at wide intervals, occasional articles discussing proposed measures for regulating this bad business. But even in these an apologetic vocabulary is often employed. The business is so treated as to cause it to assume rights which the legislator is bound to respect. Such writing is not calculated to render the trafficker in liquors dissatisfied either with himself or his business. There are but few paragraphs which suggest how ... tually to check the business, else Gambrinus would gi... but somehow he is neither captious nor dissatisfied. ... before this in our argument we should have paid ... tribute to the religious press and other journals ... special purpose, devote themselves to the noble wo... ing the popular mind against the enormous crimes ... dethroning virtue, bribing justice, and interfering with ... true ends of government. But so long as these heroic efforts are not seconded by the secular press the cause must make but slow progress, if, indeed, it does not languish.

But is not the great body of the press reasonably chargeable with something more than indifference? There may be exceptions; but from the treatment this question receives from the most influential journals might we not reasonably infer that the temperance advocates were on trial, charged with having contributed, through their convictions, to the continued existence of the rum traffic? Here is a sample recently clipped from a most reputable and influential Boston daily: "We continue to get accounts of harrowing tragedies caused by rum from the

teetotal State of Maine." Of course, we should be slow to place on any language a meaning which it was not designed to convey and which it would not naturally express. But, fairly considered, was that magnanimous appropriation of space intended as a herculean attack on rum, or as an indirect depreciation of the prohibitory legislation for which Maine is a synonym? When, on the other hand, have you read in a brief paragraph that, in the wide extent of that noble State, there is not a single brewery or one distillery? Is there nothing remarkable in such a phenomenon, and should it not call for loudest commendations?

The secular press affords actual encouragement to the drink business by the repeated assertion that it cannot be suppressed, thus laying the foundation for its legalized existence for a money consideration. Any space it devotes to the issue is usually occupied in discussing the comparative merits of certain proposed regulative enactments. The natural appetite for rum is assumed, the antiquity and wide prevalence of the drink custom is emphasized, and the certain persistence of its hold on universal society is paraded with oracular presumption, without [illegible] paragraph in reference to the inhuman tendencies of its con[illegible]ed sway. But why do not the newspapers inform us that [illegible] characteristic of this advanced century is the growing [illegible]macy of the spiritual over the bestial, in which improve[illegible]e press has been a prominent and honored factor? [illegible]ictories are attainable; and the service of this very [illegible]ential force will not only assure, but greatly hasten, the ach[illegible]vement of temperance reform. The potency of the press is specially shown in that it succeeds by implication, rather than by labored argument, in impressing the masses that the most hopeful plan for the extirpation of this rapacious giant is the stale, unphilosophic recipe written by the giant himself. To see old Gambrinus writing a recipe for his own regulation would be absolutely comic, were it not for the tragic events which we know are bound to follow.

Assuming that all observing persons have noticed the absence of such arguments against the prevalence of intemperance as humane sentiments would suggest, we may seek for explanations. The first we should probably discover would be partisan demands. It is to be regretted that certain great commercial

trusts have assumed to dominate the political parties and to render them hopeful or fill them with despair according as the said parties shall accede or not to the lines of policy which the trusts outline. The oldest, strongest, and most rapacious of these is the whisky trust. It holds the balance of power; and, while it has not always succeeded in receiving a diminution of its tax liabilities, it has felt satisfied with the knowledge that any tax recognizes its legal right to exist. It is thus made exceedingly difficult for a paper with uncompromising partisan tendencies to deal with this vast monopoly with that terse vigor which its inimical nature justifies and demands. It is a monopoly which is peculiarly sensitive to bad treatment, has a delicate appreciation of past favors, remembers tenaciously its discomfitures, and, subordinating every political principle to the requirements of its business, demands that this be protected, or else threatens to transfer its overwhelming forces to the camp of the other party. It thus succeeds in averting the deserved storm of indignation. We are not asking that this question be restricted to political treatment. There is a higher plane which will be more effectual. We would place it there. Treat it as you would an epidemic of disease or of unpopular crime. Stand for good government and strike down any foe that threateningly approaches; and if such patriotic defense should antagonize any party it will be the result of cold logic, for which the heaven-ordained nature of things is responsible.

Let us glance for a moment at the brilliantly displayed advertising columns of the daily papers. The editorial and advertising columns of the newspapers harmonize. Consistency demands this. The same thing cannot be fish in one place and flesh in another. It will be remembered that a few years since the greatest of caricaturists failed to agree with the greatest of editorial writers in the conduct of a noted weekly on which they were both engaged. The artist withdrew. This was in the interest of harmony and consistency. We shall never have strong and practical editorial descriptions of the rum demon while the press displays the demon's advertisements in the advertising columns of its issues. If it be a paper's business policy to advertise liquor it effectually precludes the probability of its being denounced in the paper as a great moral, social, and national evil. Advertising is the

liquor dealer's greatest argument. It is strangely forcible. It is an influential object lesson. He has secured through an advertisement what he would not have dared to ask as an editorial concession. Addison, nearly two hundred years ago, indicated that there was calculating method in such business acumen: "Advertisements are of great use to the vulgar.... A man that is by no means big enough for the gazette may easily creep into the advertisements, by which means we often see an apothecary in the same paper of news with a plenipotentiary, or a running footman with an ambassador." There is no class of business that receives through advertising so much for its money as the liquor business. In addition to the advantages which accrue to all businesses, it succeeds in paralyzing the editorial pen, which otherwise might insist on exercising its vaunted freedom for the destruction of the world's greatest wrong. There are certain lines of business which reputable journals refuse to display for any money consideration. The rum traffic must be relegated to that class before we can hope to see any vigor in the editorial treatment of this deadly foe.

We are willing that every consideration shall be banished from this discussion except that which was voiced by Terence before the Christian era: "I am a man, and I have an interest in everything that concerns humanity." But in what is humanity interested more vitally than in the problem as to how long the destruction of boys and men, of girls and women, is to continue? If, when craven Athens every ninth year sent its shipload of seven boys and seven girls to be destroyed by the monstrous minotaur in a Cretan labyrinth, every citizen had not denounced the inhuman shame the very stones would have reproached them. In the presence of such thorough devastation there is no time to prate of party and politics. Eradicate this poisonous weed; then argue the question as to what shall be done with the reclaimed soil. The nation applauded President Cleveland as he said to Debs, "First call off your strike; then I shall appoint a commission to treat with you." If there be these philanthropic and humane demands that the newspapers should vigorously denounce the one cause of most of our overwhelming woes we do not see how, in view of their assumptions of power and influence, they can longer be silent.

Let it be recorded to the honor of the newspaper corps that

in every other danger its voluntary and effectual assistance may be expected. If the great Northwest be ravaged by lurid flames columns are written suggesting the necessity for preventing a recurrence of the calamity. If the baneful shades of epidemic are detected voyaging on westward tides the danger is immediately heralded, with intelligent suggestions in reference to such precautionary sanitary measures as are desirable, and the press demands, with equal emphasis, that the very coast be locked and barred against the relentless destroyer. Then why not a similar interest in the overthrow of an evil before which all physical calamities pale into unsubstantial shadows? Here is the old, wicked, and vicious minotaur, growing fat on blood; and, while a unanimous, or even nearly unanimous, expression of righteous indignation concerning him and his deadly work would, within a few years, be his certain executioner, that word for some reason is yet unspoken, and the shameful destruction goes on. Let the press speak. Let it denounce this dark-visaged giant. Let it arraign him for his ruin of the bodies and property and happiness, and even the souls, of the American people, which it should be the highest prerogative of the government to protect. Let it point to the blood on this giant's red hands and charge upon him the death of the thousands slain. Let it span the wide space which separates a sacred home from a paltry office; and an outraged people, as under the spell of Mark Antony's eloquence, will rise and, from the instinct of self-preservation, will bury this crying shame. There can be no doubt that, when a unanimous press shall unite in a conscientious effort to develop and encourage public sentiment against this impudent, covetous, and murderous monster, it will fall paralyzed, dying, dead.

H. H. Ramsay.

ART. VI.—THE POETRY OF WILHELM MULLER.

THOSE who cherish Müller's poetry, and believe that it is destined to find more and more a place in the hearts of men, have seen with pleasure the many tributes of appreciation which have recently been paid him in all parts of Germany and in Greece, in connection with the hundredth anniversary of his birth—the seventh of last October. Were it not for certain assignable causes, it would seem beyond belief that he is so nearly unknown among English-speaking people. Our popular encyclopedias, even the *Britannica*, do not mention him, and the hospitable columns of the various volumes of Poole's *Index* have no entry under his name. Longfellow, with that fine poetic insight which did him honor, early recognized the value of Müller's lyrical gifts. In the second book of *Hyperion* he characterizes him with just appreciation,* and his translations of two of Müller's lyrics, under the titles "Whither?" and "The Bird and the Ship," have appeared in his works since 1839. Baskerville published three other translations. From the musical point of view, Franz Schubert showed his sympathetic estimate of Müller's work by his setting of the song-cycles "Die schöne Müllerin" and "Die Winterreise." These songs, so well known to English and American lovers of music, doubtless served Tennyson as a model in writing "The Window," and, perhaps, were not without influence upon "The Miller's Daughter" and "Maud." Unfortunately, the English translations which accompany Schubert's music, like nearly all translations of German songs, fail to give an adequate impression of the poetic quality of their originals. Professor Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop* contains an English translation of his Preface to the latest German edition of his father's poems—a most graceful tribute of filial piety. It should also be said that Dr. C. A. Buchheim has added to his many

* It is, perhaps, worthy of remark, in regard to Longfellow's quotation of the stanza from Müller's "little song where the maiden bids the moon good evening," that it is not the maiden, but the apprentice, who greets the moon, and that a closer translation would be:

> This song is a wanderer's simple lay,
> Which he sang in the full moon's flooding ray;
> And those who read it by candlelight,
> Cannot understand the song aright,
> But 'tis easy to a child.

other services to German literature in England that of having called specific attention to the value of Müller's poetry. This list practically concludes what has been done in English for our poet.

Foremost among Müller's qualities is his lively dramatic power, that highest form of literary expression, which, in some sense, reconciles the variant spheres of poetry and the depicting arts—Lessing's *Handlungen* and *Körper*. It is chiefly in his lyric cycles that our poet must be reckoned as a pioneer and creator of poetical form. No poet in any language has so happily carried out this strictly lyric treatment through a series of loosely connected songs, which at the same time show a definite progress in clearly marked action. German literature has not, it is true, been devoid of poems in which an indefinite *Er* holds more or less protracted discourse with an equally nebulous *Sie*. Uhland's *Wanderlieder* are older and, doubtless, exercised influence on Müller; but such works are not to be compared in respect of personification and action. Neither can we compare Browning's extended monologues. A near relative in English is, perhaps, to be found in Tennyson's "Maud;" but the latter, with its analytical introspection and the complexity of highly organized social life which it exhibits, is far enough removed from the pathetic simplicity of "The Winter Journey" or "The Rhenish Apprentice."

Here, as in almost every interesting movement in newer German literature, we can trace the fecundating influence of Goethe. In the series of four ballads beginning with *Der Edelknabe und die Müllerin* Goethe tried his hand at a new form—that of lyric conversations, the idea of which came to him upon his Swiss journey of 1797. Writing to Schiller, he says that they must make use of it in the future. "There are pretty things of the sort," says he, "in a certain older German period, and much can be expressed in this form.... I have begun such a conversation between a lad, who is in love with a *Müllerin*, and the mill brook, and hope to send it soon." The "certain older German" source is, without doubt, the mediæval *Volkslied*, which often suggests both the spirit and dainty melody which give charm to these dialogues. Goethe, doubtless, planned that all the four which were conceived at this time should form a connected romance; but this plan

was confused, in its working out, by a distracting one of having the songs represent four distinct sources—Old English, German, French, and Spanish. The resultant series is disconnected and partly contradictory; yet it is easy to understand why Schiller's wife said, "I hope you will let the pretty miller's daughter and the brooks say a good deal more!"

What Goethe indicated Müller performed, starting with a more thorough knowledge of the *Volkslied* than was accessible to Goethe. The most complete cycle, the tragi-comedy "Die schöne Müllerin," is in twenty-three songs, of which twenty have been set to music by Schubert. Its prologue breathes the odors and suggests the sounds and sights of spring which are to pervade the whole—the pure air, far from the narrow walls of the city, the woods, fields, valleys, and heights, the clattering mill, the rushing brook, the merry hunter, and the wandering apprentice. Then comes a splendid song, full of the bounding, exultant joy of being "on the road," vibrant with the merry whirl and whirring of the wheel and the stones and the tumbling of the noisy water. "O, Wand'ring is the Miller's Joy" is itself enough to make the poet's memory dear to his people. The following song, "Whither?" is discussed by Longfellow in *Hyperion*, where he gives a remarkably faithful and melodious version, which fails only in translating the pretty word-play,

> Du hast, mit deinem Rauschen,
> Mir ganz berauscht den Sinn.

Following this come the other members of the cycle, in most charming metrical variety, for, of the entire twenty-three songs, only four are in the same meter, which is the light ballad form that Heine so often uses; and this variety is no mere conceit, but offers the vehicle for the fullest musical expression of every emotional phase of the little drama. Müller is a musical poet, in the deepest sense of the word, as Sidney Lanier was musical; and this is indicated by his recognition by many composers. I do not refer merely to the melodic flow of his diction, nor to the smooth and varied rhythms, but to his art in composition, to his development of motive and theme, to *Stimmungen*, color, and tone. He points toward that day when music and literature, no longer underestimating one another,

shall unite in reciprocal interpretation. It is interesting to read Müller's own words:

I can neither sing nor play; and yet, for all that, I do sing, and play too, when I am composing. If I could only express the melodies that come to me, my songs would be more pleasing than they are. Well, perhaps a kindred spirit may be found some time, whose ear shall catch the melodies from my words, and who will give me back my own.

As regards the metrical variety,* we have, now, the anapestic clatter of the mill wheel:

See, a mill among the alders,
Which their shade half conceals;
Through murm'ring and singing,
Comes clatter of wheels;

now, the more pensive trochaics of

When she's sitting at the brookside;

then, the pure song-form of "Impatience," with its recurring refrain,

Thine is my heart, and shall be thine forever;

while the increasing vehemence of the young miller's passion comes to its climax in the rhapsodic outbreak of "Mine!" with its single rhyme throughout:

Brooklet, cease that song of thine!
Wheels, your noisy hum resign!
Merry wood birds who combine,
All in line,
Let your tuneful lays decline!
There, where twine
Spray and vine,
Shall resound one rhyme divine:
The sweet miller's daughter, she is mine!
Mine!
Spring, are these the only flowers of thine?
Sun above, canst thou not brighter shine?
Lonely, ah, must I repine,
With that word of blessing, "mine,"
Nor be understood through nature's vast design!

Upon this follows the ominous "Pause," and the entrance of the unabashed hunter, breaking ruthlessly into the preserves of the miller's apprentice, whose agitation can find outlet only in six-foot iambics,

Where now, so swift, so whirling-wild, my dearest brook?

* In the translations the purpose has been to give an accurate syllabic reproduction of the original form.

And for each chapter in his rapidly developing experiences the proper mode is found, up to the last scene—the soothing lullaby of the brook, with the closing accord:

> The moon climbs high,
> Clear is the sky—
> And the heaven up yonder, how far away!

Sudermann, in his *Geschwister*, brings out effectively the culminative emotional force of the moods of this series.

There are other cycles of the same sort; and in shorter groups of related poems the same treatment comes to view, as in those which have to do with the life of the Bohemian musician, the rustic love-lays of the Italian reaper and herdsman, and the manly poems of German hunter life. In all of them can be noticed the distinct personification and characterization, the sprightliness of movement, the wide range of feeling. The tone is that of everyday life, and the diction is full of homely, direct expressions and of those crisp word-effects in which the German tongue abounds—not displayed and sported with, as is Rückert's wont, but subordinate to a purpose. What simple intensity of feeling! Again and again there is the sudden outbreak of compressed emotion which is the very soul of lyric poetry. We know it in Heine and Geibel and, more by suggestion, in Goethe. So, in "The Winter Journey," where the wanderer, whose tears fall into the snow, tells it that it is to melt and flow into the brook and thus pass, at length, the abode of his beloved in the town:

> Through the town thou wilt be going,
> Through its cheerful streets thou'lt roam;
> When thou feel'st my tears a-glowing—
> There, that is my darling's home!

The justest criticism is that the characters are idealized; the wandering German apprentice is as little delineated here as is the typical shepherd in English pastoral poetry. However, there is no false sentiment, and the poet is true to his conception.

The dramatic gift is further shown in the treatment of individual subjects, as in the strong delineation of "The Wandering Jew," and, especially, in the ballad "The Bell-Founder of Breslau," concerning which we frankly avow our opinion that it is the best naïve popular ballad in modern literature, viewed from any standpoint—its artless language, its native

tone, its distinct and limited personification, its stirring situation, its uninterrupted action, its tragic climax, its moral justification, its harmonious resolution and simple ending;—but one must exercise self-restraint.* Müller has entered as fully as any German author into the spirit of the national *Volkslied*, and his reproductions have the very note of unconscious, impersonal simplicity which belongs to this class of poetry. He never becomes declamatory, stiff, or consciously rhetorical; nor does he wrest the beauty of the lyric into any other service. As genuine popular types may be mentioned "Tears and Roses" and "The One called Dead." In "Brotherhood" we notice brevity of form, combined with deepest feeling.

With great felicity he has, also, reproduced the very spirit and color of an alien popular literature. His stay of more than a year in Italy, after the completion of his academic studies, especially his summer in Albano, in 1818, afforded him a highly prized opportunity to become intimately acquainted with popular Italian life and songs upon their native soil; and the fruit of this sympathetic study appears in his "Rustic Songs," the "Songs from the Gulf of Salerno," and "Serenades in Ritornelles." In the alternate songs of the first set we have a vivid suggestion of the ancient dialogue of raillery. With the spirit is also exhibited the form, with much ingenuity, the experiments in assonance being quite as successful as Rückert's feats in foreign modes—and equally, in our opinion, a doubtful investment, though a meed of admiration cannot be withheld from the linguistic talent which can overcome the difficulties of the excessively artificial and complex form of the ritornelle, as Müller uses it.

It is hard to speak with moderation of his preeminent powers as an interpreter of nature, alive and animate in a thousand teeming forms—an interpreter at whose side German literature can place few representatives. What exhilaration in action, what joy of mere existence! His poems of nature are full of fresh air. Can any wholesome being fail to catch the contagion of rapturous jubilation in the spring song beginning,

> Fling wide the sash! fling wide the heart!
> O, quickly! O, quickly!

* In a translation of this ballad (*Germania*, July, 1893), we have attempted to reproduce its simple tone and the slightly archaic flavor of its diction.

with its lively personification of inanimate nature? How the mild breezes, the dazzling sun rays, the twitter of birds, and the laughter of brooklets come out in "The Birch Grove near Endermay," just as the chilly mood of winter pervades "The Winter Journey." All the wholesome sea gales that blow go trumpeting and fluttering through the lines of "The Bird and the Ship." Longfellow's translation here is inadequate, because of the loss of the feminine rhyming cadence, which adds sensibly to the careening movement; and for obvious scruples Longfellow has dropped out the sixth stanza from his version.* We prize very highly that little group, "Seashells from the Island of Rügen," with their delightful portrayal of all the refreshing charm which the surging sea offers to the jaded comer from the distant inland—the briny air, the dashing of the surf, the gleaming sand, on which lie shining pebbles and seashells; and the fancies of the poet are as unforced and variegated as the aspects of nature. So, in "Sea and Sky:"

As each bright cloud is painted on the sea,
As from its bosom flash the sunbeams free;
Even as it trembles with each zephyr light,
That hovers downward from the distant height;
So is my heart thy sea—my heaven, thou;
Wilt thou its waves at length repose allow?

The poem "Vineta" in this series is a very good type of a form of simile in which the comparison is left to the reader. The first three stanzas give the material scene, the last three the play of fancy. In the popular legend, the proud city of Vineta lies sunken in the sea between Rügen and the mainland, and many a fisherman has caught glimpses of its reflected glory and heard the faint throbbing of its mysterious bells:

From the sea's deep, deep recesses cometh
  Faintest sound of distant evening bells,
Bringing to our ears its wondrous tidings;
  Of a city far submerged it tells.

Sunk beneath the ocean's heaving surface,
  Stand for evermore its ruins old;
From its roofs and towers, deeply hidden,
  Shine again reflected rays of gold.

*A manifest error has perpetuated itself in all the editions of our American poet. In the last stanza, the word *Jubelgesang* appears constantly as "weary song." It seems certain that Longfellow must have written "merry song," and that by an easy misreading of his sinuous handwriting the wrong form found its place in the text, first published in 1839. After this time Longfellow seems not to have paid further attention to Müller's poetry.

And the seaman, who at ruddy evening
  Once hath felt its weird reflection's charm,
Saileth ever toward the selfsame vision,
  Though steep cliffs be near to do him harm.

. . . . . .

From my heart's deep, deep recesses cometh
  Faintest sound, like distant evening bells.
Ah, it bringeth to me wondrous tidings;
  Of the love once loved again it tells.

For a world of beauty there lies hidden,
  There forever stand its ruins old;
Only in my dreams, that come at midnight,
  Shine again its heavenly rays of gold.

Then I fain would plunge beneath the surface,
  And would sink in its reflected gold;
And, at times, methinks an angel message
  Calls me back into that city old.

The "Songs from the Gulf of Salerno" glow with a Heyse-like prodigality of tropical light and color. Very charming is the little Italian picture, "The Fortunate Fisher-maiden:"

From shore I watched her fishing
  Out in her rowboat small;
The fish leaped to the meshes,
  As though 'twere to a ball;
The net seemed all too little—
  Not one would stay below;
She took it all right calmly,
  And thought, "It must be so."

Then from her boat she landed;
  She stood upon the sand.
The ocean surged and struggled,
  As though 'twould rush on land.
And at her feet bright corals
  And seashells it did throw;
She picked them up right calmly,
  And thought, "It must be so."

I, sorry shepherd lover,
  What is my wooing worth—
Its flowers and its ribbons?
  Hers is the whole round earth.
All hearts beat warmly toward her—
  A heart of stone must glow;
She heeds it like the sea surf,
  And thinks, "It must be so."

If I could offer to her
The heavens' evening blue,
The stars' bright silver sparkle,
For her 'twere nothing new;
She'd hold it up before her
And say, "'Tis mine, you know,"
Would quite forget to thank me,
And think, "It must be so."

What boots thy timid tinkling,
Thou paltry lute of mine?
Although her window's open,
She heeds no note of thine;
For flutes, and horns, and trumpets,
And merry pipes that blow—
She's dancing to their measure,
And thinks, "It must be so."

With his other titles Müller must be allowed that of the poet of German wine, *par excellence*. Heine tells, in the *Harzreise*, of singing some of Müller's songs at a roaring supper on the Brocken. Müller's exuberant spirits find that outlet which was characteristic of the day in which he lived, in the swing and fling of convivial songs. It is no disloyalty to the better spirit of abstinence of our own time and country that we can enjoy the hearty mirth and social unconstraint reflected in these songs. Says the poet:

My muse has turned in
At the innkeeper's door,
Has tied on her apron,
And wanders no more.
She's minded to tend there
The table and bin;
See, she stands at the gateway
And beckons me in.

Many of the *Tafellieder* are very light, and the collection endures much culling; but the jollity of "Est, Est," "King Wine," and "Noah's Ark" is indestructible. The situation in "The Tippler and his Horse" is comparable to that in the "Bab Ballads." "The King of Hukapetapank" is typical of the sheer hilarity of many of the set:

In Hukapetapank there lived
A monarch without peer,
Who, by an ancient use, got drunk
Once every blessed year.

And not a soul dared taste of wine
In all that lovely land,
So long as on a single leg
That king contrived to stand.

But when the king sank to the floor
And from his throne did fall,
The living then waxed riotous
Within that royal hall;
They drank from pitcher and from plate,
From hat and hand they drank—
Lords, ladies, servants, man, and beast,
In Hukapetapank.

Each one became a royal guest,
Long as the king did sleep,
And open in the palace stood
The cupboards broad and deep.
The beggar, as from flowing brooks,
With crown wine filled his cup,
And thought himself a very king—
But then, the king woke up!

Alas, the fun was over now,
Though much was still unquaffed;
The henchmen strode into the house,
And roared, "What, are you daft?"
And whoso lay, or sat, or stood,
Befuddled, or clear-brained,
Was straightway as a toper seized
And in the court arraigned.

So 'twas in Hukapetapank,
And so it goes to-day;
'Twere pity for so good a use
To fall into decay.
But look alive when *Majestät*
Begins to rub his eyes.
A fool is he who lingers then;
Who starts for home is wise!

But there is a more earnest side to these drinking songs. In the praise of Rhine wine is the praise of something which belongs to the old German days, something which has remained unchanged from the times of national power and unity:

German, free, unspoiled, and lusty,
In the German land,
Only wine remains among us
By our river's strand.

It was a period when men of ardent political aspirations had little in the external situation to afford cheer or mirth or anything other than bitterness of spirit. It is characteristic of absolutism that it shuts off the highest outlets of human activity and relegates men to some medium of self-forgetfulness.

I speak now of Müller as the poet of freedom—his best-known rôle; for many who are otherwise unacquainted with him are familiar with his title, *Griechenmüller*. With maturing powers, which were unfortunately to be ended at thirty-three years of age, he deepens in intensity and fire. His series of "Greek Songs" would demand large consideration in our estimate of his personality and influence, had it not already been somewhat fully presented to English readers.* A close parallel in spirit and form could be drawn between the "Greek Songs" and Whittier's "Voices of Freedom." The note of earnestness seems conspicuously lacking in the poems of earlier days, the days of his contemporaries Körner, Arndt, and Schenkendorf. Though he left his university studies to fight in the war of liberation, there is no echo, however faint, of its spirit in his younger years; and yet no heart beat higher with the pure passion for liberty. This lies in the very independence of Müller's nature. The patronage of a prince could not debase the sterling metal of his manliness:

> Not with golden chains of honor, in the cage of mean control,
> Has my prince laid me in fetters and wrought evil to my soul;
> In his country's fairest garden vine-clad house he gave to me,
> And, all free, I sing my measures out into an air as free.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Such a song is worthy of him. Glad and free are love and lays.
> Hail, O prince! no servile parrot needest thou to prate thy praise.

A liberal of the liberals, he felt keenly the oppressive years of the conservative reaction; but those were not times when empty words were noble. In 1821 began the revolt of the Greeks against the devastating tyranny of Turkey—no ideal, stainless national uprising, like the great days of Prussia in 1813, but, for all that, a supreme struggle of the modern representatives of the mighty name of Hellas against barbarism and heathenism. Müller sent out set after set of "Griechenlieder" flaming with tremendous passion—sometimes, it must be con-

* See Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. iii, p. 108, *ff*.

fessed, reflecting the savage bloodthirstiness of their subject. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that Müller made reactionary Europe feel the pulsations of freedom and compelled it into sympathy with the heroic efforts of the Greeks, while sounding fearlessly the note of the inherent rights of man. The drumbeat of these long lines shook the heavy air of dungeons and fortresses.

To Müller's maturer and more earnest powers belong his three hundred epigrams. It would be an attractive digression to consider the poetic value of this class of writing in a literature which owns a Logau, an Angelus Silesius, a Lessing, and a Goethe. Whatever opinion may be held on this point, it is certain that many of Müller's epigrams are to be numbered among the *ἔπεα πτερόεντα* which are to live. At first, in a lighter vein, they touch with genial humor on love and wine, then show a more stinging satire and a sticking barb to the arrow, particularly in those directed against pride of birth and official presumption. I cite a few:

JUSTICE AND LOVE.

Justice to each one says, "Have what is thine!"
But Love to each one says, "Have what is mine!"

QUERY.

Plant, would'st rather, closely sheltered, under narrow glass remain,
Or beneath the open heaven feel the storm, the sun, the rain?

THE WINGED WORD.

Has the word the lips once quitted, you'll o'ertake it nevermore,
Though next moment your repentance scurry off with coach and four.

THE REAL INSTRUCTOR.

Follow not, as learner, him to whom the thronging crowds resort,
Who would make a doctor out of each who comes, as though in sport;
Who, with pains, can show the doctor that he is a learner still—
Seek his low and lonely portal, and pass humbly o'er its sill.

VALUE OF ANCESTORS.

Ancestors are ciphers, which, to ciphers added, naught amount;
Set an integer before them, and the ciphers all will count.

RULE OF LABOR.

Be idle and halloo—
Get fed for two;
Work and keep quiet—
Scraps are your diet.

PRAYER WITHOUT WORKS.

Lazy at work, but zealous in praying;
No one to pump, but fine organ playing.

TWOFOLD ART OF GOVERNMENT.

To hate the people and to fear it to tyrants seems a maxim right;
That ruler's wise and good who loves it, yet dares to hold its censure light.

THE WISE WOMAN.

For Heaven's sake, a thousand women, O Solomon, thou wisest man!
"I'm searching always to discover a single wise one if I can."
He searched, unwearied and undaunted; and when, at last, one came to hand,
He there found waiting—God-a-mercy!—an Ethiop from Blackman's Land!

HEAVENWARD GLANCES.

Do you know why Goodman's glances always wander toward the skies?
'Tis because he dare not look a fellow-creature in the eyes.

Müller, whose own life was of so short a span, is particularly the poet of the young. His unspoiled, almost childish, freshness of emotion; his graceful delicacy and charm, added, in so many of his themes, to vigorous manliness; his simplicity and sincerity of feeling; his contagious vitality, are factors which are especially attractive to young Americans and which have a legitimate place in their growth and development. Something there is in him which perfectly responds to the poetic impulses of youth. And is not unspoiled youth, as the normal state, always poetic? Admitting a considerable proportion of trifles in the body of his works, we are none the less compelled to recognize the permanency of the greater part. He is a popular poet, in the best sense of the term—as Burns is a popular poet, and as much of Longfellow's work is increasingly popular. One of the first earnest workers in the inspiring field of thoroughgoing Germanic studies and cradled in the romantic school, he felt how to make available the æsthetic materials of mediæval German; and, as the interpreter and continuator of its vital spirit, in terms of distinctly contemporary life, he must be regarded as one of its most valuable exponents.

The admirable edition of his poems by his son, Professor Max Müller, a type of all that such an edition ought to be, is quite available, and offers what seems to be especially needed in these days of improved "text-books" and anthologies—the complete body of the author's poetical works as the subject-

matter for study and comparison. Those who regard what is simple and artless as shallow and beneath the dignity of earnest students, who think lightly of "Der Glockenguss zu Breslau" because it is not a "Kraniche des Ibykus" or yet an "Erlkönig," who contemn "Die schöne Müllerin" in comparison with a "Maud" or a "Fra Lippo Lippi," may pass our poet by; but as long as that which comes from the heart shall go to the heart his name must keep an honored place among those which are to live and be loved.

James Taft Hatfield

ART. VII.—THE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION.

CAN our economic-social order be mended? The question suggests that it is unsatisfactory; but it is the normal condition of human things to be unsatisfactory. The discontent with it, however, is not of so acute and epidemic a nature as the most discontented persons allege it to be. A vast number of industrious and conscientious persons are quite satisfied with it, though only a few of them are rich or prosperous. Such persons would admit that our economic ways are defective; but if pressed to think about it they would say that no great change can be made in their day, that any change involves danger of reaching a worse state of affairs, and that top-to-bottom reconstruction means, at all events, a chaotic condition for a time. Those who are certain that a new order can be effected, so to say, by touching a button are at the other extreme, and enjoy a happy confidence in their specific cure for our real and imaginary ills. In fact, this generation may be divided into three groups on this question: (1) those who are perfectly satisfied—the invincible conservatives; (2) those who are completely dissatisfied—the impracticable radicals; and (3) those who are awake to the defects of the existing order, but do not believe a perfect order possible, and desire gradual and evolutionary change. The last group contains most thoughtful people. The first is made up of the rich and prosperous or, rather, of a part of them. The second consists of a small number of half-truth thinkers and a following attracted by the half-truth's simplicity and further moved by personal dissatisfaction. Their following contains the greater number of those who know that they have failed and wish to remove the blame for their failure from their own shoulders.

For ten years we have been told that there is universal unrest. This has never been true, and it is less true than it was in more prosperous times. A part of the restless people have lost confidence in panaceas and are trying to make the best of the inevitable world assigned to them by Providence. The vociferousness of the dissatisfied creates the belief that they are a multitude. The noisy, the confident, and the one-idead easily assume that all the people think and will as they do.

But even in hard times an air of resignation, if not of contentment, pervades our populations. No more serious mistake has been made than that of a few persons who, during the strike of last July, saw in vision a new order springing out of the slums and saloons of Chicago. The easy way in which old-fashioned social discipline by clubs and muskets dissipated a mob and a socialistic mirage contains a volume of instruction for the prudent and judicious. The economic-social order has for a long time been undergoing a gradual process of amendment. We are living in an order of progress. The belief that we are exhausting the resources of the present order, that things are going from bad to worse, that a collapse is not far off, is mere insanity—the product, that is to say, of minds out of health. The proof that in this century an amazing progress has been made in the horizontal diffusion of the blessings of life is so bulky and so self-evident that it is impossible to marshal it in all its force. The man who doubts it cannot appreciate the historical perspective. The expending of wealth for the general welfare in innumerable ways, from street lighting and practically free mails all the way up to public schools and free libraries, has immensely increased. The vast sums gathered by taxation and invested in the common welfare indicate a progress in the near past and a sure advance in the near future. The change for the better in the economic condition of the working people is simply so marvelous that words cannot describe it. That railway employees, taken all together, receive higher salaries than preachers and teachers, taken all together, is a fact not doubted. But what a change in the condition, the relative position, of this class of workmen does it indicate!

The increase in the number of the poor is an almost necessary consequence of our importation of European paupers; but we have seen no proof that there is any relative increase of paupers of American stock. These paupers existed fifty years ago, and still exist. Their *fons et origo* are moral, not economic, now, as they were in 1845. The pauper, as a rule, develops, not out of this or that civilization, but out of himself. Distinguishing between the pauper and the poor, the latter owe to bad judgment, to fraud, and to misfortune—such as ill health—their pitiable condition; and they are constantly helped to regain their feet by Christian charity. Probably no community has

more deserving poor than it can provide for. There is a simulated poverty—and it has been growing for years—that of the tramp class, whose poverty is the result of indolence and moral deterioration. The occasion for the growth of this class has been furnished, not by hard economic conditions, but by the infinite charity of the people who feed tramps as cheerfully as they feed their own children. There is not a gleam of evidence that the poor—the not rich—are growing poorer. Many of them are growing rich. Considered as a whole, our population standing between the rich, on one side, and the destitute, on the other, is plainly richer, better housed, clothed, and fed than it was fifty years ago or thirty years ago. The rich here referred to are not numerous; the destitute are not numerous. The practically comfortable and prosperous, including a vast body of workmen, farmers, and traders, are a great multitude. There are few fortunes that were not amassed by living owners. Every community has men whose character and skill have built up comfortable fortunes.

Assuming that we wish to make a great change in economic conditions, what group or groups do we desire to benefit? Surely not the paupers—that is to say, those who are born so, who have a genetic affiliation with destitution. They are worth saving, but no possible social change could redeem them; the work must be done inside, not outside of them. Surely not the tramp group. They can be cured by substituting a stone-yard, where food can be earned, in place of the exuberant charity of every kitchen door. Possibly the poor may be regarded as the beneficiaries of a reform which would make their poverty impossible—a worthy object, if the cost of it be not the greater evil. It will be found that the real reason why economic revolution is desired springs out of the discontent of groups having now all the goods they can wisely use, a part of which they use unwisely, or from an indolent and vicious group. The immense cost of the American saloon is partly the explanation of this discontent. Workmen who cannot spend all their wages for drink and still support their families are the natural prey of the socialist. The impossibility of wasting all these millions in drink and still having the means of comfort is the most distinct cause of discontent with our social order. It is noticeable, too, that whenever a man loses his

fortune by rash speculation he is apt to become enamored of some dream of social redemption. He is partly in the mood of the fox that lost his tail in a trap; partly, also, he is seeking to hide his personal contribution to his own misfortune. Now, is it worth a revolution to provide for our whisky bills without drawing upon family support? Should we "reform" in order that men who already possess may have what they will consider a fairer share? Is it possible to satisfy them? And can anyone tell us what is a fair share? Do we think it possible to make and keep happy those men who gamble away fortunes in speculation? In each case there is an easier relief than revolution. Stop drinking, stop envyings, stop rash speculation; that is to say, if the unhappy groups choose to do so they can work out the reforms required in their behalf.

It is plain that our largest reform remains a religious and moral one. It is character, rather than conditions, which needs improvement. Nor are we in this matter of character worse off than we were half a century ago. If some bad growths have been imported, on the other hand clear evidences of improvement appear in the steady growth of Church membership and in the social gains through public education. An American town mainly filled with American people has a better population than it had a half century back. But the weak places are conspicuous, because they are in large towns. These spots are marked by frequent saloons and a babel of tongues. And the saloons, unbelief, and laziness combine to weaken character outside the area of foreign populations. We have the old duty of preaching the Gospel, and the newer one of protecting our youth against the saloon—a growth of the half century and a markedly dangerous one; for a half century ago intemperance used the bottle or the jug—and a still fresher duty of social cultivation of the poor, with the aim of making the idle industrious and the thriftless thrifty.

A few words must be given to the contention of those who maintain these propositions: "The relatively poor have not their fair share. Granted that we are not destitute, it remains our grievance that so large a part of the wealth made in the half century is in few hands. Granted that ability has produced it in large part, we claim to have produced much more of it than we have received." The ultimate problem here put

is how to determine what is a fair share; and no solution of that problem is possible. To indicate in few words the uselessness of any solution, suppose that A, employing one thousand men, makes twenty thousand dollars a year. This sum, distributed among the men, would add twenty dollars to the wages of each. Who can prove that A's management has not been worth to the men very much more than this sum? There is, however, an easy explanation of large fortunes. They are not fruits of production, but of invention. They are a harvest of natural bounties. We have in this half century vigorously shaken the tree, and it has sent down a shower of affluence. Even in mills, where the shortsighted see only production, invention is the factor of profits. Even in a newspaper office—and there are very rich publishers—the big machines have made fortunes possible. Everywhere you will find an invention under large gains. The wealth of former periods grew out of trade. In our day trade has made no very large fortunes; and, as a whole, traders have not fared better than workmen—the success of a few must be distributed over a large area of losses by the many.

Now, invention was made a monopoly by the framers of the Constitution; and there is only here and there a murmur against it. But the entire body of unusual wealth—in fact, three fourths or more of all our wealth—has grown out of invention, directly and indirectly. The monopoly authorized by patent law gave to a few persons the harvest from the steam engine and its thousands of improvements, from the sewing machine, the harvester, the telegraph, the telephone, and all the other hundreds of thousands of inventions and improvements. A curious person counted one thousand inventions in a single hardware store. They were not curious and rare articles, but tools in daily use. The American people always want the best tack hammer, screw-driver, lawn mower, or ice pick. Now, nearly every one of these inventions means a fortune to some person or persons. And each is a golden apple shaken from the tree of natural bounty. If you go to the forest and the mine you will find the same force at work. The modern saw-mill is full of inventive wit; and it is that wit which makes a lumberman rich—not the trees of the wood, but the inventions of some brain. And, after the saw has done its swift work, the inventions connected with transportation play an equally

important part—not merely steam power, but small devices in wharfs and sidings and switching. Many people heard of the switching tower for the first time during the Chicago strike. This tower contains several distinct inventions. Even the steam shovel has taken to mining iron ore; and a great number of other tools and adjuncts of tools and ventilating devices and lifts and steel drills go to the making of profits in mines. A monopoly of the ores would yield little or nothing if invention did not come to its help, by making it possible to exploit the mine with a profit. We have deliberately, and wisely, perhaps, chosen to give to the man who shakes the tree the golden apple which he brings down. Nearly every great industrial fortune can be traced to invention, and the exceptional cases are not free from its influence. The unwise have enriched a few men by perfectly voluntary contributions. The Gould fortune is distinctly of this character. The lambs of the stock exchange lay down to be sheared by this master exploiter of human credulity. His fortune was the wool of the uncomplaining lambs; it was not taken—not a fleece of it—from the backs of patrons of railroads. Nobody has the smallest right to complain that great speculators have made him poor; the lamb lay down and asked to be sheared. But the wealth of the Carnegies and Pullmans is the product of inventions. In the case of the former, the workman's sharing in the gains was divulged by a congressional investigation. The amazing and peculiarly modern spectacle of workmen riding to and from a mill in private carriages has not dropped out of the memory of the thoughtful.

It will be said that patents expire, but the enriched go on enriching themselves. It is true that patents expire, but invention does not. The best machine is always under the shelter of a patent; this is true, even of the best screw-driver. Probably no industrial establishment could be profitably carried on upon expired patents. Steam, the telegraph, and the telephone are three great and typical inventions; but in each group living patents of appliances and methods are essential to profitable use of the main and old invention. The whole field of profit-yielding industry is sown thick with invention. But most thoughtful persons believe that the gains from this source have begun to decrease. This is partly because there are only a few great natural bounties and the first harvest from telegraphy and

other great electrical discoveries has been reaped. So, also, in the working of ores, in sewing machines, reapers, and printing presses. There will be a perennial growth, but the later harvests will be relatively smaller.

If, then, we wish to disturb the economic order of distribution in a radical fashion the place to begin is with the only real monopoly in the country. The several quasi monopolies, such as that in hard coal, are insignificant in their aggregate as compared with the legalized monopoly of invention—that system by which the best tool, method, and machine are always a monopoly. No one proposes to change this, unless the collective scheme expects to enslave the inventor. Of course, it must enslave him or kill him to achieve its end. But in this country only a few dreamers have reached that end of the problem. And it is apparent that, if the collectivist committee took possession of all the present tools and machines, it would be but a few years until the collectivist committee found itself distanced and undersold by the produce of new machines. It has to be constantly remembered that the collectivist program must abolish every form of liberty and that it assumes the willingness of genius to serve in chains. But we do not grudge the inventor and the invention a great reward. It is remarkable that, in a generation addicted to abuse of all gainful ability, the noisy ranter has but rarely railed at the gains of invention. He does not trace the Bell telephone back to the patent office. The reason is plain. The inventor is our universal favorite. And we are wise; he cheapens goods, and thus increases our power to enjoy them. He has reduced the cost of calico from thirty-five cents a yard to five cents; and he has done this thing over a vast region of consumption. Many of us have so unconsciously absorbed these gains—and some of us are workmen—that a pile driver could not force the plain truth into our heads.

If we do not dream of enslaving or killing the inventor who is the author of modern wealth, why do we listen to the rant about the hard-hearted and greedy capitalist? If we would leave the invention all its legal rights, why should we restrict the rights of the man whose ability combines labor and capital to their mutual benefit and its own profit? The explanation is historical and interesting. Of course, there is back of this explanation a large fact of ignorance. The mass of our people do

not seem to know that the inventions make most of the gains, and they in ignorance add together the rewards of invention and of managing ability. They are helped to this mistake by amateur economists and enthusiastic sentimentalists, who are as ignorant as their audience in all such concernments as tools and machines. The historical explanation of the raid upon managerial ability is the tariff controversy. The belief in a fabulous wealth produced by protection is widely held, because it has been preached on every political stump in the country. Manufacturers have themselves to blame for this denunciation and vilification. They have been guilty of the indiscretion of asking for protection mainly in order to maintain wages. Large numbers of them have repented of their error and ceased to commit it. It is the simplest of facts that an American manufacturer paying European wages need not fear his European competitors. The manufacturer has supposed that he must pay higher wages than a French, German, Belgian, or English producer. He has begun to doubt this "must;" and he will probably retire from this field of politics, except as his workmen may wish him to represent their claims to protection. If the workman does not need protection nobody does. The interest of capital having declined to the European standard or close down to it, the capitalist partner of ability needs no help from protective legislation. The other partner of ability does not know whether he needs protection or not. The labor leader asserts that he can do all the protecting by the universal strike process of stopping consumption. These hints respecting the cause of the hatred of managing ability suggest that this hatred cannot be permanent. This wealth-maker is of the same order as the inventor—he is an inventor, though unprotected by patents. He combines capital and labor, pays to each its market price, and often wrests a profit from the combination. Often the result is a loss; it has come to pass that manufacturers fail about as often as traders, and that only a small fraction of all who engage in production, excepting those who make large gains from patents, spend their lives in the business and die rich. Many of them fail in spite of some protection from patents. The truth we shall slowly learn is that this sort of genius, that of industrial management, is less abundant than the inventive skill which we protect by patent laws. Progress

is not likely to increase the desire to enslave or kill our industrial generals, the Napoleons of the mill, and to elevate a saloon-fed socialist orator to this responsible and beneficent office. We shall know his worth in good time.

No doubt, workmen believe that they are paying a heavy tribute to capital. Their leaders are careful to place before them every case of large dividends, and to ignore all the cases in which there are no dividends or only small dividends and all the bankruptcies. These leaders say much about watered stock, and refrain from proving that water habitually gets dividends; the fact being that the greater number of miles of railroad in the United States pay no dividends upon stock, and that very little manufacturing stock receives more than normal interest, and much of it no interest but eternal hope. Then, too, the rewards of invention and the profits of ability are all confounded together with capital as dividends, alike by the companies and their critics. The workmen are receiving tribute from invention and, probably, from managing ability in every successful industry; the wages are raised or maintained by both forms of ability. So far as capital and labor, strictly defined in each case, are concerned in production, both are alike and equally helpless and dependent for employment and reward upon ability in inventor or manager. The latter may own capital, but it is not as a capitalist that he becomes an effective force. A machine is useless—and capital is machinery in *esse* or *posse*—without ability to operate it successfully; a workman stands idle in the market place until some one hires him. Capital, like labor, is a hired servant paid interest or dividends. Labor invariably gets its contract wages; capital is often defrauded of its hire. These facts are here touched upon because they have been forgotten by some, and are unknown by other, intelligent persons.

Much that is offensive to sound feeling and is made to seem hostile to workmen does not pertain to the sphere of industrial capital. This remark refers to the speculative combinations of some wealthy persons who, in the field to be now entered, are neither inventors, managers of industry, nor capitalists, but speculators. The late Mr. Gould was an "operator" of this sort. His gains did not add a cent to a freight bill or deduct one from a day's wages. They came out of the small or large

purses of men who chose to deal with him or his agents on the stock exchange or to buy the chromos he printed and sold as bonds. In the railway field a number of "Napoleons" have cut a large figure, nearly all of them at the expense of other small and great capitalists. In coal, ores, and oil the same speculative spirit has produced like results—a large aggregate of losses of small capitals in exchange gambling. In anthracite coal the "combine" has for the time levied a tax on consumption; but the present writer has not been able to find another case in which speculation has clearly and plainly raided the public; and the reason here is that this kind of coal is easily cornered and converted into a quasi monopoly. But the consumers' side is not herein discussed. If workmen receive less wages than they ought in these anthracite mines the cause is not speculation, but an oversupply of miners. As a rule, the quasi monopolies with speculative attachments pay high wages and get the best quality of service. This is notoriously true of the Standard Oil Company, which is reputed to be the best served corporation in America. It is worth an exclamation point that, with all the talk and printing about "greedy corporations," workmen and workwomen prefer to work for corporations! The fact is worth more than all the canting about greed by people whose greed is probably as keen as that of their neighbors.

"The conflict of capital and labor" is a false, though popular, expression. Capital, as such, has its relations and contracts, not with labor, but with invention and management; and labor has its relations with management. The half century has developed, under the influence of our amazing progress, a more complex organization of production; but popular language adheres to the simplicity of a former age. Our immense production is made possible by the inventor. The success of industry is wrought out by the manager. The three old partners—labor, capital, and land—depend absolutely on the two new partners. The genius of invention and the services of management have created our industrial world, and they drive all its wheels. Put in their place some committee of saloon-bred socialists, and the wheels will cease to revolve. It is true that the laborer meets land, invention, capital, and management welded into one, and is not practically at fault in speaking of them as one, since he must treat with them as one. But many

of the advisers of workmen are in fault because they claim the entire product for labor. Why are they not honest enough to attack the patent laws? Why do they ignore managerial skill? For the simple reason that inventor and manager command the general esteem and that capital is an historical Shylock. But neither the socialist nor his dupes have stopped to reflect that he is claiming for mill hands all the fruits of invention and management; and they do not seem to know that Shylock must hire out his ducats in an open, competitive market. The outrageous doctrine is that only one kind of laborer is worthy of his hire, and that a cunning theft, which strips the merchant of Venice of all claim to his ships, can be dignified with the name of a just reform by calling Antonio Shylock.

The sound economic view is that the tendencies of our whole system are healthful, and that, if they are directed and maintained by moral education of the whole people, our progress must effect a steady improvement of the moralized toilers. They will work fewer hours, receive an increasing share of the annual product, and continue to furnish in an increasing measure the ability and the capital of the country. For the demoralized part of the toilers there cannot be much hope. Their drink bill of seven hundred millions a year and their saloonized morality fatally handicap them. The political demagogue and "worker," who manages and directs them through the saloon, is their enemy and ours; and his lurid eloquence and frantic advice make trouble and tumult, but cannot produce revolution. The sober toilers are far more numerous, and their alliance with the other sober people will be fully competent to suppress insurrection. Meanwhile, education, religion, and thrift are making capitalists of a vast multitude of laborers. On the other hand, the increase of capital must constantly cheapen it in the hands of industrial ability; and the gain will mean cheaper products, and that will mean cheaper living, and that will mean an increase of real wages. Those who vehemently complain of falling prices do not realize that they are fighting against the stars in their courses, and that this inevitable fall enriches the vast majority of the people and widens the demand for the labor of the millions. That a dollar in wages to-day will buy twice as much as it would in 1875 is a fact of wide-reaching beneficence. If, which may be doubted,

the debtor is under a hardship through this fall in price, this debtor is not a workman dependent upon wages. If the capitalist-debtor is losing, the wage-earner is surely gaining, through the inevitable fall in prices.

Whatever evils may accompany the growth of fortunes through invention and speculation are in the way of removal by means of progressive taxation. We have already begun to levy upon large incomes and to take a share of the dead man's millions. These methods of redistribution are sure to be extended. They are capable of such extension as will remove all the dangers from large accumulations; and the proceeds of such taxation may be so applied as to reduce materially the public burdens now falling upon the poor. But a single large obstacle lies across this path. That obstacle is the grossness, mendacity, corruption, and thieving of our municipal politics. But whenever our workmen join the ranks of municipal reformers the reform will move swiftly to victory, and the proceeds of taxes upon large fortunes will be so used as directly to benefit all the people. To free streets, light, libraries, schools, and parks may be added free water, free heat, and, perhaps, free homes—all this on the assumption that the very rich are likely to go on owning more than half the wealth of the nation. If the evil of large fortunes is half as great as it is proclaimed to be we shall not be slow in applying the effective cure. The cure is as yet applied hesitatingly and tentatively, only because the extent of the evil is doubted by the sober and thoughtful leaders of the people. Nine tenths of our wealth having been produced in a half century, a large proportion of the producers of it being yet among us, and statistical tables of wealth being largely untrustworthy, it is not strange that sober persons refuse to believe that we have amassed sixty thousand millions in half a century. The large fortunes are grossly overestimated, and half the national wealth may be, like Antonio's, "in supposition."

For some time now the general public has regarded the speculative capitalist with growing suspicion; and this distrust has taken the form of law in restraint of trusts and, more effectively, in decisions of the courts of a distinctly unfriendly nature. The trusts have a "running mate" in the field of labor organization. A trust seeks to obtain a monopoly of some product, as refined

sugar or oil. A new order of labor leaders comes forward with a scheme to gather all workmen into one organization, and thus create a monopoly of labor. During the last year these new monopolists have done much mischief, caused much loss to workmen, created a profound distrust toward themselves and a vague apprehension of calamities they may bring upon us. Judicious people need not fear that a trust will control any necessary product in such a way as to enhance its cost to the consumer, or that any organization of workmen will ever be able to stop all labor at some appointed signal. The labor leader will be less hindered by law and the courts than the speculative capitalist; but this monopolist of labor will encounter a greater obstacle than laws, in human nature itself. Recent strikes have revealed the unwillingness of what may be called the aristocracy of labor—engineers, for example—to risk their fortunes in a crowd composed of the untrained masses of workmen. This is but one of a vast number of restraints on monopoly and of obstacles to the creation of a stupendous army obedient to a single will and in possession of every railroad, boat, mill, and mine. And not the least important group of these restraints is found in the bosoms of nonunion men—who are four fifths, at least, of all workmen—in the feelings and motives which keep them outside of unions. The alert and careful citizen does not propose to have his fortune disposed of in either of two places—the lodge room of a union or the private office of a trust. Whatever temporary victories either kind of monopoly may gain will be dearly paid for in a final and crushing defeat. The progressive conservative is still in the saddle. He is trusted by a vast majority of the people. This kind of leadership makes progress by inches and feet, not by leaps and bounds. But in half a century we have moved a vast distance upward, and we are still on the march. The radical has his uses; his way is the way not to go, and his clamor stirs us up to improve the old roads to material well-being.

Art. VIII.—THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

Slowly but surely is the human race rising and advancing. It is steadily swinging up into God's sunlight. A great moral revolution is progressing. We believe it will not cease until God's beneficent purposes for humanity shall have been fulfilled. The wicked, usurping prince must be dethroned. The diadem must be removed from the wrong head. The crown unworthily worn must be taken off. The low must be exalted. The high must be abased, until the prophecy is fulfilled, "I will overturn, overturn, overturn it: and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is; and I will give it him." And then shall all the kingdoms of this world "become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ: and he shall reign forever and ever."

Of this final consummation the harbingers are abundant. Civil governments are becoming leavened with the principles of righteousness, as they are contained in Christian ethics. In the recent past the sword was the chief, almost the only, solvent of international disputes and difficulties. Arbitration, statesmanship, and diplomacy are the methods now preferred and adopted for adjusting all such differences. A measure, originating in the British Parliament, is at this time nearly ready for submission to the United States government, as the basis of a treaty to be concluded between the British government and ours—a proposition that hereafter all disputes arising between Great Britain and the United States shall be settled by peaceful negotiations, and never by force of arms. All the leading reforms of the age, social, political, municipal, industrial, and monetary, are being vigorously and persistently pressed. All of these have as their basis and animus the morality of the Gospel. The drink habit and the drink traffic are enlisting the attention and opposition of Christians and philanthropists in many different countries. The World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union has prepared a monster petition, signed or attested by over seven millions of persons, against the liquor traffic, to be presented to all the civil governments of the world. Crimes against society which hitherto have been unnoticed and unpunished are now placed under

the ban of law. Among these are the social evil, the circulation of obscene pictures, cruelty to animals, lotteries, etc. We may not overlook these signs. They give good promise of the elevation of society and the reformation of civil government. They foreshadow the oncoming of the universal reign of righteousness, when the world shall be dominated by moral principle, rather than by force of arms, when swords shall be beaten into plowshares, and spears into pruning hooks. The progress of art and science and the multiplied discoveries and inventions of modern times are nearly all of them in the interests of humanity. They are, also, proof and prophecy of the ascendency of Christianity.

The projection of Christianity into the administration of national and social affairs clearly and strongly denotes the great moral changes silently going forward in Christian lands. The Pullman strike of last year has fixed public attention upon this subject. Congress has suggested a provision, which may not at once become a law, but which will doubtless soon be embodied into law, for amicably settling all disputes between capital and labor, not by strikes or mobs or violence, but by peaceful arbitration. Great revivals of religion are occurring in many of the nations of the world. These examples are only a few of many that might be adduced. They all point in one direction. They show an upward and forward movement. As we study the events of the closing years of the nineteenth century they give a retrospect of intellectual and spiritual progress, which excites a strong hope that the coming century will surpass all former developments in like lines ever known in human history. The nineteenth century has been one of preparation, incitement, and impulse for greater achievements beyond it, rather than a period of completed and unrelated results. Its momentum, projected into the coming century, will doubtless yield triumphs of Christianity in every direction and on a scale of grandeur never equaled. The conflicts and strikes arising from the friction of labor and capital are, let us believe, only the clearing-up storms which shall usher in the empurpling dawn of universal peace and love.

By steam and electricity the world is to-day closely compacted into general and intimate association, thus facilitating mutual uplifting, improvement, and evangelization. There are

no distant, foreign, outlying regions. All the parts are in touch. Vibrations at the center are instantly felt on the periphery. Besides this, there is a common expectation prevalent, an earnest looking for the incoming of an era of unprecedented peace, unity, elevation, and advancement. The whole world seems to be under the spell of this enchantment concerning a glorious advent which seems imminent. A like prevalent desire and unrest to that which preceded the coming of Jesus, as "the desire of all nations," nineteen hundred years ago is seen today in the turning of all eyes and hearts to the unfolding future for some new and marvelous developments, in moral and spiritual lines, which shall be of world-wide scope. As God satisfied that ancient desire by the advent of Jesus, and as he meets and satisfies all right and normal desires, so we may reasonably expect that he will satisfy this very general and intense expectation by a fuller and more attractive manifestation of the Lord Jesus Christ than the world has ever yet seen.

A few speculations concerning the coming century are submitted, which will, perhaps, enable us to canvass our subject in a more orderly and thorough manner.

I. Upon what principal lines and in what forms may this advance be expected? In other words, judging the future by the growing tendencies of the closing century and its immediate predecessors, what, may we safely conclude, will be the character of the approaching century? Its advance should be, and it doubtless will be, on like lines with those on which, more than on any others and all others, Christian civilization has advanced in the past.

1. There should be, and doubtless there will be, an increased unity and cooperation of all Christian denominations. The early years of this century were marked by sharply defined lines of controversy and debate between all the Churches. It was not so much an emulation as it was a rivalry, competition, and contention for denominational ascendency. Each side was sparring and contending against all others. Ephraim envied Judah, and Judah vexed Ephraim. Within the recollection of those yet in active life, the different Churches were rather hostile camps against each other than solid, united organizations against the common foe outside of all Christian folds. All this is now happily changed—indeed, almost entirely reversed.

If one should enter a meeting of any one of the leading denominations he would find the same general doctrines taught, the same calls to like diligent duty, the same features of religious experience and life and growth as in each of the others. Like sermons are preached, like results follow the ministrations in all the different Churches. There is a oneness of faith and effort and zeal and sympathy and a brotherliness toward all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth. All this is typical of a fuller and more real unity of the great body of Christ's disciples in all the different religious denominations. And is not this, after all, the real unity for which Christ pleaded in his last prayer for his disciples on the night of his betrayal? One of the most effectual ways of overcoming evil with good and of convincing this world of its supreme need of Jesus is by this obvious and practical unity of all his disciples. This is expressly stated in the Saviour's last prayer: "Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also that believe on me through their word; that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us: that the world may believe that thou didst send me." He did not mean that they should be necessarily one in form, one in creed, one in outward name, one in external Church organization; but that they should be one in vital union with the Father and the Son, one in Christian faith and zeal, and one in aim and effort to win men for the kingdom of Christ. What truer or more real unity could there be than a common faith in God and in his Son and a common zeal in extending the kingdom of God?

2. The nineteenth century, and especially its latter half, has been marked by organized, systematic, aggressive movements against the powers of darkness, by large and increasing offerings for Christian missions, both home and foreign, and by successful work in furthering Church extension and Christian education, both among freedmen and whites. To higher Christian education in the United States probably fifty millions of dollars have been devoted by philanthropic givers. And this is the greatest missionary age the world has ever seen. The Churches of this country contribute not less than ten millions of dollars a year for Christian missions. In translating the Bible into nearly all the languages of earth and in multiplying and

distributing the Holy Scriptures the Bible societies of all Christian countries have kept fully abreast of the general missionary movements of the century. Christian literature and education are organizing and wielding immeasurable forces Some of the largest publishing plants in the world are maintained by Christian Churches. In the Methodist Episcopal Church alone, the net capital invested for this object amounts to over three millions of dollars. In almost all the habitable parts of the earth Christian missions are planted. Heathen languages have been studied, and Christian books have been published in them. Missionaries can now proclaim to every man in his own tongue the wonderful works of God.

In the last twenty-five years humanitarian institutions upon a wide scale have been planted. Christianity is repeating the acts of mercy which Christ wrought when he was here among men. Equally significant is the present advanced status of Christian womanhood. The order of the King's Daughters numbers about three hundred thousand members. It preceded the modern deaconess movement of the Protestant Churches. Then, also, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and women's home and foreign missionary societies have had wide and effective operation. This is the era of womanly action and sympathy in Christian lines. The world stands convinced that Christian women have come to their kingdom for this emergency. The existence and increase of Young Men's Christian Associations in all parts of the world and the grand moral results they have achieved furnish another illustration of consecration to God. In the same general line, though of more recent origin, is the organization of the young manhood and womanhood of all the Churches in Christian Endeavor societies and chapters of the Epworth League. This is one of the phenomenal facts of modern times. It is a prophecy of grandest and sublimest moral victories. From a condition of comparative indifference and inaction, the youth of our Churches have become earnest, enthusiastic workers for God. In all these lines, and with all this accelerated movement, we are but in the seeding time for larger harvests for God's reapers. In nature the harvests exceed the sowing. And by as much as this is true by so much will the moral successes of the coming century outweigh and outmeasure those of its predecessors.

God says he will make his Church "an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations." He says, "For brass I will bring gold, and for iron I will bring silver, and for wood brass, and for stones iron." More money, more prayers, more faith and stronger faith, deeper, holier consecration, a more burning, quenchless zeal, a broader, quicker sympathy—these must come. All these accessories of quickened spiritual movement must flow and throb in all personal and Church life and in all Christian doing, until wildernesses of sin and sorrow become the Lord's gardens.

3. In the coming century there should be, and there doubtless will be, a growing control and direction of all secular life by spiritual forces. The supremacy of God's law over all parts of man's being and over all methods of his action will become more and more recognized as the true character and mission of Christianity are displayed and apprehended. The two great commandments, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself," will absorb all of man's powers. The distinction between sacred and secular in Christian life will disappear when it is clearly seen and understood that all of man's nature is under God's direction, and that what God has cleansed and what he claims may not be considered by us as "common or unclean."

4. The practical application of Christian principles will be a conspicuous feature of the moral progress of the coming century. Christianity makes full provision for all of man's nature, relations, and conditions. The infallible specific for the cruelty of oppressors, for the wrongs of the oppressed, and for the conflicting claims of labor and capital is the golden rule—"All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them." This principle can be applied to all of human life and reduced to universal operation in all human affairs by the restoring and redeeming power of Christ's grace. As this is done the selfishness and greed engendered of human depravity, which are so painful and repellent, will disappear.

5. Another form in which advance will be made will be a growing use of the representative idea in civil government. Feudalism was a prolific source of despotic rule. Christianity

has put down feudalism; it is to-day shaking the thrones of injustice and oppression. Our republican institutions are honored and loved by the people of the world. Dwellers in Asia, Africa, and Europe, and the islands of the sea look hopefully, longingly, and lovingly upon our starry banner and our free institutions. In the coming decades this process will go on until their ideal of liberty, drawn from our example and based upon the representative element in our government, shall have become the practical heritage of those now living under nonrepresentative institutions. There must be, and in the nature of things there will be, a gradual but irresistible extension of Christian and republican government. This is the judgment of all enlightened people. The people's right to be heard and felt and to have a voice in framing and directing their own institutions will be insisted upon, and their demand will be heard and granted.

6. In the development of humanity the Anglo-Americans are to hold a leading and controlling position. The Anglo-Saxon people are the governing power of the world. They have the ruling, colonizing instinct. They dominate all the nations of modern times. They control a large part of the world's area at the present moment. In the world's commerce, in its diplomacy, in its statesmanship, and in its literature, laws, wealth, and civilization the Anglo-Saxons lead and direct. But the finest type of the Anglo-Saxon character and personality is the genuine Anglo-American. It is conceded that the Anglo-Saxon is gifted largely with the governing instinct; so that on his world-embracing empire the sun never sets. But the Anglo-American has given the very highest proof of his self-governing capacity in the institutions of the free republic which he has founded, defended, built up, and extended, until it reaches from ocean to ocean and from the lakes to the gulf. His laws are just and equal. He is acquisitive. He issues books. He invents. He discovers. He travels. He carries on great transactions, commercial and otherwise. Of the Anglo-Saxon type he is the most intense and energetic specimen existing. He is a born discoverer and adventurer. Nervous, wiry, self-contained, thoughtful, resourceful, aggressive, most properly he leads the procession of the forces of modern propagandism, both of free institutions and of Christian civilization. He rep-

resents far more aggressive impulse and power than his illustrious and historic predecessors. Besides all this, Americans are the most intensely religious and Christian people of the world. They give more liberally and do more to extend Christianity than any other people. In the van of the great organizing, Christianizing army of progress belongs of right the irresistible, irrepressible, resourceful Anglo-American.

7. All this being conceded as to the man of the future, destiny points to the Western Hemisphere as the theater on which chiefly will be wrought out and displayed the unfolding panorama of the final and the grandest achievements of all human history. Of necessity our republic will have become the United States of all America—North and South—from Cape Horn to Bering Strait, together with all the adjacent insular appendages in both oceans. As a mighty, prosperous, self-governing nation, with no contiguous monarchy to be feared as a menace or felt as an irritant, the republic of all America will deservedly challenge the respect, the love, and the admiration of all mankind. This manifest destiny of a great continental republic, covering and ruling a hemisphere and having a population of five hundred and fifty millions and an area of fifteen million seven hundred thousand square miles, will be found as practicable as it is inevitable. Possessing the facilities of steam and electricity, the solidarity and direction of our vast empire and the working of our free institutions can be as readily and effectively extended over a hemisphere as they now are over our present domain, and are as practicable for half a billion of people as they now are for sixty-five millions. This is not merely an ideal picture. At our present rate of increase, before the twenty-first century shall have opened the existing population of the United States will have become four hundred million. The twenty-six millions of the rest of North and South America will have grown to sixfold their present number, say to one hundred and fifty millions. As we have seen, they will all have been incorporated into our great republic. This will give us an aggregate population of five hundred and fifty millions. How tremendous the moral power of such an example of self-directing government and civilization, having almost one third the area of the world and more than one third of its population, and all with one flag, one

nationality, one blood, one language, and one grade of civilization! Words cannot portray, nor can thought conceive, the magnificent moral ascendency of such a nation over all other nations and peoples.

II. In achieving the exalted rank described—the highest among all the governments of earth—and in gaining the glorious ascendency in moral character, what principal obstacles are to be encountered? Briefly—for space does not admit of minute detail—they are ignorance, selfishness, and the repellent elements of sinful, fallen human nature. One of the most inveterate and formidable of these obstacles is the drink traffic. All patriots, philanthropists, and Christians must engage in a fight to the finish against this gigantic evil. Under the power of God's truth, as wielded by good men, the monstrous, outrageous wrong will go down. Zeal in propagating knowledge can remove the most stolid and widely existing ignorance. Love is the infallible cure for all man's malignant sinfulness and selfishness. The power of God's Holy Spirit can give divine energy and efficacy to all well-directed efforts to beat down opposing hindrances to the march of God's "militant, embodied hosts," to set all moral wrongs in process of adjustment, and to make all things new. Human zeal and persistence, with God's reinforcement, will prepare the way and lead up to the glorious destiny predicted in God's great purposes for man. No room is left in this study for pessimism. Pessimism is mildew, blight, paralysis. It staggers and prostrates all reforms and all progress.

III. What are the other accessories and auxiliaries to be employed in bringing about and in hastening the fulfillment of this exalted destiny? The hearts, the hopes, and the sympathies of all mankind will be in league with our aims, and will contribute in large measure to their realization. The divine purpose and plan for the development and elevation of humanity will cowork with the agencies employed to crown the highest human aspirations with the supremest and divinest fruitions.

IV. What will be the results of the ultimate achievement of this great destiny? Around the whole world peace will have spread her snowy pinions. War, with its barbarism and cruelty and waste, will have ceased forever among all peoples and in

all lands. The nations will learn war no more. Science will have reached its sublimest discoveries. All of them will be seen to have wrought for human uplifting. Probably two hundred miles an hour will be the rate of our velocity over the earth's surface. Machinery, propelled by electricity and applied to all the purposes and needs of man, will do most of the work heretofore done by human hands, thus giving all men more time and strength for intellectual and moral and spiritual work. All superstition and all the debasement resulting from superstition will have passed away. The climax of moral grandeur will have been reached. Truth will have the right of way as against all frauds and falsehoods. Every city shall be a Jerusalem, because it will be a city of truth. Every man will speak the truth with his neighbor. In the gates of all the cities all men will execute the judgment of truth. Then shall be fulfilled one of the most beautiful and blessed of the prophecies—"Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other. Truth springeth out of the earth; and righteousness hath looked down from heaven." Beneath his own vine and fig tree every man shall dwell in safety. Every form of evil will have disappeared before the insufferable blaze of God's truth and righteousness. All human suffering caused by disobedience to right law will have ceased. The streets of the cities shall be full of children, playing in the midst of the streets thereof, without peril to life or limb or morals. The apocalyptic angel shall have sounded the decree of the final consummation: "The tabernacle of God is with men, and he shall dwell with them, and they shall be his peoples, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God."

Thomas K. Beecher

Art. IX.—WERTER RENICK DAVIS.

Dr. Davis lived in an heroic period. Church and State had crises in his day which will scarcely come again in all the future. Methodism can never go back to its beginnings. A new Kansas can never be opened to the world. Such doors are shut. But those who were alive and were equipped to enter when those doors were opened had opportunity to play an exceptional part such as we may never duplicate. Dr. Davis was soldier, educator, orator, saint—a strange combination, but one growing naturally out of what he was and when he lived.

Werter Renick Davis was born in Circleville, O., April 1, 1815, and died in Baldwin, Kan., June 21, 1893. At the age of fifteen he entered Kenyon College, a school under the control of the Protestant Episcopal Church, of which his father, a man of fine qualities of mind and heart, was a member. His mother was a Presbyterian, a woman of strength, tenderness, and piety. When but fifteen he strayed into a Methodist meeting, was convicted, and converted. To that day this man of God always looked back with profound delight. It was with him a favorite phrase that "paternally he was an Episcopalian, maternally a Presbyterian, but a Methodist by the grace of God." To him Methodism represented so much of divine truth, life, fervor that it was an altar whereon to sanctify many a gift. In that day the name was a term of derision. To become a Methodist meant what in our time is almost inconceivable; there was obloquy connected with it. Especially was this true of the attitude of the Protestant Episcopal communion. Young Davis's life in college became so intolerable because of this contemptuous spirit that he left without graduating, and at the age of nineteen began life as an itinerant, entering the goodly fellowship of toil hallowed by such great souls as Asbury, Lee, Simpson, and Durbin.

Dr. Davis was born before Waterloo sent Napoleon to his desert rock to die; at the close of America's second war for independence; before the coming of the locomotive and the appliances of modern civilization. During his lifetime of three quarters of a century a mighty impulse was given to progress in every department of human activity. At his birth the

supreme political experiment of sixty centuries was but begun. England had not yet learned that America was free. The territory of the Union reached only from the Atlantic to the great desert of the interior. The Mississippi was an untrodden pathway till steam pressed it with burning sandals. Even in 1835, when this young itinerant entered the Ohio Conference, Kansas, the field of his most extended labors, was unknown to the world. There were but eighteen States, with a population of barely eight millions. He lived to see forty-four States, with a population of over sixty millions. At the time of his birth there was not a college in Methodism. The denomination had only 211,000 members, with 704 preachers and 2 bishops. He lived to see 56 colleges, 2,524,053 members, 14,553 ministers, and 18 bishops. Two thirds of the continent were practically unoccupied by civilization when this young circuit rider carried his saddlebags into the hill country of Virginia. Neither he nor anyone knew what throes of mighty pain were requisite ere the civilization of the future could be born and the Magna Charta of our independence speak the full truth freely. For more than fifty years this man gave the vigor of an unflagging devotion to the spread of the Church and the purification of the State.

On June 6, 1835, at Hillsborough, O., this lad was licensed to preach by James B. Finley. He was but twenty—a stripling, like young David, strayed from the sheepcote to the field of war. On August 20, 1835, he joined the Ohio Conference at Springfield, and was appointed to a circuit in Virginia. On May 4, 1843, he was married to Miss Minerva Russell, a lady of beauty and accomplishment, with whom he lived fifty full years, she being to him a constant inspiration and joy. He was, as he himself said, "a member of the Cincinnati Conference by division, of the Missouri and the Kansas and Nebraska Conferences by transfer, and of the Kansas Conference by division." At the time of his joining the Ohio Conference it contained such men as Morris, Hamline, Thomson, Finley, Nast, Trimble, Moody, Power, Strickland, of whom it might be justly said, "There were giants in those days;" and among such he soon became a man of mark. His was a presence which would attract attention anywhere—in form tall, slender, erect as a pine; with a face of rare intelligence; penetrating

eyes, that revealed love and tenderness, but could flash like drawn swords when occasion demanded; hair black as the raven's wing in his younger days, but for the closing thirty years of his life as white as almond blooms; and a military carriage to the day of his death. In the days of his early ministry his appearance betokened the orator. His faculties were all alert, fire was in his heart, tempests were in his blood. The antislavery agitation, then in its incipiency, claimed and received his allegiance. He was at one time imprisoned in Virginia for preaching antislavery sentiments. Dr. Davis on an important occasion said, "I have been in the ministry half the lifetime of the Church." His life had been contemporaneous with its most splendid growth. He loved the Church with an affection perennial and beautiful, he labored for it with a loyalty which knew neither variableness nor shadow of turning, he both preached its doctrines and exemplified its spirit; and his services were appreciated and honored. He was a member of three General Conferences, of the Ecumenical Conference in London, and of the Centennial Conference in Baltimore. The Indiana State University recognized his scholarship by conferring upon him the degree of master of arts. He received the degree of doctor of medicine from a medical college in Cincinnati, and the doctorate of divinity from the Indiana Asbury—now De Pauw—University in 1859.

In Ohio he served the Church for eighteen years on "old Union Circuit," at Dayton, Sandusky, and similar appointments. Men are now living who remember the young man eloquent. Marley and he were associates on Union Circuit. Marley was noted for his reasoning powers, Davis for his oratorical gifts; and the people were wont to speak of this rare combination as "logic set on fire." In those days the people called Baptists were inclined to be argumentative, and young Davis came to be in demand to debate the question of baptism. Among his bound pamphlets are some of these discussions, printed by the communities where the debates were held. Indeed, for many years he found delight in giving a word of exhortation and sound doctrine to his friends of the immersionist persuasion; and on such occasions they were treated to something besides water. When he was among the pioneers of Methodism in Kansas his services were in frequent demand for this pur-

pose; for Campbellism was ubiquitous, and the doctor no more shunned an encounter of this sort than a warrior shrinks from battle. In 1853 Bishop Morris transferred him to St. Louis and stationed him at Ebenezer Chapel, at a time when that metropolis needed a man of superior powers, of brave and judicious mind, who could conciliate when conciliation was right and possible. His next remove was to McKendree College, whither he went as professor of natural science. This position he filled for five years. For one year he was acting president, and was offered and refused the presidency. At this time and often thereafter vigorous efforts were made to draw the eloquent preacher eastward. Bishop Thomson especially insisted on transferring him to New York. Dr. Davis, however, believed it God's will that he should identify his life with the work of the Church in the great valley of the Mississippi.

In June, 1858, he accepted the presidency of Baker University; and in September of that year he came to Kansas, where for more than a third of a century he labored with a zeal that was as unwavering as his love to God and man was warm and tender. Baker University had been chartered in February, 1858, and was consequently the earliest founded of all the colleges of arts in Kansas. This institution was located at Baldwin. Alone of all the college seats in Kansas, Baldwin has this unique distinction—the city is the result of the college; and this fact has had a marked influence in forming both town and college. President Davis was empowered to organize his own faculty; and in September, 1858, Baker University began its career. To this work Dr. Davis gave the vigor of his manhood. He was a man of mighty faith, of heroic courage, of industry which knew no weariness; and every power of mind and heart he flung into his work. To the day of his death Baker University shared with his family the love of his heart. He was wont to read at chapel service in those early days, when the prairies were one virgin waste, that impassioned prophecy, "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them;" and he lived to read it again many times when the college for which he had toiled with unremitting devotion had reached an enviable pinnacle of influence and success. He lived to see it a power in the State, equipped with the necessary appliances for successful work, with substantial buildings,

a faculty of twenty-one teachers, and an annual enrollment of over five hundred. As he lay on what proved his dying bed at the commencement season of 1893 his love still clung to the college as a father's to his child. He would ask the president regarding the welfare of the institution when his voice, which had been like a battle trumpet, was little more than an echo of its old self He would wake from his slumber and ask, "Is it near commencement?" and when answered in the affirmative would whisper, "It will be the first I have missed in more than thirty years, save when in the army."

When President Davis came to Kansas a great struggle was in progress. Kansas was the first battle ground between slavery and freedom. What seemed but a baptism of blood, however, proved a baptism of life and power. Kansas received the noblest colonists that ever came to an uninhabited waste. Sumner, Phillips, and other souls of kindred greatness spoke in words that burned like lightning bolts and pointed men to the new battlefield of liberty; and New England emptied her treasures of money, brain, and heart that Kansas might prove a barrier against the encroachment of that devouring power which knew no moderation. In such a crisis this preacher arrived; and, of all who came, none was better equipped to play a man's great part in the drama. He was by nature chivalrous; no knight had more of courtesy. He was the soul of honor, with a poet's temperament. The occasion seized and inspired him. He was the intimate associate of Lane, Robinson, Goodenough, Montgomery, and other leading free State men of those tremendous days. He was chaplain of the Wyandotte Convention, rendered historic as the body of antislavery men which drafted the Constitution of Kansas, and a member of the first Legislature. His voice sounded like a prophet's speech. He was in the secret councils of that stormy time, a politician as well as an educator and preacher. As president of Baker University he preached a sermon on the murder of John Brown at Harper's Ferry; and the Hon. Everett Dallas declared it the most remarkable effort to which he ever listened. Man and occasion met, and his genius for speech was set on fire.

In March, 1862, Dr. Davis became presiding elder of the Baldwin City District of the Kansas Conference. In September of the same year he enlisted for the defense of the

Union. He was appointed a chaplain, was afterward made colonel of the 16th Regiment of Kansas Volunteers, and became commandant of Fort Leavenworth. Always a man of military bearing, he looked, when mounted on his black charger with the trappings of war, every whit a soldier; and so long as he lived he was to the old soldiers always "Colonel Davis." After the surrender of Lee he took part in an expedition against the Indians in the Black Hills. During that campaign an incident occurred so characteristic as to be worthy of mention. Great annoyance arose from dancing, which often continued all night, to the discomfort of those who did not participate. Accordingly, Colonel Davis issued an order, that, when dancing, gentlemen should occupy one building and the ladies another. It is needless to add that the dancing immediately ceased. Among the mementoes which his wife and children prize most highly are a brace of gold-mounted revolvers and the ivory-hilted saber, presented to him by his regiment, which used to clank at his side. He was as faithful and valiant a soldier for the Union as he was for his "Master, even Christ." Fear was a feeling he never knew. On more than one occasion, though unarmed, he attacked and mastered armed thieves in his house. At another time, his oldest son falling into a deep well, he made a perilous descent upon the rope, rescued the boy, and was drawn up, with his hands burned to the bone by the friction of his swift descent. When preaching in Virginia he once delivered from jail a young lady teacher imprisoned for the heinous crime of reading the *New York Tribune*. During the expedition to the Black Hills he quelled a mutiny among the soldiers by appearing before them and declaring that, unless the mutiny ceased by such an hour, he would turn the cannon upon them. His eyes could flare like watchfires in the wind, and the glance of his wrath was terrible.

Yet he was by instinct and grace a man of peace; and when the war was over he reassumed the presiding eldership and, for fourteen consecutive years, served the Church in that capacity. He rode districts on which he could reach home only once in six weeks. When the flooded rivers cried "no thoroughfare," he, as intent on the discharge of his duty as if an earthly general had commanded, swam streams like the Asburys of old.

Nothing daunted him. Unostentatiously he kept his line of march, the goal of which was the seizing of Kansas for God; and it is safe to say, as has been declared by one entirely conversant with the facts, that to no one man is Kansas Methodism (the largest denomination within the borders of the State) so greatly indebted as to Werter R. Davis During those years of the planting of the Church he acted at three distinct times as president of Baker University, assuming that responsibility when others left the post unoccupied. He at one time saved the college from mortgage foreclosure by giving a note, in company with others, when the creditor declared that if Dr Davis would stand surety for the debt he would be satisfied; and this note he paid all alone. He was associated in those early ministerial labors with such men of God as Denison, Mitchell, Rice, Fisher, Dearborn, Lawrence, Bowman, Dennis, Shaw, and others. He habitually clung to his friends with affectionate tenacity.

During the closing thirteen years of his ministry and life he was in the pastorate. But, from the time of his coming to Kansas in the fifties, wherever he might live he looked on Baldwin as his home. Thither he hoped to come at last to die. And it was esteemed a special blessing from God that the last ten years of his life were spent in or near Baldwin. Here he saw his youngest son graduate from the university, saw him enter the sacred ministry, and heard him preach his first sermon. Erect, with step elastic, with a heart like the heart of youth, with hope eager as if life were a coming, rather than a departing, glory, without censoriousness, with a lofty nobility of spirit and bearing, with only love for his brethren, and rejoicing in their labors and successes, he commanded respect and won admiration and confidence. Although a man of firm, unwavering convictions, he was not dogmatic nor self-assertive. His dignity was without haughtiness, his modesty as genuine as that of the violets of spring, his courtesy natural and perennial, his faith fixed as the stars, his loyalty to country, home, and God unswerving in its absolute fidelity. Such a man moved in and out among the students, an inspiration and a blessing.

As an educator Dr Davis shaped the destiny of the first college of Kansas and made his indelible impress on the educational work of the State. But, although a soldier and an

educator, he was first, last, and most of all a preacher. As a preacher he was fervent and powerful. For years he was conceded to be the most eloquent man west of the Mississippi. Essentially an extemporaneous speaker, his flow of speech was wonderful. The writer has heard many speakers, but none whose fluency of utterance surpassed his. His thought moved on high levels. His eloquence was like the rush of streams on the mountains. He was, like all orators, unequal; but when the occasion fired him and the spirit filled him he was sublime. Truly, "his were eloquent lips." It is to be regretted that a distaste for writing kept him from recording the facts of his career, for they were as interesting as a romance of chivalry and possessed rare historic value. Having associated on intimate terms with the leading men of the Church, his memory was stored with reminiscences. It was his often expressed desire that God would let him die in the work of the active ministry. His prayer was answered His exalted conception of the Christian ministry is expressed in his own words, "I know of no greater honor, no greater dignity, no greater privilege than to be a minister of Jesus Christ." The Gospel colored his life. To him impurity of word or thought was ignoble and unthinkable. Not one dishonorable deed is in his record. To his own household he was unspeakably dear. His was a saintliness which shone like a star, unwavering and undimmed in the daily routine of domestic life. And it was a solace to him that on his dying bed he saw all his living children, as he was soon to see those who had died long since, when death should be swallowed up of life. Having loved his own, "he loved them unto the end," may be reverently applied to him.

W. A. Quayle.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

THE aldermen of Chicago have "resolved" that mail cars ought not to be run on the cable car lines, because men will thus be deprived of employment. This action is, perhaps, the latest revolt against machinery, against the reduction of the amount of human effort in obtaining a desired end. This war upon machinery must be near its close. The politicians are almost the only people so little enlightened as to keep up a show of fighting, and we suspect that many of them really know better and are only practicing the make-believe of the demagogue. Intelligence perceives that the man released by a machine is a man gained for some service. To find the new work and place the man in it involves a little delay, but the gain of a man is certain. The power of the machinery of the world is reckoned up as equal to the labor of one thousand millions of men. There are not more than one third so many men on this planet. Machinery is doing three times as much work as all the living men could do. If the fears of politicians had been realized there would be no work for anybody; but, in fact, the involuntarily idle are not claimed by the most pessimistic orators to exceed two per cent of all men living, or say five or six millions; and the most careful and capable estimate the number at not more than one per cent. It is somewhat amazing that persons of any intelligence should fail to see the logical argument respecting machinery. We have in effect done what we would have done if we had captured, on Prospero's island or some other fairy land, one thousand millions of slaves. These slaves, these natural forces, which do not suffer weariness or pain, are doing our hard work for us, and doing three times as much as we could do if we ourselves suffered the weariness and the pain. This is the right view of machinery. The workman is not a slave, he is a master over slaves—a slave driver, if one prefers the word; and his slaves, the unconscious forces, require of us no pity. A human arm or back is released whenever we set a unit of these forces at work—forces in place of a man. Generally we have found it easy to employ the emancipated man in a profitable way.

The proof is that, in a vastly increased population, so small a fraction represents the enforced idleness which annoys and afflicts us.

COULD anything more incongruous and improbable be suggested than that the *Methodist Review* should be found going through the United States mails as lottery matter? Nevertheless, we have been solicited to become a party to such lawlessness. Mrs. Joanna Doiron, of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, Canada, has requested us to assist the Roman Catholic congregation of that city to build a new cathedral by sending a sample copy of the *Methodist Review* to be disposed of by lottery in a grand bazaar, the lucky winner of the prize to be entitled to receive our *Review* gratuitously, at our expense, for one year. The lady has the modesty to hope that we will not regard her request as presumptuous. We almost doubt the correctness of her letter's postmark, for a spirit thermometer, immersed in her proposition, registers a degree of coolness which would locate its origin at least as far north as Baffin's Bay, with date of midwinter. The writer of it suggests that we communicate directly with the Rev. J. C. Macmillan, secretary to the Bishop of Charlottetown. Our duties leave us no time for such correspondence; and, furthermore, while in general we have no objection to circulating our *Review* among the subjects of the amiable old gentleman resident on the Tiber who is hallucinated with the notion that he is deputy God Almighty, we are yet deterred from complying with Mrs. Doiron's request, partly by the fact that, in the region where we reside, the lawmaking and law-interpreting authorities have declared that Church lotteries are as clearly gambling as any other lotteries, and by the additional fact that a United States law, passed September 19, 1890, prescribes penalties of fine and imprisonment for using the mails for the conveyance of lottery matter of any kind. Whatever minor errors we may inadvertently fall into, we desire, at least, to prevent the *Methodist Review* from appearing as lottery matter and its editor as a lawbreaker.

And just here it may not be incoherent to add, incidentally, for the benefit of those whom it may concern, inside or outside the membership of Christian Churches, that judges in various States of the Union have seen fit and thought it necessary to give public warning, by charging grand juries, that progressive euchre "is gambling within the meaning of the law"—"gambling plain and simple"—and liable to the punishment prescribed by statute; so

that any house where this game is played may, under such laws, be as properly raided, and the participants arrested and locked up, as if it were the lowest gambling hell in the place.

THE SUPERIOR TRUTHFULNESS OF MEN OF SCIENCE.

An admirer of Professor Huxley, after saying that the author of *Science and Hebrew Tradition* might adopt Strauss's words, "I have fought for that which seemed to me the truth, and against that which I have thought error," expresses the hope that many will do Huxley the justice to say of him that "he has done that which he felt able and called upon to do, and has done it without looking to the right or to the left, seeking no man's favor, fearing no man's disfavor." And we are told that, if we are willing to say so much as that concerning this distinguished scientific teacher, it will, though far from being a complete account, be a eulogy, and a high one. So much sincerity as is thus claimed for Professor Huxley we are in no wise reluctant to concede; but what we strenuously deny is that, this being true, he is entitled to exceptional praise, as seems to be intimated, on account of superior devotion to truth; and what we take occasion to affirm is that immense multitudes of men and women in the ministry and membership of the Christian Church have lived and labored with equal sincerity, veracity, fidelity, and fearlessness, and with far greater self-denial, on behalf of truth supported by evidence, and that in Christian circles through the Christian ages such devotion has been a common thing—in fact, is the veriest matter-of-course commonplace of Christian history from first to last.

Professor Huxley has announced that it is the high resolve of modern science to take nothing for truth "without clear knowledge that it is such"—a commendable resolve, unquestionably, and manifesting a spirit which might easily have been imbibed from a certain Galilean fisherman, whose words do not appear at any disadvantage when placed beside the best substantiated scientific statements of to-day: "For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were *eyewitnesses* of his majesty. For he received from God the Father honor and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And this voice which came from heaven we *heard*, when we were with him in the holy mount. We have also a more sure word of

prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts." This calm, dignified, and sober statement is in the manner of a man fully on his guard against accepting or teaching anything for truth "without clear knowledge that it is such." How did this humble fish dealer, without the aid of the example of modern science, attain this high level of scrupulous and critical veracity?

Occasionally Professor Huxley, with a sidelong, reproachful glance at religious teachers, lectures mankind on the immorality of "professing belief in propositions of the truth of which there is no sufficient evidence." Now, it happens that, at the moment when this scientific professor of superior ethics is thus endeavoring to do his duty by us as our moral instructor, Professor Weismann asks our attention, and undertakes to extend our hitherto neglected education, by pressing on our faith and acceptance a hypothetical developmental process called "natural selection," the truth of which he admits he cannot demonstrate in detail, and the operation of which he says he cannot even imagine. He informs us that we "must" accept this unimaginable process as scientific fact, because, if we do not, we cannot explain things as we find them without admitting the presence and working of intelligent design in the universe, to which he for some mysterious reason seems averse, although we are unable to perceive anything disastrous or disgraceful in such an admission. What we are moved to say, in the presence of Professor Weismann's dogmatizing about natural selection, is that his effort to disciple us to his imperative theories encounters disadvantage, in the fact that we, to our own good fortune, had previously received from Professor Huxley such pure ethical instruction, untainted by religion, as prepared us to resist any attempt to gain our assent to "propositions of the truth of which there is not sufficient evidence," especially to an hypothesis concerning which the advocate himself says it cannot be demonstrated or imagined, and concerning which the Marquis of Salisbury, in his address as president of the British Association, publicly said at Oxford that not a single instance of variation by natural selection is known; that the doctrine is purely hypothetical; but that, on the contrary, significantly enough, variation by artificial or outside selection, that is, selection devised, directed, and modified by the purpose of a superintending intelligence, is one of the most familiar facts known to modern science. This, from so high an authority as the

president of the British Association, is calculated to hurt Professor Weismann's feelings, because it points straight at the old theistic argument from design which was regarded, even by Voltaire and John Stuart Mill, as mighty and formidable—by the former, indeed, as irresistible.

As for ourselves, having been elevated by lofty scientific tuition to the level of refusing to take anything for truth "without clear knowledge that it is such," we are inexpressibly shocked at Weismann's unscrupulous attempt to lead us into immorality; and against him, as a promoter of inveracity and a corrupter of morals, we would like to make complaint to our instructor, Professor Huxley, whose career ought not to close until he shall have written a few "lay sermons" for the purpose of reforming some well-known members of the scientific brotherhood, who, at sundry times and in divers manners, have labored to induce mankind to take something for truth without sufficient evidence that it is so.

As for modern science, we admire and applaud its brooding attentiveness, its minute industry, its patient assiduity, its steady, piercing gaze and ingenious search into the secrets and mysteries of the universe; but the intellectual hauteur of some of its spokesmen, when they taunt Christian believers with mental imbecility and degradation, is hard to endure; and, when to this is added ethical superciliousness, charging us with an obtunded conscience, an inferior morality, untruthfulness, and a false pretense of knowledge, we feel warranted in producing for the occasion an ancient ethical authority, of wide repute and still undiscredited by any attainments of modern scientists, which once, in the morning of human history, declared, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

ARMENIA'S PITIABLE PLIGHT.

DURING the Turco-Russian war a young man, a graduate of Robert College at Constantinople, while crossing the Balkan Mountains was captured by some of the hill tribes and questioned as to who he was, whence he came, whither he was going, and what was the object of his journey. His captors decided that, as they had no means of knowing whether he was telling the truth or not and as dead men make no trouble, the safest course was to give him a permanent quietus. So he was laid on his back on the edge of a cliff, with his head hanging over, convenient for

decapitation. The executioner stood with his left foot on the breast of the victim, and was feeling the edge of his sword to make sure that it was keen enough to do its work with neatness and dispatch, when the chief commanded him to let the young man up and said, motioning toward one of the tribemen: "My friend here doesn't want you killed, and says he will take charge of you and be responsible for you. So I have given you to him. You go along with him and do as he bids." The young man was finally permitted to go free, and, when narrating his experience to Dr. Long, was asked by him what thoughts occupied his mind when he lay with his head over the cliff and with the executioner running his finger along the sword edge. He hesitated to tell, lest Dr. Long should think his thoughts not proper ones for a man on the brink of eternity, but, being urged, replied, "The thought that filled my mind was, what a pity I am going to die without seeing the solution of this Eastern question!"

That was years ago; but it seems probable that, if the young man lives to be a hundred years old, it will be possible for him to die in his bed with the same regret in his mind. For the delicate, intricate, difficult, bewildering, exasperating, and dangerous puzzle called the Eastern question is apparently as much unsolved as ever. What prophet can fix the date of its solution?

It is this which makes Turkey a storm center, from which may burst at any time a war tempest that would shake three continents and might embroil half a dozen nations. The rival interests of these nations, alert to preserve the balance of power among themselves, are intriguing for advantage and pulling diplomatic strings which continually complicate and ensnarl the situation. The Turk subsists on Europe's jealousies. The "sick man" is kept alive by stimulants, because the prospective heirs or intending claimants to his estate are not satisfied that they are in position to get all they want of his effects if a distribution be made now. Each prefers that the Turk keep it to having a rival get it. At least, that is true of the more powerful governments interested in the Eastern question. It is this situation which gives the Turk immunity and permits his inveterate wickedness to continue. The powers that be in Europe ignore or condone his crimes, because they profit by his continuance in power. England has four times saved the Ottoman empire from destruction. In addition to this, a peace sentiment honestly works to postpone the downfall of Turkey, because it dreads the conflict which might ensue if

armed nations should let loose the dogs of war to fight for possession of the sultan's empire.

Out of all this comes Armenia's misery—her pitiable plight unhelped, and her despair uncheered, by any hope of redress. Our sad belief is that her outraged and slaughtered thousands will long lie unavenged. The Turk is an immense scoundrel, who will permit and perpetrate all manner of crimes and cruelties. He has ever-recurring spasms of ferocity. If allowed to live he will still continue to rob and violate and kill. He is an eternal liar, and when interrogated and accused will always blandly deny that anything wrong has been done. Moreover, when reports of fresh deviltries reach Europe, even the best nations are not agreed in willingness to have them investigated or in desiring the Turk's proper punishment if he be proved guilty. In 1876, when the Bashi-bazouks and other irregular troops in the service of the Porte had inflicted indescribably horrible atrocities on the peaceful population of Bulgaria, Benjamin Disraeli, prime minister, declared in the House of Commons that it was doubtful if the reported crimes had been committed. The Tory premier's device was to deny the existence of a situation with which he did not wish to deal. It was a brave Ohio boy who put Disraeli to shame. J. A. MacGahan, most daring and brilliant of war correspondents, intimate and trusted friend of General Michael Skobeleff, went to Bulgaria, accompanied by Eugene Schuyler, United States Commissioner, and on the scene of the massacre collected a mass of positive proof which, when he dispatched it to England, overwhelmed a sneering, hypocritical prime minister, gave the advantage to Gladstone, who was loudly declaring, "It is time that the Turk and all his belongings should go out of Bulgaria," and so reversed the tide of European public opinion as to make possible poor Bulgaria's liberation. MacGahan not only, from the distance of Bulgaria, smote Disraeli on the mouth and silenced him, but Archibald Forbes truly says that this modest young man from Ohio altered the map of Europe.

As it was in 1876, so is it in 1895. When public indignation, voiced especially by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bryce, and the new Bishop of Hereford, forces England to make a show of inquiring into the Turkish massacre in Armenia, up stands Sir Ellis Ashmead Bartlett in the House of Commons and warns the government to beware of assailing the Porte, because its friendship is of enormous value to Great Britain. When European governments go through the form of calling the Turk to account, make a men-

acing show of force by manœuvering their squadrons along his coasts, and, through commissions and consuls and embassadors glittering with gold lace and bristling with authority, demand of him a promise of better behavior in future, it is, on the one side, uncertain how much reality there is in the apparent wrath of these governments or sincerity in their avowed intention to enforce decency, and it is, on the other side, certain that the Turk, who is a poltroon and a cur, will cringe and whine and promise anything that is peremptorily exacted by his circumstantial masters, without the slightest intention of keeping his word.

The Turk's increasing wickedness through five hundred years sets the minds of good men on an effort to recall some of the energetic language of the imprecatory psalms, which have their function and place in human affairs. If the Lord had not provided us with them we would have had no phraseology, justified by Scripture and not profane, at all adequate to certain emergencies; and even men familiar with the 109th Psalm, as well as with the considerably expressive *répertoire* of papal anathemas, find nothing in them to do justice to this case, and, after exhausting all accessible and imaginable speech, abandon in despair the effort to describe and express him and record their failure by unanimously adopting the phrase, "the unspeakable Turk." The Porte stands for a violent and bloody misgovernment which is simply organized brigandage, and its flag curses every inch of soil that lies under it. The scimetar is the curved shadow of the crescent materialized in steel; wherever the one floats above, the other, soon or late, smites beneath. This most accursed government should be obliterated from the face of the long-suffering earth, without other ceremony than the rattle of musketry and thunder of cannon. To drive the Turk across the Bosporus is not enough. What have the scourged and plundered populations of Asiatic and African Turkey done that they should be doomed to remain under the blight and curse which southeastern Europe cannot endure? If the map of Europe, Asia, and Africa could be wiped clean of every trace of the Ottoman empire, even though by a sponge dipped in blood, mankind would breathe more freely, as in an atmosphere purified from pollution and stench by the removal of a putrid carcass. At this writing the press of England and America announces the immediate and effectual reformation of the Turk by concerted action of European powers. Gladly would we put faith in such reports, but with history open before us we are unable so to do. Hence we pity Armenia.

THE ARENA.

"DIVINE REVELATION"—A REJOINDER.

Dr. Ensign McChesney, in criticising in the *Methodist Review* for May my article in the January *Review*, has fallen, it seems to me, into nearly all the errors of those who are afraid to recognize God as being in touch with the present, lest they shall disparage the past; when, in fact, the best, and almost the only, rational ground for believing that God has had anything to do with the past is the fact that he is doing the same now with the present. It may, indeed, be that God is not now working in some respects as he once worked, the time for such work having gone by; but that he has ever been more in sympathetic, inspiring, vitalizing contact with humanity than he is now is what I cannot believe, because the occasion for such contact has not passed. So, then, when Dr. McChesney asks, "What does the writer mean by present-day inspiration?" I answer that I suppose myself to mean exactly the same kind of inspiration as when I speak of the inspiration of the past. For it is impossible for me to conceive how the quantity or quality of inspiration can be affected by questions as to past and present. The trouble in discussing this question with my critic is that we have not a common unit of measurement. It is true that we both talk and write about the "inspired men of old," and we both believe that they were inspired; but we doubtless differ almost *toto cælo* as to the degree of their inspiration and the effect of it. He must, therefore, not forget that, when I claim that some men are inspired now and that divine revelation is continuous and progressive, I make the claim from my point of view, and not from his, and that my teaching, whether good or bad, is to be considered in the light of my own definition of inspiration, and not in the light or darkness of some other man's definition.

The following statements, it seems to me, should be accepted without debate. Some parts of the Bible are inspired in a very high degree, some in a much lower degree, and some not at all. From this it follows that the Bible, in different parts, is inspired in different degrees. How could it be otherwise, since different men are not inspired in the same degree, and the same man at different times is inspired in different degrees? Later inspirations and revelations are always building upon former ones; therefore, the divine revelation contained in the Old and New Testaments is continuous and progressive, the progress of doctrine in the New Testament being especially conspicuous. Dr. McChesney's question, then, "Does he mean that divine revelations on a parity with those of the Scriptures are still being given forth?" must have for its answer, that that depends upon what parts of the Scriptures are specified. There is nothing on a parity with the Sermon on the Mount or with anything else that Jesus taught. In him there are no inequalities, for he never falls below himself. But not so Paul; he seldom rises to the height he

attained in the twelfth chapter of Romans or in the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians. Call the teachings of the present time inspired or not, revelations or not, there is much in them not only on a parity with, but far above, some of the teachings in the Scriptures—in respect, especially, to the nature of God and the ways and works of God. To prove this fact it is sufficient to ask, Who now would be willing to go to the Old Testament for his theology? And yet the Old Testament is a large part of the Scriptures. Certain it is that, prior to the coming of Jesus Christ, not only had no one found out God to perfection, but the world had scarcely begun to find him out at all, the teaching concerning him having been very imperfect; and this imperfect teaching is to be found in the Old Testament Scriptures. Take, for instance, the 109th Psalm, in which we have this prayer for the wrongdoer: "Let there be none to extend mercy unto him: neither let there be any to favor his fatherless children"—a prayer which is utterly opposed to the love and mercy of our God. And then, again, who can rationally believe that Samuel represents the "God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," even though he does come with a "thus saith the Lord" in his mouth, when he commands Saul to destroy Amalek and spare nothing, but to "slay both man and woman, infant and suckling?" And then think of that act of Samuel himself, hewing Agag, a prisoner of war, in pieces—an act so atrociously barbarous that if it were committed to-day the whole world would stand aghast.

I am a Protestant; and I protest that, while I fully believe that the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, I do not believe that all they contain is necessary thereto. I do heartily believe that they contain the word of God, but I do not believe that all they contain is that word. In my poor judgment our great present need is that we shall cease to be bibliolaters. The Bible is a great book, and there will never be another like it, no matter how much inspiration it may contain; but we need not worship it. It contains the word of God; but so, also, does much else, in some good degree, contain that word—nature, for instance, which has been too much overlooked, not to say misinterpreted and maligned. I do not fear at all, with my respected critic, that we shall weaken the authority of Scripture revelation by "magnifying beyond all proper proportion the importance and authority of present-day religious thinking;" but I do think that, by putting the Scriptures so much in evidence to prove what they were never intended to prove, we are in danger of leaving God too much out of our present lives, and so losing the blessed assurance that he is with us to uphold, inspire, and give success.

That I should refer to the men of old as "'earthen vessels,' and very earthen at that," and that I should claim that we have now better specimens of Christian manhood than they, seems also to trouble my critic. I said they were "earthen vessels" because Paul had said so; and I said that they were "very earthen at that" because history proves it to be true. Think of a carefully selected "twelve," selected by Jesus himself, one of whom took into his guilty hands the pieces of silver for which he had sold his Lord; another of whom in one night denied him three times,

the last time carrying his denial to the point of declaring that he was not only not his disciple, but that he did not even "know the man;" and all the rest of whom, except John, turned their backs on him and fled when the supreme moment of peril came. And then why should Dr. McChesney be startled because the claim is made that we have better men now? Has the world made no progress during all these nineteen Christian centuries? Has Christianity, indeed, accomplished nothing?

Let us have done with the thought that we cannot do justice to the present except by disparaging the past. In some sense it is of necessity disparaged already. In its time it was good scaffolding; but, like scaffolding, it must come down. Its chief place henceforth is in archæology and in history. Progress all along has been made, and evermore will and must be, by forgetting things that are behind. Hence, I said that a wise eclecticism will reject of the past, as well as receive from it. This, also, disturbs my critic, because he is not sure but that I intend to apply this to "prophets and apostles," as well as to Athanasius and Calvin. I fully believe in this wise eclecticism, because Jesus himself was an eclectic. He came to give us a new dispensation, in doing which he both honored and superseded the old. He substituted his teachings for those of Moses in several important respects; and, except as to the moral code, which, because it has its roots in universal humanity, is broader than Judaism, Jesus delivered us from the whole Mosaic economy. And because he had "fulfilled" it he cast it off, so that since then there has been neither temple, nor altar, nor ritual, nor sacrifice. All that was permanently valuable in the old was taken up into the new and living way. To me it seems exceedingly safe to follow in the footsteps of the Man of Nazareth, and to make, not prophets and apostles, but Jesus Christ himself the "chief corner stone." And when my brother, because I make Jesus the "one inerrant Teacher," asks, "What about the faith which was once delivered unto the saints?" I can but answer, "That faith is all right, and it is so because it does not depend on the saints, but was 'delivered' unto them." The faith is all right, because it is God-given and Christ-given. It was given to Peter and Paul, but also before Peter and Paul and before the New Testament Scriptures, and, therefore, in a sense, does not depend on any of them. Jesus alone is the Author of our salvation and of our faith. On that foundation I am able to build; but I am not able to build on the foundation of fallible infallible Churches, popes, or councils. One may greatly respect, one ought to respect, that consensus of Jewish and Christian opinion through which we received our canon of Scripture; but that it put nothing in which it were better to have left out and left out nothing that should have been included is too much to ask any Protestant to believe. This book, incomparable in its way, may, like the human factor in its making, be also an "earthen vessel," and yet be full, as it is, of divine contents. This book, like our Lord himself, is both divine and human—inspired of God, and yet having in it a large human element—and all the more valuable because it is so.

Minneapolis, Minn. J. F. CHAFFER.

ETHICS AND ECONOMICS.

MARKED changes have taken place in the development of economic science within the last twenty or thirty years. Among these, one of the most prominent features has been the recognition of the intimate relationship between this science and that of ethics. Of the existence of this relationship there can be no doubt, and of its practical character sensible thinkers have for the most part been fully convinced. There is, nevertheless, a certain unfortunate confusion of the two subjects, even in the writings of some of our ablest men. Into this confusion Dr. Fradenburgh, in his interesting article in the last number of the *Review*, on "The New Political Economy," seems to me to have come very near falling. Even Professor Ely, whose competence as an economist is pretty thoroughly established, is not wholly free from this fault. For my part, I do not see any more propriety in the expression "ethical economics" than in the term "economic ethics." It is making a mental mixture of elements that do not combine. The terms are mutually exclusive, however mutually influential they may be.

An ethical act is one that may be tested by moral law—something that ought or ought not to be done. An economic act or measure is to be tested by its probable effect on men in society, as respects wealth. These tests are not at all the same or similar; and yet both may be applied to the same actions. Conceivably, at least, a course of action may be economically wise but morally wrong, as when the British government compelled China to allow the importation of opium; or a measure may tend to diminish the wealth of a nation, while at the same time it is morally right, as when food is contributed to starving Ireland or money is given for the support of Christian missions. In such a case the ethical principle must have right of way, not because the economic character of the measure is changed, but because every other interest is subordinate to the ethical interest. It is probable that, to a mind which could discern all possible consequences, it would appear that no act in violation of moral law would be economically wise; just as it is probable that conduct prompted by omniscient self-interest would coincide with that prompted by self-forgetting love. But man must be governed by discernible, and not undiscernible, motives. A great deal of our conduct may be determined by either prudential or ethical considerations. Theft, robbery, fraud, violence, riotous acts, and many other kinds of conduct would have a bad economic effect in a community, even if they were not violations of the moral law.

The relation between ethics and economics is more intimate than that between ethics and other sciences, pure or applied, for the reason that they are both social sciences; but the relation in the former case is not radically different from that in the latter. For instance, much might be learned in the art of surgery by human vivisection. But, whatever may be the decision in the debate now going on respecting animal vivisection, no one claims that the former is morally allowable—not that the ethical prin-

ciple in the slightest degree modifies the scientific, but it prohibits its application. So of æsthetics and ethics. We have heard, indeed, of grand artistic effects secured by cruel tortures of persons. Art may be limited in its operation by morals, but neither changes the intrinsic character of the other.

There are some actions respecting which it is not clear whether they are virtuous or vicious; it may, also, be doubted whether they are economically advisable or the contrary. In the one case, the determination is controlled by the moral law; in the other, by economic principle. Whether I may invest money in a trust company is to be considered first on ethical grounds. If the project is unrighteous, that ends it; I may pursue it no further. If it offers no obstacle I must ascertain whether it is prudent. It may be found that it is both morally right and ethically prudent, or that it is both wrong and imprudent, or that it is economically prudent but morally wrong, or that it is morally right but economically imprudent. The two tests are totally distinct—they belong to entirely separate systems of thought.

One great danger arising from this confusion is that it strengthens the tendency just now strong with certain writers toward bold utilitarianism—the ethical theory that right, in the ultimate analysis, resolves itself into what is, on the whole, advantageous or profitable. While, as has been intimated, it is very likely to be true that all right conduct will in the end be found to be profitable, it by no means follows that it is right because it is profitable.

GEORGE M. STEELE.

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THE PASSAGE FROM JOSEPHUS.

A BROTHERLY criticism from the pen of Dr. H. M. Harman, of Dickinson College, appears in your last issue, on my article entitled "Josephus and Jesus," which was contributed to the March–April number of this *Review*. He says that I bring forward "about all the arguments that can be alleged for the genuineness of the famous passage in Josephus concerning Christ;" and he might have added, with propriety, about all the arguments which have been alleged in opposition to its genuineness. For I am not interested to champion the genuineness of this celebrated passage, but am interested in its historical investigation. This was the object of my contribution in the first instance.

The doctor takes a middle ground—that the passage of Josephus is mostly genuine, but partly spurious. That view is not new to me, but seems to be fraught with difficulties. In support of his position Dr. Harman quotes the opinions of Gieseler, Tholock, and Renan. I also quoted a still longer list of modern scholars and critics favoring the genuineness of the paragraph. There was no division of opinion in regard to it until the sixteenth century. Now there are opinions of distinguished men for the genuineness of the passage and against it, as well as for the partially spurious view. Thus, obviously, the whole question is left indeterminate.

But mere opinions cannot settle such a question. However great our respect for the judgment of distinguished men, the time has gone by when their opinions are to settle the convictions of others upon any question open for critical investigation. Thoughtful minds do not care to believe a thing because somebody else thinks so. The demand is now, not for opinions, but for the reasons for the opinions, because an opinion is not evidence, and often is the merest conjecture.

The doctor thinks that the sentences, "He was the Christ" and "He appeared to them alive again during the third day," etc., are spurious. Nearly all the rest of the paragraph he admits as genuine. Now, will the doctor kindly furnish us his reasons, not opinions, for branding these two sentences as spurious, while he admits most of the remaining part of the paragraph as genuine? He should do this in the light of the following facts: (1) That there was no division of opinion touching the genuineness of this whole paragraph until the sixteenth century; (2) that it appears in full in every manuscript and version of Josephus's works; (3) that the *usus* obtained then, as now, to mention as a fact, not that which the writer himself believed, but that which was cognized and accepted as public opinion, as is illustrated in the case of Pilate when he wrote as the superscription on the cross, "This is Jesus, the King of the Jews," when at the same time the Jews had no king, but were ruled by himself as the Roman procurator, or as is illustrated in the case of Mary, who, on finding Jesus at the age of twelve disputing with the authorities in the temple, said, "Behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing," when Mary knew better than any one on earth that Joseph was not the father of Jesus, except in the adopting and reputed sense, as explained by Luke in the very next chapter—"Being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph." It is easy to understand that, among the many pretenders who arose calling themselves Christ, this one was the one cognized and accepted by the many by way of preeminence, precisely as Pilate wrote that Jesus was King of the Jews in the esteem of the people.

It would be an immense contribution to historical science if the learned doctor should furnish convincing reasons, not mere opinions, why he particularly excepts these two sentences out of this famous paragraph and holds them to be spurious, especially if he should refute the reasons based on the points enumerated in the last paragraph. Truly, in historical inquiry, as in other affairs, one has not the right to believe a given proposition without the sufficient reason; but, having the reason, he has no right to disbelieve it. Touching the relation of Josephus to Jesus in his testimony, Edersheim gives expression to the following conjectural opinion: "Josephus always carefully suppresses, so far as possible, all that refers to the Christ—probably not only in accordance with his religious views, but because mention of a Christ might have been dangerous, certainly would have been inconvenient, in a work written by an intense self-seeker mainly for readers in Rome." *

S. L. BOWMAN.

Newark, N. J.

* *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. i, p. 215.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS AND THE CHURCH.

It is not the province of the "Itinerants' Club" to comment in any critical way upon the actions of other denominations of Christians engaged in advancing the welfare of mankind. The controversy, however, now going on in the Presbyterian Church, and which has been going on for years and has reached a crisis, if not a final settlement, through the action of the late General Assembly, cannot fail to attract the attention of all ministers of the Gospel, and especially of young ministers. The action was the outcome of the discussion as to the relation to be observed between the General Assembly and the theological seminaries of the Church. It was decided that the students of no theological seminary out of harmony with the General Assembly should be received as ministers in the Presbyterian Church. It is no secret that this action was directed against one particular school; yet, in the absence of any direct statement on that point, it is rather the principle underlying the action which we shall here consider.

A discussion of the matter necessarily involves several elements. There is a distinction to be observed between the reception into the ministry of persons coming from other denominations, and the reception of those who have been trained in the denomination whose ministry they propose to enter. It is an accepted practice of all Churches to examine those who come from other denominations as to their faith and their harmony with the doctrines and discipline of the Church which they desire to enter, and, also, to demand an assurance of their good standing as ministers in the Church from which they come. The Church receiving them assumes no responsibility beyond the examination. The question, however, before the General Assembly was a different one. It was whether the Church itself should train the students who are to enter its ministry or should formally approve the teachings of those not in harmony with its doctrinal creed. When one is received under the control of a presbytery the latter assumes the management, or at least the responsibility, of the training through which he is to pass. It is hardly supposable that any denomination should allow its theological students to receive instruction inconsistent with beliefs of the Church. This seems to be the vital principle involved in the discussion, and is mentioned here, not for the purpose of approving or disapproving the action taken, but to call attention to what is essentially concerned in the relation of a Church to her theological seminaries. These are the creation of the Church, are supported by the Church, and exist for the maintenance and defense of the Church.

The point to be specially noted is the important position which theological seminaries hold in the estimation of the Church. Much of the controversy has gathered around two names—those of Professor Briggs, of the Union Theological Seminary, and Professor Smith, of the

Lane Theological Seminary, who have been held by a majority of the General Assembly to have taught doctrines not in harmony with the teachings of the Presbyterian Church. The action of the majority was based on the view that the instructors of the ministry shall be in harmony with the doctrinal standards. It is not the usage of the Presbyterian Church to require of its membership an adherence to its entire Confession of Faith; but it does require this of the candidates to its ministry, emphasizing the idea that, while liberties of belief are to be allowed to the laity, they cannot be permitted in those who are to guide and instruct the Church in sacred things. This is certainly a very interesting difference, which would be held by many to be inconsistent. Our own Church requires alike of ministry and membership that they shall avow adherence to the doctrines and discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and a layman, as well as a minister, may be excluded for violating the compact. No such compact is required of the laity in the Presbyterian Church, but only of candidates to the ministry.

The idea, however, that those who represent the Church as instructors of its ministry shall be in harmony with the doctrines of the Church is well grounded. The theological seminaries are created by the Church for the specific purpose of training young men who shall be teachers and promoters of those beliefs and usages on which the Church was founded and for whose advancement it exists. She has a right to expect that her agents shall truly represent her, or, if they do not so represent her, that they shall give place to those who will do so. Anything else would be subversive of Church order and might even become destructive of her existence. Suppose, for instance, that the Trinity be recognized, as it is, as an accepted doctrine of evangelical Christianity. One may call it a dogma if he will, a mere abstraction without bearing on practical life, an intellectual, and not a moral, conception, and may say that it is a matter of indifference whether he teach it or not. But suppose such a person to be a professor in a theological seminary. Could he consistently remain there while the dogma was recognized as an essential part of the creed of his Church? The questions would arise as to how far the variance from doctrine was a vital one, and whether such variance was a proper subject for Church action. With this question, as it relates to the Presbyterian Church, we have nothing really to do. Whether the teachings of Professor Briggs and of Professor Smith are in harmony with the Presbyterian Confession is a matter for that denomination, through its highest representative body, to decide. The point in which we are specially interested is the bearing of the recent decision of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church on theological seminaries in general. Their relation to the Church is so intrinsic and so important that all denominations appreciate the necessity of throwing around them such safeguards as shall promote or defend the interests of the denomination they represent, without hindering a free and full discussion of all those great and momentous topics which from time to time confront the Church concerning her doctrines and her polity.

SOME CONDITIONS OF EXTEMPORANEOUS DISCOURSE.

MANY books have been written on the art of extemporaneous speaking. It is universally conceded that the power of accurate and forcible extemporization is a very desirable one, and young speakers are earnestly urged to cultivate it. By speaking extempore is not meant speaking without previous thought, but without having previously clothed the thought in language. How far one can have precise thoughts without formulation in words is an open question, and one we do not raise here. For our present purpose it is sufficient to say that extemporaneous speaking means the employment of language which occurs to one while speaking, to convey thoughts which have been previously considered. It is distinguished from the memorized recitation of something previously written. *Memoriter* preaching cannot be considered as belonging to our subject. It is rather the reading of a discourse, with the notes concealed from view. The method of preparation for preaching without manuscript is, in a measure at least, different from that for discourse intended to be read. There are very few persons who can develop a thought closely on their feet. An ethical discourse in which fine discriminations are made is more difficult of development than a logical discussion in which the mind moves forward by the ordinary processes of argument.

The first requisite for extempore speaking is a mind trained to logical processes. Men differ greatly in this particular, some minds grasping matters in groups, or pictorially, rather than logically. One of the most important studies, therefore, especially for one who would follow consecutive trains of thought, is that of pure logic. This study shows how the human mind normally acts. Some one has divided our reasoning processes into two classes—formal and informal. We reason formally when we are conscious of our processes and give attention to them. We reason informally when we express conclusions without recognizing or giving attention to the order of logical procedure. All persons are constantly engaged in logical processes, whether they note them or not. The study of pure logic develops and trains the mind to move forward from step to step by natural laws; and thus each thought, as it arises, is the *nexus* or bond which is essential to extempore address.

Another element in this style of address is an orderly arrangement, or what is technically called the plan. Great extempore speakers are accustomed to prepare clear outlines of what they wish to say, and can scarcely get along without them. They are the signal lights which keep them from losing their way, and they direct their course from one to another with great care. If the faculty of development fails in one point it may appear in another, and the effect of even a moderate discussion of each point will not seriously impair the effect as a whole. The plan, independently of the fullness of the discussion, will convey its impression. It is remarkable how a series of well-arranged propositions or points, logically dependent on each other, will produce a profound impression by their mere statement, without any elaboration whatever. A well-arranged

and well-digested plan is, in the nature of the case, most favorable to free address.

The supreme qualification for this kind of address is a thorough familiarity with the subject under consideration. One needs to be so familiar with it that he can touch it at any point and understand all its bearings. One of the most effective speakers of this kind was in the habit of spending the entire week on the theme he proposed to discuss, omitting all consideration of the analysis of the subject or the language to be used. When the discussion of an extended passage of Scripture was before his mind he did not even give precise form to his topic until Saturday night or Sunday morning. Perhaps the passage to be considered was the ninth chapter of Acts. The topic of the chapter is the conversion of St. Paul. The week previous to the Sabbath was devoted to a critical study of the whole passage, with grammar, dictionary, and commentary. The topography of the country, the force of the words and their grammatical connection, the doctrinal and practical bearings of each part were considered until the whole subject was before the mind in all its breadth and fullness. When this has been done two or three lines of thought open before the preacher, one of which he may select. The preacher above referred to said that with the material thus collected he could preach three or four sermons, each distinct from the others. Having selected and studied his topic and constructed a general outline, he allowed his mind to do its thinking in the pulpit, in accordance with logical processes and without any previous preparation of the language to be employed. It is conceded that the ability to do this with success is a rare attainment, but it is one much to be desired.

DEVELOPMENT IN SERMONIC COMPOSITION.

THE literary style of a sermon will be largely dependent upon its purpose; if the object be to reform some evil or advance some concrete interest the general style will differ from that of a discourse purely ethical and spiritual. A style clear, full, and adapted to the subject is difficult of acquisition, and yet very important to the successful preacher. The late Dean Stanley, of Westminster Abbey, London, is regarded as a master of English style. His mode of preaching was by written discourse, which was closely read. The interesting character of his subjects and his felicity of expression and illustration made his discourses exceedingly attractive to his hearers, and Westminster Abbey was crowded by those who came to listen to him.

A typical selection will illustrate. His sermon on "Science and Religion," in memory of Sir John Herschel, was founded upon Gen. i, 14, 15: "And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years: and let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth." He speaks of the "two characteristics of the biblical accounts of the sun and moon and stars that contain the first

stimulating thoughts of all the discoveries which have since been achieved. . . . The first of these characteristics is the profound sense which the biblical writers display of the sublimity and beauty of the divine order of heaven and earth." He thus develops his thought: "They knew not, they could not know, what it meant in all its parts. But it struck a poetic fire out of their inmost souls, that reproduced itself in thoughts and words of which the childlike simplicity is only equaled by their inborn and supreme nobility. Human language has performed many marvelous feats since the first chapter in Genesis was written; but the saying of the heathen Longinus sixteen hundred years ago is still true, that nothing more sublime has ever been spoken than the words, 'And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.' The hues of the rising and the setting sun have been depicted by many a poet and many a painter, have been analyzed by many a scientific process, by many an optic tube, since the shepherd-king watched the rays of the early morning dart over the level lines of the hills of Moab; yet no more lifelike description has ever been given in few words than that of the sudden emergence of the sun's bright face—like that of a joyous bridegroom on his wedding day—from the curtains of his secret chamber; of the startling bound with which he leaps over the dark ridge of the eastern mountains, like a giant rejoicing to run his course. The Grecian poets have sung of the repose of immortals and the toils of mortals, have handled with delicate touch the lights and shades of sea and sky; but we might search in vain for any expression of intense and abounding joyousness in the beauty of creation for its own sake equal to that which the Book of Job describes when it tells us that, at the laying of the foundation stone of the world, 'the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.' The Mosaic cosmogonist, the psalmist of Bethlehem, the Idumean patriarch, could supply no theory of the universe; but they felt assured that in those glorious orbs there was an indication of divine power and wisdom beyond what they saw more closely around them. They were prepared, and they prepared others, to hear more; they put themselves and the world into an admiring, reverential, listening attitude."

In analyzing this development it will be noticed how clearly he unfolds his proposition—the "sublimity and beauty of the divine order of heaven and earth," as displayed by the biblical writers. One can scarcely imagine a more delicate and harmonious unfolding. The imagery is closely related to the thought, and the thought illumines the topic. The subject and treatment are poetical, and there is nothing to mar the impression which the writer desires to make. It would be interesting to note the method of this writer in the development of a purely spiritual topic. But the object of this paper will be secured if any young minister shall be induced to study sermon writers like Dean Stanley, with a view to the attainment of effective methods of development. Careful analysis is of great importance; but many who can analyze a subject readily find difficulty in developing the points in harmony alike with the thought and the sentiment.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

A FRAGMENT OF THE GREEK PSALTER.

PEOPLE have ceased to be surprised at the discovery of anything in Egypt; for no sooner is one object from remote ages and of priceless value brought to light than another is found of still greater antiquity and interest. From an article in the *Athenæum* we learn that among the papyri recently placed in the British Museum was a leaf of the Psalter in Greek, which had been found in the Fayoum. After a careful examination of the style of writing and a thorough comparison of papyri, it has been inferred by competent paleographers that the fragment must have been executed about 300 A. D. If this be true, and there is no reason for doubting it, this stray leaf, discovered in the valley of the Nile, is the oldest specimen extant of the Septuagint—older by two or three hundred years than the fragment, likewise of a Psalter, examined by Tischendorf nearly fifty years ago, and even more ancient than those venerable portions of Zechariah and Malachi in the Greek tongue which, for a long time, were regarded as the oldest fragments of the Greek Bible extant. This same writer in the *Athenæum* informs us that a part of this latter document was exhibited at the Congress of Orientalists in London, in September, 1892, was reproduced at that time in facsimile in the *Times*, and was described in that paper as follows: "The extreme antiquity of the manuscript is attested by the uncial character in which it is written, which would place it well before 300 A. D." The writer then comments in the following words: "This statement, however, is at once contradicted by the facsimile which accompanies it; for he would be a bold paleographer who would place the manuscript, on the evidence of the writing, earlier than the seventh century."

This stray leaf is about ten inches square, and is divided into two columns, with twenty-seven lines to the column. It contains Psalms xi, 7, to xiv, 4. The chirography is unusually fine and distinct, showing clearly that these uncial characters were executed by no mean penman; yet the fragment abounds in glaring mistakes, which proves that the scribe was either very illiterate or utterly ignorant of the language which he copied. It is probably the work of a foreign slave, whose duty it was to copy manuscripts.

From "a series of dots" found here and there in the text, evidently to divide the words into syllables, it has been inferred that this fragment of the Psalter was used as a text-book for giving instruction to children or to those learning to read. This view is supported by the fact that on the back of the papyrus several Greek words are divided into syllables, as in our modern spelling books—for example, *ο-λι-γω* and *απο-λαυ-ειν*. This fact is very important, as it shows that the Bible was a text-book in Christian schools at a very early date in the history of the Church. Incidentally, it

also suggests the observation that this method of dividing words in order to facilitate the learning of the Greek language was not confined to the Bible, since portions of Homer have also been found where the words were similarly divided into syllables.

HEBREW ART DURING THE EXODUS.

In former issues of the *Review* it has been shown in this department, beyond a reasonable doubt, that Moses must have been well acquainted with the art of writing, both on papyrus and other materials. It has, also, been demonstrated that Egypt, Babylonia, and several other lands possessed no mean degree of civilization, and that these ancient empires had developed the mechanical arts, in various ways, to amazing perfection ages before Abraham and centuries before the great Hebrew legislator.

We shall, in this paper, examine into the state of culture among the Hebrews during their forty years' sojourn in the wilderness, along the lines of the useful trades involving mechanical or artisan skill. No one can read the first six books of the Old Testament without being impressed that we have to do, not only with a people quite advanced in their religious and political ideas, but, also, with a nation possessing many skilled workmen in the various arts. But there are those, even among evangelical Christians, who do not accept the antiquity of the Hexateuch and who, with the destructive critics, take it for granted that these books were not written till nearly a thousand years after the events described had taken place. Consequently, they hold, the description of the ark, the mercy seat, and the tabernacle, with its utensils and furniture, shows evident traces of later civilization, just as the lofty sentiments of the so-called Mosaic law bear evidence of a comparatively recent origin. In other words, workmanship not possible to the Hebrews till centuries afterward is attributed to them while in the wilderness.

In turning to the twenty-fifth and following chapters of the Book of Exodus we find that the Hebrews were acquainted with spinning, weaving, and embroidering, as well as with dyeing and coloring the materials prepared from wool and flax; for among the offerings brought by them for the tabernacle were stuffs dyed in blue, purple, and scarlet, also fine linen and goat's hair cloth. The knowledge of tanning is also presupposed, since among the articles contributed were rams' skins dyed red and seal skins (Authorized Version, "badgers' skins," but now commonly regarded as a general term for the skins of any large fish). The several processes in metallurgy, such as separating, smelting, and refining, were likewise known. The work of the metallurgists would be naturally followed by that of the skilled worker in bronze, silver, and gold. The Hebrew goldsmith, according to the record, must have possessed wonderful ability. Indeed, we read that Bezaleel was filled with the Spirit of God to devise cunning works, to work in gold, silver, and brass, in cutting stones for setting, and in the carving of wood (Exod. xxxv, 31–35). In the direction for the construction of the ark and other sacred objects we read:

"Thou shalt overlay it with pure gold;" "and thou shalt make a mercy seat of pure gold;" "and thou shalt make two cherubim of gold, of beaten work shalt thou make them, in the two ends of the mercy seat." The construction of these cherubim implies wonderful skill and exquisite taste. Then follows the enumeration of various utensils, such as spoons and bowls for the table of the showbread, and the golden candlestick, with its shaft, almond-blossom-shaped cups, knops, and flowers of one piece. The lapidary, also, must have filled an important place, since there were "stones to be set in the ephod, and in the breastplate." No one can read the description of the "breastplate of judgment" (Exod. xxviii, 15–30) without being convinced, either that we are reading fiction pure and simple, or that the Hebrew artisan was endowed with astonishing skill. Yet recent discoveries prove that the account given in Exodus need not be considered as a fiction or exaggeration, but as a true, literal account—as genuine history, and not invented legend. But the skill of these various artisans was not confined to the construction of sacred articles for the sanctuary, since we know that they were also engaged in the preparation of jewelry and ornaments for common use. When the golden calf was made the people contributed freely of their personal adornments; and about the same time, when offerings were solicited for "the work of the tabernacle of the congregation, and for all his service," both men and women brought, in large quantities, brooches, earrings, signet rings, bracelets, necklaces, and "all jewels of gold."

So advanced have these several branches of industry appeared that, as already stated, many have not hesitated in consigning the account to the realm of the unhistorical. Let us, therefore, look at them in the light of history, as read, not simply upon the monuments, but in articles recently discovered. In the first place, it must be remembered that Semitic civilization was of an advanced type many centuries before the exodus. The discoveries made in Chaldea, the home of the great ancestor of the Hebrews, prove this beyond controversy. According to that eminent scholar and brilliant historian and archæologist, Canon Rawlinson, the Babylonians of Abraham's time were acquainted with metallurgy in its various branches, and were especially successful in the preparation of bronze, which was made by a mixture of copper and tin. They also possessed equal skill in the production of textile fabrics. The thousands of tablets lately discovered, relating to contracts of various kinds—to the transfer of real estate and personal property, to banking, and other business—prove that they were men of affairs at a very early date. It has been logically inferred that the chieftain Terah, on emigrating from Ur of the Chaldees, must have had in his train skillful workmen who were able to make almost every article needed by his tribe. The purchase of Machpelah by Abraham from the Hittites and the legal conveyance of the same prove that the parties were not roving savages. The incidental mention of signets, earrings, and bracelets in Gen. xxiv, 22, and xxxviii, 18, is also of value, as showing the civilized character of the descendants of Abraham.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader of the larger civilization in the Nile valley, even during the early dynasties. The articles last year brought to light at Dashur, by M. de Morgan, though belonging to the twelfth dynasty—between 2500 and 2300 B. C.—are exquisite in their workmanship. Maspero, referring to them, says: "The ornaments comprise a wealth of gold gorgets, necklaces of agate beads or of enameled lotus flowers, cornelian, amethyst, and onyx scarabs. Pectorals of pierced goldwork inlaid with flakes of vitreous paste or precious stones bear the cartouch of Usirtasen III and of Amenemhait II; and every one of these gems of art betrays a perfection of taste and skillfulness of handling which are perfectly wonderful. Their delicacy and their freshness, in spite of their antiquity, make it hard for us to realize that fifty centuries have elapsed since they were made." This, from an eyewitness and, perhaps, the best living judge of Egyptian antiquities, is of great weight. Professor Erman in his *Life in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 461, *ff.*, uses equally strong language in describing the jewels of Queen Ahhôtep. The skill of these ancient workers, who created "marvels of gold, ivory, porcelain, and wood," is now so generally admitted by all authorities as to need no further mention.

The fine linen made in Egypt is still admired. It was remarkable for its finish, softness, and delicacy, some of it being as finely woven as our best silks. This fineness of the cloth is a matter of surprise. Wilkinson describes a piece which had no less than five hundred and forty threads in the warp and one hundred and ten in the woof to each inch. We know from very reliable sources that under the old empire, between 2830 and 2530 B. C., weaving was done to a very large extent by slaves, and not by the better classes. In later times most of the weaving was accomplished by women of the lower classes. This being the case, there is every reason for believing that the Hebrew women might have been condemned to such work by their captors.

Indeed, we further know that artisan work of all kinds was looked down upon by the great and powerful of Egypt. Erman quotes a poet of the middle empire, who declares himself on the subject of manual labor thus: "I have never seen the smith as an ambassador or the goldsmith carry tidings. Yet I have seen the smith at his work at the mouth of his furnace; his fingers were like crocodile [hide], he stank more than the roe of fish." The position of the craftsmen being thus regarded, it will not be difficult to conceive that very many of the Hebrews under the oppression were found among the despised classes engaged in the various handicrafts. But, granting that the Hebrews had no knowledge whatever of the various trades, such as cabinet-making, tanning, weaving, and metal working, when they entered Egypt, which, indeed, is almost inconceivable, there is no reason whatever for thinking that every Hebrew devoted himself exclusively to herding cattle or to agriculture. It is more than probable that, though the greater part of them were devoted to pastoral work, yet not a few of their number were engaged in the several trades and arts known to the Egyptians.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE DESCENDANTS OF HAWAIIAN MISSIONARIES.

AFTER the extinction of the house of the Kamehamehas, in the Hawaiian Islands, the citizens there were confronted by new circumstances—the unchecked flooding of the land with intoxicating liquors; the revival of the old heathen practices of sorcery, even to the extent of interfering with the board of health and its hygienic regulations; the influx of Chinese and Japanese; and other similar social and political conditions confusing and dangerous to the body politic.

All this naturally led to complications and contention. Among the persons active in seeking to control the situation in the interests of purity and good government were some citizens who were sons of early American missionaries to the islands. In the criminations and recriminations incident to the strife engendered by the situation, those citizens who were missionaries or sons of missionaries came in for their share, and charges against them of present worldliness were freely bandied about. It was alleged, for instance, that they owned four fifths of the property of the islands. It now turns out that the largest property holders of the Hawaiian Islands are not missionaries or sons of missionaries; and, in fact, there is not even a plantation owned by the son of a missionary. Several plantations are, however, managed by corporations whose stock is from time to time on the market and is available in small sums. In these corporate stocks some teachers and sons of missionaries, it is true, have invested small savings; but no one of them is even so much as a manager on any plantation, while some do work on them.

So far from any serious charge of secularization being established against the descendants of these missionaries as a class, it is now shown that not less than seventy children of such missionaries have entered missionary service in other lands, and about as many more have engaged in such service in the Hawaiian Islands themselves, carrying on the work established by their fathers and mothers. Of those who have wholly engaged in secular pursuits not more than ten have accumulated anything that could be accounted even a moderate fortune, though many of them are creditable lawyers, judges, physicians, teachers, and clerks. In a list of one hundred and one cabinet officers of the government there appear eight names of the descendants of missionaries, while not more than ten descendants of missionaries are found in other offices under the government. These descendants of missionaries are active in social and benevolent works, some of them being engaged in caring for the moral and religious training of the fifteen thousand Japanese and the thousands of Chinese whose immigration to the islands has added a disturbing element to the population. More than one half of the $15,000 raised for the Young Men's Christian Association building in Honolulu is said to have

been contributed by sons of missionaries. One missionary, himself a missionary's son, is serving without salary as the pastor of a church. More than one of the missionaries, out of his savings and investments, has given back to the American Board treasury more than the total amount received from it. There is, also, a constant demand for money to conduct mission schools and industrial establishments wherein to train native Christians to be thrifty citizens; and to these objects the descendants of missionaries are continually giving both time and money.

SELF-SUPPORT IN FOREIGN MISSIONS.

THE term "self-support" has been restricted by some missionary societies to the support of pastors by native churches. It is, however, confusing to thus limit the word, rather than to apply it to the total giving of native Christians toward the support of the Gospel and religious institutions among themselves; for this benevolence is what indicates their Christian development and their independence of foreign resources. Natives of the several countries in which missions have been established are not unaccustomed to make contributions for the support of their own religions before they become Christians; and there is no reason why they should not give of their ability after adopting Christianity in, at least, the same ratio, other things being equal. It has been estimated that the Chinese give from one fifth to two fifths of their income to the single object of ancestor worship. Mr. S. Wells Williams has estimated the total contributions of the Chinese for the support of idolatrous customs at one hundred and twenty million dollars annually, one half of which, he believes, goes to ancestral worship. Hindoos, also, contribute a vast sum in the aggregate to religious objects; and, though the individual gifts are in infinitesimal amounts, they constitute a fair percentage of the income of the donors. It is sometimes the case that the profession of Christianity results in the destruction of the means of livelihood. Among such instances are the cases where the income has been derived from idolatrous customs, temple revenues, or service; and in the complex religious usages of heathen countries these sources of income ramify much farther than appears at first thought.

It is a pleasure to record the fact that native churches generally contribute liberally and often self-sacrificingly, though the aggregate may not seem great to persons accustomed to the larger incomes of Christian communities in Western lands. The native churches of India, between 1851 and 1861, thus gave 93,431 rupees, while in 1871 alone they gave 85,121 rupees, or nearly as much as in the former decade. The native Christians connected with the Methodist churches in heathen lands probably give an annual aggregate of more than $100,000. The Wesleyan missions in the Fiji Islands meet their own expenses, including salaries of foreign missionaries, and hand over a large surplus to the Australian Conference for mission work in other parts. Native Christians in the New Hebrides make it a rule to give one tenth of their time to the spread-

ing of the Gospel, and two dollars apiece to the missionary collection. They once contributed 3,700 pounds of arrowroot to print an edition of the Old Testament, and $6,000 to translate the Gospel into one of the native languages. The converts of Annatum volunteered to give the price of the season's crop of cocoanuts for the roofing of two churches with corrugated iron. The chief dependence for obtaining foreign clothing and other goods is copra; and they also agreed to give all their copra for six months, thus dispensing with the comforts, if not with the necessities, of life. In fulfillment of this agreement they gave twenty-six tons of copra, valued at $574. While so giving one of their churches was destroyed by a hurricane; and, in addition to what they had already done, they also gave their arrowroot crop to repair the damage. The Bassein College, in Burmah, is of indigenous growth. The native Christians passed a law that every disciple should give a basket of paddy and twelve cents in money. Having thus contributed the whole cost of the land and buildings, they pay the wages of the teachers and the board of the pupils. Less than five per cent of the total expenditure came from outside. In 1849 they undertook the support of their pastors; in 1850 they added all the native evangelists; in 1880, while heavily taxed and yet in deep poverty, they began building their own churches. The native Christians of the Reformed (Dutch) mission at Amoy, China, in 1882 gave $1,877. There were then 750 church members. In 1883, 758 members gave $1,958; in 1884, 742 members gave $1,631; in 1885, 783 members gave $2,107; in 1891, 968 members gave $3,882.

THE FINLAND AND ST. PETERSBURG MISSION.

THIS mission was organized in 1892. Our work in Finland, however, was actually begun in 1879. In 1881 Finland appears as a regular circuit of the Sweden Conference, and the Finland District of that Conference was organized four years later. At first the work was largely confined to the Swedes resident in the country, of whom there are nearly 350,000, out of a total population of about 2,500,000; but more work is constantly being done among the Finns themselves. Indeed, most of the Swedish missionaries are unfamiliar with the Finnish language and are compelled to use interpreters when preaching to others than their own people; and only as native preachers have been trained and employed has much success among the Finns been attained. Even so recently as in 1891 there was but one preacher who could preach in the Finnish language. Work in St. Petersburg was begun in 1889, principally among the Swedes and Finns there resident. It is through this mission, if at all, that Methodism must reach Russia. In Finland our preachers at first suffered much opposition from the local authorities, and were bitterly denounced by the ministers of the State (Lutheran) Church; yet some of these ministers now openly encourage our work and frequently attend our services, and our Church has been finally recognized by the Finnish government and has a legal right to hold property. Methodists, however, must withdraw

from the State Church, which many hesitate to do, this being considered a great sin among the common people; and no children but those whose parents are Methodists are permitted to attend Methodist Sunday schools. The people suffer from the prevailing drunkenness and immorality and from the religious formality and indifference which curse the country. And yet the Finlanders, though difficult to stir, or to bring to a definite conclusion, and reticent in revealing their deepest feelings and experiences, are thoroughly earnest when once aroused and remain firm in their new convictions. There are five ordained and ten unordained missionaries, a dozen stations and circuits, 587 full members, 160 probationers, and 790 Sunday school scholars. If the work can once be thoroughly intrenched in the large cities and towns the country districts can easily be evangelized therefrom. But one great need, which must be supplied before Methodism can command a proper respect from the people, is the erection of a suitable church in Helsingfors, the Finnish capital, a city of sixty-five thousand persons. From the newly started Book Concern in that city there have recently been published in Finnish the Discipline and a hymnal containing nearly four hundred hymns. Two monthly papers are issued—*Nya Budbararen* ("The New Messenger") in Swedish, and *Rauhan Sanoma* ("The Messenger of Peace") in Finnish, each with a circulation of about twelve thousand copies.

INDUSTRIAL MISSIONS.

MISSIONARIES have sought, by various means, to secure their converts against possible loss of income caused by their abandonment of the faith of their fathers. It is desirable, also, to aid them in developing a Christian civilization. In Liberia the Lutheran Mission has made a venture in coffee farming, which has resulted in a remarkable development of the native converts. Bishop Taylor has aimed at the same results by establishing mission farms in South Central Africa. Mr. H. W. Fry, of London, a Christian business man who has visited many mission stations in India, recently submitted a proposal to the Calcutta Missionary Conference, which at their request he has formulated in a circular. Mr. Fry thinks that many missionaries would be able to commence industrial missionary enterprises if they had funds for the initial outfit, and that many Christians who cannot donate largely to the work would gladly invest small sums in such business ventures if these could be carefully investigated by a company of business men. It is proposed, therefore, that a syndicate of Christian business men be organized in London, to receive proposals from missionaries for self-sustaining industrial missions to be conducted by native Christians. Applicants will be required to specify the object of the work proposed; to describe its location and facilities for communication; to state the amount of capital required; to estimate the working expenses and probable profits; to name the security, if any, to be furnished; to mention the difficulties to be overcome; and to give other detailed information called for in the catalogue of questions.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

H. Hackmann. Although the Germans are very exact and very thorough in their researches, yet the leaders of thought among them are not always the most reliable of their scholars. Novelty attracts attention even among them; and if to novelty an author can add plausibility and force of style he is sure of a following more or less extensive and slavish. It may be said that nothing is inherently improbable to a German thinker. Hence, the most absurd hypotheses, if backed up by a considerable erudition, receive respectful consideration and are sure to modify, if not to mold, opinion. These remarks are illustrated in the case of Hackmann. It is his opinion that Isaiah was a prophet of evil, and about all the passages which offer hope to Israel are excluded by him as not of Isaianic origin; while everything which contains threatenings is pronounced by him to be Isaianic. This turns the evangelical prophet into another Jeremiah. Of those portions which he allows to Isaiah and which are supposed to be prophetic of evil he makes the most possible. For example, chap. xxix, 1–6, is made to mean that Jerusalem shall be besieged and frightfully humbled, and that Jehovah will visit upon Jerusalem frightful storms and raze it to the earth. Verse 7 is made to mean precisely the opposite of what it seems to mean, namely, that the Lord will come against Jerusalem with dread, such as is experienced in a terrible dream. In order to carry out his hypothesis that Isaiah prophesied evil and not hope, he deals in the most remarkable way with questions of genuineness. For example, chap. xxxii, 9–14, which seems to threaten actual destruction to the city itself, is regarded by many critics as spurious. Hackmann himself is not able to come to a certain conclusion regarding the passage, but holds it safer to accept it as genuine. Yet he treats it, except in the note in which he gives expression to his uncertainty, as though its genuineness were unquestioned. In fact, he employs violence and art all the way through to explain away passages which conflict with his theory and to make the most of those which seem to favor his views. Nevertheless, he is welcomed into the ranks of the Old Testament scholars of Germany as though he were perfectly fair and just in his treatment of the questions under consideration.

F. Traub. He has received high recognition from learned societies in Europe, as well as from individual scholars, especially as to his views concerning the moral order of the world. He is a Kantian in his theory of knowledge, but with a sufficient independence of thought to preserve his individuality. According to him, it is not the world *per se* or the world as a whole, but the world of phenomena, which is capable of apprehension by theoretical thought. Practical thought, proceeding from the moral law,

alone leads us above the world and phenomena. The moral law does not exist as the result of deduction. Its exposition is, at the same time, its justification. The moral law involves the idea of its universality, the autonomy of man, his personality as a final cause, and humanity as an end. The question whether the real world is such as to aid in the realization of the object for which the race exists is the question concerning a moral order of the world. If there is such an order it must reckon with the opposing powers of natural necessity and evil, and includes within itself the recognition of an almighty and holy God, and with him the idea of immortality, retribution, and forgiveness. Is there, now, such a moral world-order? Only the religious faith can recognize it. The moral law, even with the added idea of God, is not sufficient to determine the existence of such an order. But even the religious faith is truth only for such as are sensible of that need which the Christian faith alone can supply. But that need is the need of a human being who is seized by the moral law with a desire to know for a certainty the reality of the moral end of his being. Whence, then, can such a one secure this certainty? First, in the unconditional moral law, and, secondly, in the revelation in Christ. This is no theoretical, but rather a practical, certainty. He denies, however, that there is any contradiction between the theoretical and the practical, in such a sense as to carry with it a twofold order of the world. Rather, the conviction that the natural order is only the means of the accomplishment of moral ends tends to unite and harmonize the varying views of the world. Rich, profound, and suggestive as all this is, we cannot believe that the distinction between theoretical and practical thinking should be carried so far as to make them mutually exclusive throughout.

Adolf Kinzler. An instructor in a missionary institute holds a position as leader of thought in an eminent sense. Such is the position of Kinzler in the mission house of Basel. In the midst of the excitement which biblical criticism is producing in this country, it may be well to see what a trusted representative of evangelical mission work in Switzerland thinks. He denies that to investigate the traditional views of authorship and date of a biblical book is to criticise God's word. He holds that, since the Book of Daniel, in its present form, nowhere asserts its author to be Daniel, it is not improper to question whether Daniel is really its author. So, because Hebrews says nothing relative to its own authorship, those who attribute it to Paul must explain why it is that in Hebrews we find a different literary style and a different phase of Christian thought from that which prevails in the unquestionably Pauline letters. In the same way, the Bible nowhere asserts that all that is contained in the five books of Moses was written by Moses. Hence, the one who investigates these human opinions concerning the origin of the Bible merely uses his freedom as a Christian man. So, also, is it an evidence of true Christian honesty to admit the existence of contradictions and errors, instead of trying to explain them away by a false apologetic. All these things should be regarded as part of the data from which to judge

of the real origin of the books of the Bible. True faith in the revelation of God is not to be destroyed by such things; and one may not go to the Bible with a ready-made conception of mechanical inspiration, but rather must we gather the true idea of inspiration from the contents of the Bible itself. The Bible is a divine-human book; and it is as true of the book as of the incarnate word, "Blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me." Probably there are few who would dispute Kinzler's statements and arguments, once his premises are admitted. The difficulty with most will be to believe that the books of the Bible do not attribute their origin to the men to whom we are accustomed to attribute them, and that the prevalent belief concerning their origin is the product of human investigation, rather than biblical statement.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter (Middle Greek Proverbs). By Karl Krumbacher. The book holds that the middle Greek proverb is distinguished from the old Greek chiefly and in general by the fact that, while the latter is more scholarly, the former is more popular in tone. As might be expected, the later proverb finds its material in the culture of the Middle Ages from which it springs. Hence, there is very little in common between the proverbs of the old and the middle Greek. On the other hand, these later proverbs are related more to those of the new Greek and form the basis upon which they are constructed. Nor are they much like the proverbs of the Romanic peoples. They take the anecdotal form, according to the pattern of the Orient. On the contrary, the occidental peoples prefer to put their proverbs in the form of sentences. The book furnishes much new material from hitherto unknown manuscripts. But that which is of special interest to the theologian is the fact that the oldest collections of middle Greek proverbs, reaching back probably to the twelfth century, had their origin in the purpose to allegorize the proverb, in the interest of theological and religious improvement. The author thinks that the effort is the same as that which produced the remarkable "physiologos" literature, whose purpose was to apply everything pertaining to the whole wide realm of nature and spirit to the uses of the religio-ethical life of mankind. The Byzantine theologians insisted that man partook of everything existent—of stones (through the bones), plants, etc., up to God, whose image man bears. Man passes, in the course of his development from the embryo to his old age, through every kingdom of the material world. The author then gives a concatenation of proverbs, with their theological significance and elaborate explanations of some of the more peculiar proverbs, by which their linguistic and other difficulties are removed, and closes with much valuable information relative to the presence of proverbs in Byzantine literature. This book will have little attraction for many. But to those whose insight is sufficiently deep to know that more can be learned of the actual state of culture by the proverbs of an age than by the most detailed records of its political and military movements the book will prove a treasure.

Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jesuitenordens (Contributions to the History of the Order of Jesuits). By Professor Dr. F. H. Reusch. Written by a member of the Roman Catholic faculty of theology in the University of Bonn, this book is not intended as a contribution to the Jesuit controversy now raging in Germany, but a purely objective delineation of well-authenticated facts in the history of the order of Jesuits. The first four chapters treat of "The Doctrine of the Murder of Tyrants;" "French Jesuits as Gallicans;" "The Meeting at Bourgfonthine a Fable of the Jesuits;" "The Pretended Arnold, an Illustration of the Doctrine that the End Justifies the Means." A fifth chapter treats of a variety of subjects, such as the miracles of the Jesuit saints Ignatius, Aloysius, and Canisius, indulgences, privileged altars, etc. One of the excellences of the book is that it gives those facts most prominence which the Jesuits are most anxious to cover over. And even the most bitter Protestant opponent of the Jesuits will here find feathers for his arrows and strings for his bow. The book shows, not only how the Jesuits regard the lives of those who seriously interfere with the schemes of Romanism, and how they have "one conscience for Paris, and another for Rome," but how they will take up and employ the most outrageous inventions of falsehood in the interest of their plans, well knowing that they are false. Well does Reusch characterize these things as diabolical wickedness. Particularly does the book show how the Jesuits left no lie unused which they could employ against the Jansenists, that thereby they might destroy their influence. Hypocrisy and double dealing are among their principal weapons; and Reusch complains that even Romanists who do not justify such principles are scarcely regarded as worthy of membership in the Roman Church. Well might Leibnitz wonder that so many apparently decent people could tolerate such plainly dishonorable conduct. The time is coming when those who, in our own country, believe in the sincerity of the papal and hierarchical expressions of loyalty will be undeceived. A Church which has so consistently maintained its reputation for nonadherence to the truth when its interests were in jeopardy cannot be trusted, but must be watched with jealous eye. Let the theologians look at history, rather than present-day professions.

Die Diataxis des Michael Attaleiates von 1077 (The Diataxis of Michael of Attalia of 1077). By Dr. W. Nissen. In the study of monastic life the Byzantine developments, which were in many respects quite different from those in the West, are often overlooked. Here is a book which undertakes to investigate the Byzantine monasteries by reference to the arrangements introduced by Michael of Attalia in 1077. Historically, the rule of St. Basil is regarded as the foundation upon which all later types of monasterics are erected. Ecclesiastical and civil legislation within the Roman empire produced certain distinct modifications which amounted to a variation in kind. Justinian I was the first to enforce the civil authority over the monastic life. But all this was brought about through the influence of two celebrated cloisters, the Laura of St. Sabas

and the Studium, both of which were epoch-making in the history of monasticism, but whose tendencies soon appeared to be practically identical, especially affecting the devotional life and the laws governing the internal communion among the monks. No important change took place in the monastic arrangements until the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Variations from the general type, whether relative to the religious services or the inner or outer life of the monks, are to be explained as personal or local expressions and applications of the general traditions. Founders and occupants of monasteries, as well as patriarchs and emperors, only applied in special cases the generally existing rules of governing monasteries. The book is rendered valuable to the student by the list which it furnishes of the different monastic institutions. This is followed by an excellent sketch of the life of the hero, Michael, who flourished in the latter half of the eleventh century, and who founded his monastery to serve a large poorhouse, which itself in consequence took on a monastic character. The investigation of a considerable number of special subjects connected with monasticism follows. We can but wish that the training in our theological seminaries may lead to the development of a generation of scholars able to conduct such investigations for themselves.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The Condition of the Laboring Classes in Japan. The following is derived from a trustworthy source. The usual time for beginning a day's labor is 6 A. M., although the laborers are willing to begin as early as 4 A. M. Wages are astonishingly low. Even in industrial centers weavers and spinners earn only fifteen cents per day, while the wages of women are but six cents. The most flourishing industry is, without doubt, the manufacture of cotton goods. In a single establishment in Kanegasaki there are employed 2,100 male and 3,700 female laborers. These are divided into day and night detachments, with twelve hours of labor each, which period is interrupted for only about forty minutes for a meal, which can be purchased in the vicinity for about one and one half cents. All these establishments are fitted out with the best European machinery and are kept constantly busy, to the great profit of the proprietors. Many have branches, in order to more nearly meet the demand for their goods, which is greater than the supply. The employers have already learned the relative cheapness of female labor, as is shown by the fact that thirty-five of the principal establishments employ 16,879 female, and only 5,370 male, laborers. The employers have formed a powerful syndicate and often abuse the leniency of the authorities, who do not wish to do anything to cripple the developing industries. Little girls of eight or nine years of age are often kept at work from nine to twelve hours per day. The law provides that these children shall be in school, and the teachers make complaint of their absence; but the officials shut their eyes to the facts. The laborers are obedient and willing, and the manufacturers, instead of treating them with corresponding gratitude, practically reduce them to slavery. It is

a sorrowful fact that Western civilization carries with it so many evils. But as Christianity reaches these lower classes they will learn, as in every other country, to respect themselves, and their struggle for improved conditions will prove effectual.

Persecution of Protestants in the Canton of Ticino, Switzerland. The Italian and Roman Catholic inhabitants, being largely in the majority, have been demonstrating anew the intolerance which is an essential element in the Church of Rome. The Protestants have been obliged to endure the most wicked violence at the hands of their Romanist fellow-citizens, and that with the connivance of the police. But of late there seems to be improvement in this particular. The *Christlicher Volksbote* says that in Castione the evangelical pastor was recently allowed, without molestation, to hold a public service with some twenty participants. They were even permitted to sing a couple of hymns at the opening and closing of the service—a thing heretofore not ventured. It is supposed that the ultramontanists were restrained by the presence of several friends from other cantons, and by a couple of policemen who acted as a guard and who listened with growing interest from the beginning to the end of the service. Rome never changes. She will tolerate only where she fears the civil law.

Berlin City Mission. It is with the greatest difficulty that the work of bringing back the masses who are alienated from the Church is carried on. There is no difficulty in securing a crowd if the meeting is well advertised. But it is discovered that many of the attendants are social Democrats, who are attracted by curiosity, or, as it appears, sometimes by the wish to scandalize the proceedings. Half-grown boys are so large an element of disturbance that they can be quieted only by violence or by the aid of the police. Many of the attendants do all in their power to bring the services into disrepute, and the city missionary is often in a more trying position than the missionary to the heathen. It would be unjust to the social Democrats, however, to imply that they alone are at the bottom of all the disturbances. Against all obstacles the zealous workers patiently and persistently contend, using as a special means of controlling the crowds the power of Gospel song.

The New Norwegian Liquor Law. The whole world is being gradually awakened to the evil of the saloon. Norway is now so far in line that it has adopted practically the Gothenburg system, although with some of the prohibition features of our now famous Georgia law. The law provides that the population twenty-five years of age and over, without regard to sex, may vote to exclude the liquor traffic altogether, so far as distilled or vinous liquors are concerned. The saloons are not permitted to open before 8 A. M., and on Saturday must close at 1 P. M. and remain closed until 8 A. M. Monday. They must also remain closed on all the numerous holidays, and the local authorities have the right to order them closed on several other specified occasions.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE high rank of our republic among the great nationalities of the world is often a matter of sentimental assertion. The cold argument of facts is, however, more to the purpose, and this characteristic lends force to the article of Mr. Mulhall in the *North American* for June, on the "Power and Wealth of the United States." To the casual reader the opening assertion of the paper seems extravagant that "a survey of mankind in ancient or modern times, as regards the physical, mechanical, and intellectual forces of nations," shows nothing to be compared with the United States in 1895. Yet, if figures ever prove anything, the author's positions are fully established by the great mass of statistics he has gathered. The "working power" of the United States in foot-tons daily per inhabitant he shows to be 1,940 in 1895, while that of Great Britain is 1,470, of France 910, and of Germany 902. The product of grain "per hand" in 1890 was also 475 bushels in the United States, as against 228 in the United Kingdom, 188 in France, and 118 in Germany. As to the "intellectual power" of the republic, it was shown by the census of 1890 that eighty-seven per cent of our population over ten years old could read and write. The annual school expenditure in the United States was then $156,000,000, as against $48,000,000 in Great Britain, $31,000,000 in France, and $26,000,000 in Germany. This was at the rate of $2.40 per inhabitant in the United States, $1.30 in Great Britain, 80 cents in France, and 50 cents in Germany. As to increase in wealth, the author, having laid down the initial statement that the riches of the American people "surpass that of any other nation, past or present," proceeds to fortify this position also with statistics. The census of 1880 showed the number of "dollars per inhabitant" in the United States to be 870; in 1890 the figures had risen to 1,039. And, while this ratio per head is surpassed in Great Britain, France, and Holland, it must be borne in mind that "ninety-four per cent of American wealth has been created and accumulated since 1840." The many tables regarding urban and rural wealth, in this connection, are a surprise in their showing, and confirm the truthfulness of the statement that "the accumulation of wealth averages $7,000,000 daily." There seems no flaw in the author's reasoning. The fact that it is written by so high an authority, and he a foreign student of economics, should mean much to those who sneer at the resources and possibilities of the United States. "These simple facts," says Mr. Mulhall, "tell us what a wonderful country has sprung up beyond the Atlantic in a single century, and furnish a scathing commentary on the books written by English travelers only fifty years ago."

THE *Edinburgh Review* for April contains notices of recent publications on the following subjects: 1. "The Progress of Canada;" 2. "The

Classical Studies of Dante;" 3. "Life and Letters of Mrs. Craven;" 4. "Somersetshire;" 5. "'Alter Fritz;'" 6. "The Sutherland Book;" 7. "Memoirs of General Thiébault;" 8. "St. Sophia and Byzantine Building;" 9. "Mr. Stopford Brooke on Tennyson;" 10. "Weather Prevision." As to the next step in the political career of Canada the first article says that "the movement is toward the placing of the relations between the parent State and its great dependency on a basis which will strengthen the empire and at the same time give Canada even a higher position in the councils of the imperial State." The students of Dante, says the second article, "in spite of the deplorable neglect of the study of Italian in our schools and examinations," are "in these closing years of the nineteenth century, a large and ever-increasing body." The seventh article reviews the reminiscences of Paul Thiébault, "a soldier of mark, known as a good military writer in his day, who took an honorable if not a prominent part in many of the stirring scenes of the great drama of war which began at Valmy and closed at Waterloo, and who, having survived many of his companions in arms, passed quietly away under the monarchy of July." His volumes, "if not of great value," are rated as "pleasant reading." Some of the difficulties that inhere in the pursuit of meteorology are set forth in the last article. "It is certain," the *Review* concludes, "that, at the present time, no possible method of calculating weather in advance has appeared. But, considering what we have learned during the past thirty years, we find it difficult to pledge ourselves to a belief that results still more important are not waiting for the arrival of the man and the hour."

In the opening article of the *Canadian Methodist Review* for May–June the Rev. T. Manning discusses "The Consciousness of Christ," contending that the true interpretation of the Saviour is to be found "in himself, and in the history that is specially his own." The Rev. R. P. Bowles writes a pertinent article on "The Minister's Code of Honor," showing the delicate relations existing between preachers, and pointing out how one should treat his brethren. Dr. W. I. Shaw follows with a paper on "Connectionalism in Education;" the Rev. W. M. Patton with "Isaiah VI—An Essay in Interpretation;" and the Rev. William Galbraith with "Sin and Crime." In the "sermonic" section is published a discourse of Dr. N. Burwash on "The Responsibilities of Educated Men," and an outline of Christ's life from his birth to his baptism, by Rev. A. M. Phillips. It is a thoughtful number of this bimonthly.

The *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July opens with a translation, by the Rev. J. Hendrik de Vries, of an article by Dr. Abraham Kuyper, of Holland, on "Calvinism and Constitutional Liberties." A paper by Dr. L. C. Warner is on "Capital and Labor." In "Ideas of the Future Life in the Pentateuch" the Rev. T. S. Potwin shows that the early Hebrews believed in immortality. The fifth article, asking "What is Sociology?" opens with a most able symposium by one hundred and twenty-six leaders in American

thought on the use of the word "Christian" as applied to "Sociology." The treatment of the subject which follows is able. Its writer is Z. Swift Holbrook. Dr. A. A. Berle follows with a strong article on "The Passing of Agnosticism," and Dr. F. H. Foster resumes his "Studies in Christology," begun in 1892. The concluding article, by the Hon. W. H. Upson, discusses "Injunctions and Strikes." In the editorial notes of the magazine is a valuable memorial notice of Dr. John Albert Broadus. In a review of Dr. G. D. Herron's *Christian State*, which follows, the professor is termed "an artistic impressionist" and "an impatient idealist."

THE *New World* for June has: 1. "Broad and Narrow in the Episcopal Church," by S. D. McConnell; 2. "Frances Power Cobbe," by J. W. Chadwick; 3. "Sentimentalism and Political Economy," by W. Kirkus; 4. "The Present Standing of the Synoptic Problem in Germany," by H. H. Wendt; 5. "Democracy and Religion," by J. H. Crooker; 6. "The Philosophical Basis of the Supernatural," by John Bascom; 7. "The Pauline Eschatology," by Orello Cone; 8. "The Alleged Sympathy of Religions," by J. H. Allen; 9. "The Book of the Dead," by Sara Y. Stevenson. The writer of the first article declares that the Broad Churchmen will not become an organized party. "If the machinery of the Church should ever pass into hands hostile to them they will regret it for their own sakes, but they will regret it a thousand times more for the sake of the Church. As to this contingency they are not alarmed. They do not think that the Church is in peril of committing suicide. Suicide it would be, they are persuaded, for the Church to permit herself to become the narrow, petty, unlovely, and impotent thing which a few ecclesiastics and a few dogmatists would make of her." In the third article the author expresses the belief that, while the Christian religion has hitherto been "a mighty power on the side of order and conservatism," yet "it seems only too probable that, in the approaching social revolution, Christianity must be reckoned with as on the revolutionary side." From the conclusion of the fifth article orthodoxy will enter its emphatic dissent: "When the spirit of democracy shall have fully recreated religious thought and feeling nothing will seem more untrue and offensive than the language which gives to Jesus a part to play in a monarchical scheme of atonement. . . . Then priesthoods will cease, hierarchies will fade, and mediatorial offices will seem profanities. Then the soul will claim its direct access to the Father, and Jesus will be supremely honored as one who showed us how to abide in God by living divinely in the service of love." In the eighth article the writer does not find much encouragement for the "sympathy of religions" as he looks into history. The success of the Parliament at Chicago was in showing how the great faiths of humanity "may best flourish, independently, side by side."

THE June number of the *Haus und Herd* reveals the hand of the new editor. His poem on the great chancellor proves the writer to be a true

versifier. The article on Prince Bismarck, by O. J. Gilbert, declares his views to be those of an orthodox Christian, but shows how his political actions frequently contravened sound moral principles. The reminiscences of Bishop Simpson, by Fr. Kopp, are valuable, while Bertha S. Ohlinger gives a graphic picture of the sway which Buddhism still holds in Japan. The magazine as a whole is a reflex of the world's progress, by pen and picture, and in it our German Methodists are to be congratulated.

THE *Methodist Review* of the Church South for June has: 1. "Chancellor Landon C. Garland," by Bishop R. K. Hargrove, D.D.; 2. "Augustine's Religious Ideal," by H. C. Sheldon, D.D.: 3. "Prince Colaptes and His Biographers," by Maurice Thompson; 4. "Bishop Hubbard Hinde Kavanaugh," by Bishop O. P. Fitzgerald, D.D.; 5. "A Comparative Study of Methodist Theology," by Professor O. E. Brown; 6. "Some Phases of Contemporary Fiction," by Professor H. N. Snyder; 7. "A Study in New Testament Exegesis," by H. A. Scomp, LL.D.; 8. "Preachers and Preaching," by J. W. Hinton, D.D.; 9. "The Making of Methodism: Studies in the Genesis of Institutions. II," by the editor. It seems a full number.

AMONG the attractions of *Our Day* for May are: "The P. S. A. Movement in England," by Robinson Souttar, the cabalistic letters meaning "Pleasant Sunday Afternoon for Men;" Joseph Cook's Monday lecture on Dr. A. J. Gordon; and "How Can a City Best Care for Its Poor?" by Ex-Mayor Pingree, of Detroit. Mr. Cook now resigns the chief editorship of this publication to make a tour of the world.——The *Gospel in All Lands* for June devotes much of its space to Africa.——The *Methodist Magazine*, of Canada, besides its usual attractions, has in its May number a memorial sermon on the late Rev. Donald G. Sutherland, D.D., by Dr. N. Burwash.——*Christian Literature* for June has as its opening article a sketch of William Lloyd Garrison, written by Leonard Woolsey Bacon.——The *Catholic World* for June has illustrated articles on "An Old Church in the Catskills," by Rev. B. J. Reilly; "Wordsworth: His Home and Works," by Philip Oléron; and "Personal Character of the Renaissance Pontiffs," by J. J. O'Shea. The Rev. G. M. Searle also writes "Dr. Heber Newton on the Resurrection."——The *Yale Review* for May has: (1) "The Government and the Bond Syndicate," by Brayton Ives; (2) "Views of Napoleon," by T. R. Bacon; (3) "Recent Reforms in Taxation," by E. R. A. Seligman; "The Western Posts and the British Debts," by A. C. McLaughlin; and "The London County Council and Its Work," by G. L. Fox.——Among the attractive articles of the *Missionary Review* for June are a paper by Dr. A. T. Pierson, on "The Indians of America," and one by Mrs. S. M. Davis, on "The 'Mountain Whites' of America." They show how much work remains to be done at our very doors.——The *Preacher's Magazine*, under the editorship of Dr. W. E. Ketcham, abounds with homiletic helps. Its June number has, besides all else, an outline of Ian Maclaren's recent sermon on "The Power of Other Worldiness."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Growth in Holiness toward Perfection; or, Progressive Sanctification. By REV. JAMES MUDGE, D.D., author of *Faber, Pastor's Missionary Manual, Handbook of Methodism*, etc. 12mo, pp. 316. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.

This seems to us one of the manliest books ever written. Some one said to some one else, "*Be* a book." Having known the author for thirty years, we know what we say when we affirm that he was this book before he wrote it. The book is like the man, as much alive intellectually and spiritually as he is, and as clear in thought, as pure in spirit, as utterly sincere, as unflinchingly frank, as severely truthful. With much lucid reasoning and crystalline writing on the subject of sanctification, it combines the record of an extended personal experience in pursuit of holiness. It might be called "The Anabasis of a Soul." The author's friends have for many years expected such a book from him; and now that it is here they feel it to have been as inevitable from him as *The Pastor and the Revival* was from J. O. Peck. It is part of the natural and necessary efflorescence of a life. Indeed, it seems not impossible that the supreme mission of the author's diligent and earnest life might be in connection with the matters treated in this book. There are not wanting statements which prove that he himself has felt a necessity laid upon him. On page 265 he frankly and truthfully says, "By ancestry, by education, by strong personal predilection, by uncommonly varied opportunities for private intercourse with some of the best saints of Christ's earthly kingdom, and by close study of all the accessible literature treating on the subject during a period of some thirty years, the writer of these pages has seemed to himself somewhat fitted for such discourse, if not, indeed, rather pointedly and peremptorily bidden by divine Providence to set himself to the task of elucidating this grand theme." Elsewhere he says, "If one has anything like a mandate from on high and feels a 'Thus saith the Lord' reverberating in his soul, why should he not speak out what God has given him in a straightforward way, trusting that it will find an echo in other hearts and commend itself as true to other minds?" And again he explains as follows: "The present writer does not expect to satisfy everybody or present a perfect solution of the problem. But he hopes to contribute a little toward that solution and make, perhaps, a trifle lighter the labors of that master mind which is to come and set all things in order. At least, it seemed good to him, forasmuch as so many others had taken in hand to give forth their thoughts concerning these matters, and forasmuch as the subject had been to him for thirty years one of peculiar fascination, to try if perchance the Lord might work some deliverance for Israel even through his pen. He makes no pretense to infallibility or canonical inspiration. Ever-advancing light may cause him hereafter to modify

some of the details of the statements he now makes. But of the essential truth of the positions taken he has no doubt, since the reflection, experience, and observation of a lifetime are behind them." However anyone may differ as to any particular of idea or expression, he will have to be an extremely able disputant who succeeds in breaking anywhere the solid symmetry and closely integrated coherence of the statements contained in this book. It is likely to be a long time before anybody will bring to the elucidation of this or any other doctrine greater intellectual ability, a more complete mastery of all the literature of the subject, including the Bible, or a more genuine and extensive experience. We are of opinion that in several ways this is one of the most remarkable books on this topic ever published within the bounds of Methodism, which is the same as saying in Christendom, since nowhere else has so much been made of the doctrine of sanctification as among Methodists. The evils which have sometimes attended the so-called "holiness movement" among the churches Dr. Mudge holds to be due, in part, to doctrinal errors arising out of perversions and misapprehensions of Scripture. To some of them he refers as follows: "Among these evils may be briefly mentioned the tendency to schism, to censoriousness, and to the perversion of Scripture. It is well known that large numbers who have become involved in this movement have separated themselves from the Church, some in body, and some simply in spirit; in the latter case retaining their membership, but refusing to cooperate with the authorities, being, indeed, thoroughly estranged from the ministry, whom they look upon as greatly inferior to themselves in piety and illumination. They segregate themselves from the rest of God's children with a special shibboleth, of which they are very tenacious, with special meetings, special leaders, and special literature, being thus to a very large degree a divisive, disturbing, and disloyal element, by which the pastor is continually hampered if, in the exercise of his godly judgment, he finds himself unable to fall in with their narrow methods and peculiar ways. The harsh judgments that are constantly meted out by some of the most prominent leaders of this party or faction to those who differ with them in opinion might easily be illustrated by liberal quotations from current publications and from standard volumes; but the task is a very unpleasant one, and we are unwilling to call any more prominent and permanent attention . . . to these glaring weaknesses and evident departures from perfect love of so many who claim to possess it. Especially to be deplored is the continual tendency, which, indeed, the theory itself makes a practical necessity, to depreciate the work of grace wrought in the soul at the time of conversion. The 'merely justified' are spoken of in a tone which smacks of pity and sometimes savors of contempt. They are practically denied any portion in or title to the precious words 'holy' or 'holiness' with which the Bible is filled. They are regarded as given over to sin as a matter of course, until a further work has been wrought upon them." About a quarter of a century ago Dr. Whedon wrote: "So rapid, during even the last ten years, has been the progress of thought upon the very fundamentals of theology, . . . that

our whole body of divinity needs reconstruction." If we mistake not, Dr. Mudge makes a notable contribution toward the necessary reconstruction which Whedon had in mind. Touching the particular doctrine he discusses, his book is fundamentally orthodox, but advocates and adopts a considerable change in nomenclature in the interest of clearness, consistency, and scripturalness. He goes immediately to the foundations, begins with definitions, and carries them clear through to the end, without reference to agreement or disagreement with previous writers. He exercises his own preference as to terms—and a highly intelligent, scholarly, and well-justified preference it seems to be—but agrees with the general Methodist consensus as to substance of doctrine. We say distinctly to all Methodism that here is a book worth reading, from a man who is entitled to be heard. To anybody who is likely to differ with him we suggest reading the last chapter first, as a preparation of heart for appreciating the book; the other chapters will then be read with an affectionate confidence in the author. If this book had been in the hands of Mrs. Marian Evans Cross in her last days it would have been of more use to a woman of her mind than was À Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, which is of less value to the men and women of to-day than this hallowed and blessed volume by Dr. James Mudge.

The Permanent Value of the Book of Genesis as an Integral Part of the Christian Revelation. Being the Paddock Lectures for 1894. By C. W. E. BODY, M.A., D.C.L., Professor of Old Testament Literature and Interpretation in the General Theological Seminary, New York. 12mo, pp. 230. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Genesis has been for generations a battle ground. The history of the various attempts to interpret it makes a very interesting and instructive study. Dr. Body agrees with those who think that we have in the first chapter a noble psalm of creation, valuable for its lofty monotheistic tone, and not a revelation of scientific facts about whose reconciliation with geology we have need to be concerned. If the second and third chapters are not quite so fully cleared up as yet the explanation is expected to be along the same line. There seems to have been an inheritance of cosmological tradition common to the Semitic races. Babylon was the mother of much ancient literature, and the facts hinted at in the cuneiform inscriptions on the clay tablets dug up from the ruins of Nineveh resemble those found in the Hebrew records. But there is a momentous difference in the treatment of the facts. In the Assyrio-Babylonian literature there is a total absence of the moral and spiritual teaching which pervades the biblical account. Polytheistic and mythological elements are prominent in the one case, while in the other emphasis is put upon monotheistic and spiritual truths which have tended mightily to the uplifting of the race and the salvation of mankind. It is in this latter direction that the author looks for the true marks of inspiration and the proofs that God guided the pens of those who wrote this book, so that they were led to give us that which is absolutely unique in its wholesome and regenerating influence on the life of the world. We are not afraid of

any facts that may be discovered. We welcome truth from whatever side it comes, serene in our confident belief that none of the essentials of Christianity can be shaken. Dr. Body has put us in debt for a really excellent volume in these Paddock Lectures for 1894. He is properly progressive, and yet duly conservative. He is neither extreme and destructive nor stupid, antiquated, and bigoted. In regard to biblical criticism of all kinds, as applied to the Old Testament, he holds that harm will result from regarding any of these matters as fully and finally decided. In view of the many assumptions which have been confidently made in the past, but which even now are very generally discarded, he insists upon suspense of judgment and patient reserve of opinion. The final decision is yet to be given, and the end may be remote. There must be wider and deeper research, in which considerations archæological, historical, and theological shall be fully taken into account; and, especially, the ultimate decision will rest, not with oriental specialists, but with the enlightened consciousness of the Church of the living God, ordained for all time to be the pillar and ground of the truth—the Church put in possession of all the facts and informed by the eternal Spirit. Hence, we may work on in peace, freely using the sacred book for the high religious purposes for which it was given, sure that no conclusions of critics can materially affect the divine inspiration of the Scriptures or the reverent regard due to the revelation they enshrine. The author fitly calls attention to the highly artificial character of much of the literary analysis which has been so pretentiously applied to the Hexateuch, and agrees with Professor Sayce that, even if applicable to Western histories, it is entirely out of place in regard to ancient Eastern records. The mathematical accuracy of language and expression which these critics seem to demand from the sacred writers can with no fairness be looked for, and the conclusions drawn, when not utterly improbable, are open to the gravest doubt. He agrees with the judgment that Matthew Arnold passes upon the rationalistic conception of Scripture generally, that "it makes far more difficulties than it solves," and, again, "it rests on too narrow a conception of the history of the human mind." "The conclusion seems amply justified," says Dr. Body, "that the basis upon which the whole analytical division rests is much too precarious to admit of our building upon it any important conclusions whatever." The lectures which make up this volume are five. Their topics are as follows: "The Critical Problem in General;" "The Literary Analysis Critically and Historically Considered;" "The Creation and Paradise;" "The Fall and its Immediate Results;" "The Deluge and the Patriarchs." The lecturer has made a valuable contribution to the current thought of the day, and we shall welcome further results of his Old Testament studies.

The Argument for Christianity. By GEORGE C. LORIMER, D.D. 12mo, pp. 480. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Price, cloth, $2.

Ten chapters contain the arguments from history, from Christ, from testimony, from miracles, from prophecy, from humanity, from achievement, from concession, and from comparison. The book is rich in

material and written in popular and forcible style. A preaching minister, an active pastor, has put into these chapters the fruit of a lifetime's study of the great theme of his ministry—studied, not curiously, in literary leisure, but intensely, under the pressure of the pulpit's tremendously oppressive responsibility, and with the whole man bent upon the effort to make the mighty argument immediately and irresistibly convincing to actual, sinful, doubting, needy men waiting in the pews for his message. That should be keen and powerful reasoning if it be not superficial, but deep; not hurried and careless, but studious and careful. Something of the glow of the forge in which the argument was shaped, part by part, still burns in it as it lies on the printed page. We have a notion that a book so made may be more telling and moving than one on the same subject written in the calm and cool seclusion of a retired scholar's study. Thinking that is done in contact with the suffering, struggling, hungry, appealing needs of human life, and on the brink where souls hang perilously and are pushed over by malign forces or snatched back and saved by the truth, is apt to have urgency and point and a desperate sort of grip and clutch in it. We feel some of that intensity in this book. The multiplicity of such books is inevitable from the very vitality of Christianity, which is a living faith, quickening every man whom it fills and filling every man who receives it, so that a passion for expression seizes him sometimes like a spasm, and he must tell the story for himself as his own heart feels it and his own mind sees it. This same living impulse is behind the prayer meeting testimonies of the humblest saints, and, also, behind the mighty marshaling of Christianity's facts in victorious argument by the writers of great volumes. Jesus Christ not only gave verbal commandment to his disciples to go into the world and preach the Gospel, but he puts into the heart of the believer the impulse and spring which sets him to singing, "I love to tell the story." So, by force of a double provision and insurance, it is made certain that the Gospel shall be told world without end. Moreover, the substance of Christian doctrine is capable of ever-fresh restatement, rearrangement, reexpression. In this there is richness and power—richness as of a kaleidoscope, which turns and shifts its colors into ever-new combinations; power as of an army which forms, reforms, changes front, and maneuvers with inexhaustible tactics, to meet each new or different movement and device of the enemy. New richness and variety of beauty flames forth, and new power strikes out from Christianity upon each new day and generation of men. We commend Dr. Lorimer's strong and luminous book. In it he has made his own restatement and set the imposing ranks in order in battle array.

The Witnesses to Christ, the Saviour of the World. Lectures Delivered before the Biblical Department of Vanderbilt University. By ALPHEUS W. WILSON, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 12mo, pp. 248. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the M. E. Church, South. Barbee & Smith, Agents. Price, cloth, $1.

Colonel E. W. Cole, of Nashville, Tenn., had given in trust to the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, $2,500, to establish a

foundation for a perpetual lectureship in connection with the Biblical Department of Vanderbilt University, to be restricted in its scope to a defense and advocacy of the Christian religion. Bishop Wilson was selected to deliver the first course of these "Cole Lectures." The volume produced is unpretentious, prepared, as its author says, "with great reluctance" and "unavoidable haste," and sent forth with much misgiving. The topics treated in the six lectures are the following: "The Inadequacy of Human Testimony," "The Conjoint Testimony of the Father and the Son," "The Testimony of the Works," "The Witness of the Scriptures," "The Testimony of the Spirit," and "The Testimony of the Church." The style is that of the pulpit. There are no footnotes or quotations, except from the Bible. The design evidently is, as the Preface states, to "contribute in some small measure to the salvation of men." We are inclined to question whether Colonel Cole has made the best use of his money in establishing this lectureship. With the thousands of magnificent volumes from the master minds of the centuries already issued in defense of the Christian religion, we scarcely think that a perpetual series from Nashville is really called for. And, unless an author has within him thoughts that press mightily to come forth, and unless he has done his utmost to put them in thoroughly effective literary form, why should another book be added to the vast multitudes with which library shelves are loaded?

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Latin Poetry. Lectures Delivered in 1893, on the Percy Turnbull Memorial Foundation in the Johns Hopkins University. By R. Y. TYRRELL, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Dublin. 12mo, pp. 323. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

In publishing these lectures, Professor Tyrrell possibly intends to disarm criticism by suggesting in his Preface that he is not about "to construct a kind of catechism of what we should believe about Latin poetry, or even attempt to give an exhaustive summary of its contents." But it is rather his design, he says, to describe in a somewhat personal manner the way in which certain masterpieces have affected him. To continue in his own words: "I hope, therefore, that, if I do not constantly pause to explain that I am only giving what is in my own mind and not at all claiming any right to speak *ex cathedra*, you will not for that reason suppose that I am putting forward for your acceptance views which I am really submitting to your judgment." Yet a saving clause of this nature in a preface, even if it is seen by the chance reader, will rarely serve to exempt an author from criticism. In this particular case, the fact that the lectures were delivered before a great university, and that they were afterward carefully revised for publication, will give them all the force of serious attempts to convert one to the position of the lecturer. A professor from Dublin University, coming across the seas to succeed Jebb upon the platform, has hardly any justification, even with the strongest desire of saying something new on an old topic, for delivering himself of

any but well-formulated views before a critical audience. The pages of the "Lectures" have been made very attractive by an easy style and happily chosen illustrations. Indeed, one occasionally suspects that Professor Tyrrell is too entertaining, and the reader is now and then betrayed into sympathy with a view which he feels inadmissible. But, meanwhile, he admires the graceful skill with which his judgment has been assailed. The chapters on "Lucretius and Epicureanism" and "Catullus and the Transition to the Augustan Age" and the pages upon Juvenal are admirably worded essays conveying long received opinions in the freshest manner. Teuffel, Cruttwell, Sellar, and Simcox will always be standards of authority; but he who can occasionally put some of their necessarily labored conclusions into a few happy phrases is a benefactor to the student of Latin literature. It may be through Professor Tyrrell's love for the Greek originals, or from a feeling of the necessity of finding blemishes in all that is counted best, that he is led to take an unusually disparaging view of the entire range of verse-making by the Romans. And if he has found the beauties of Terence, Lucretius, Vergil, and Catullus, he has, also—or thinks he has—found their failings. As an example, the chapter on Vergil opens and continues so delightfully that the reader is hopeful the poet will be discovered to have committed only the ordinarily possible errors of a great writer. But, after twenty-seven pages of well-deserved eulogium, as if in compensation for too much praise, we suddenly come upon these remarkable statements: "I would say at once that the fifth book is all bad. . . . Indeed, the book has scarcely a redeeming feature. . . [It] might have been omitted with great advantage." But will those who have won the race with the Scylla and who have run the course with the graceful Euryalus have any sympathy with this extraordinary view? All will admit that the Æneid is unfinished in many passages, owing to the author's early death. But perhaps no one ever before suggested that the whole poem would be improved by the omission of either the fifth or the tenth book. The treatment of one other author demands a protest. The chapter of fifty-four pages on Horace is written largely to prove him cold in affection, pretending only a love for the country, a mere translator of Lucilius, and, finally, "a restorer where he has been held to be a creator, and a literary *poseur* where he has been thought to be a poetical exponent of his real feelings." In only a few pages of the chapter, and in comparatively few lines, do we find any suggestion that the author has felt the spell which Horace has woven about so many in the literary world. The great versifier, in his judgment, has been overrated. But the whole truth about the situation is to be found in the calm reasoning of Sellar, rather than in the extravagant image-breaking of Professor Tyrrell. The lecture would, without doubt, please an afternoon audience seeking something pronounced in literary criticism. But it does not read well when grown cold and put into print. This was the largest shaft in the professor's quiver. After saying this much, it is a pleasure to commend the generous praise which the author gives to a few of the smaller poets. It is, for instance, gratifying to find some one who defends, against Juve-

nal, Cicero's celebrated "O fortunatam natam me consule Romam"—a verse which has never deserved the odium heaped upon it. On the subject of satire and in its estimates of the work of Lucretius and of Catullus the book will also be especially helpful.

Letters of Emily Dickinson. Edited by MABEL LOOMIS TODD. In two volumes, 16mo, pp. 454. Boston: Roberts Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $2.

The singularly delightful poems of Emily Dickinson, published a few years ago, piqued the public mind with an intense curiosity to know more of the personality and history of this strange woman, before unheard of, but now, years after her death, suddenly famous. The announcement of two volumes of her letters was therefore received with interest, and they have been eagerly read. All the public is ever likely to know about her stands in statement or lies in solution in these pretty volumes, which contain the letters of many years, from her fourteenth year to the solemn line she wrote to her cousins from her deathbed, May 15, 1886: "LITTLE COUSINS: Called back. EMILY." Colonel Higginson says: "Few events in American literary history have been more curious than the sudden rise of Emily Dickinson into a posthumous fame, only more accentuated by the utterly recluse character of her life and by her aversion to even a literary publicity." He has elsewhere told the story of his peculiar acquaintance with his enigmatic "scholar," as she insisted on calling herself; and the letters which were her part of the correspondence between them are in the volumes before us. Her letters are as unique and piquant as her poems, and show a more human, humorous, and natural side of her in free and easy *négligé*. They are so arranged as to give the succession of events in her life, the variety of her friendships, and, in general, the range of her interests and thoughts. After a family moving from one house to another she writes: "I cannot tell you how we moved. I had rather not remember. I believe 'my effects' were brought in a bandbox, and the 'deathless me' on foot, not many moments after. I took at the time a memorandum of my several senses, and also of my hat and coat and my best shoes; but it was lost in the *mêlée*, and I am out with lanterns looking for myself." Of her invalid mother she writes: "Mother lies upon the lounge or sits in her easy chair. I don't know what her sickness is, for I am but a simple child and frightened at myself. I often wish I was a grass or a toddling daisy, whom all these problems of the dust might not terrify; and should my own machinery get slightly out of gear, *please*, kind ladies and gentlemen, some one stop the wheel, for I know that with belts and bands of gold I shall whiz triumphant on the new stream." Speaking of the changes that sadden earth, and the heaven where friends shall go no more out, she says, "If roses had not faded and frosts had never come and one had not fallen here and there whom I could not waken, there were no need of other heaven than the one below—and if God had been here this summer and seen the things I have seen, I guess he would think his paradise superfluous." When she is anxious over her only sister's illness: "Sisters are brittle things. God was penurious with me, which makes

me shrewd with him." Other random bits, without connection, are: "House is being cleaned; I prefer pestilence;" "Blossoms belong to the bee, if needs be by *habeas corpus;*" "November always seemed to me the Norway of the year;" "Confidence in daybreak modifies dusk;" "Doubt, like a mosquito, buzzes round my faith;" "Spring is a happiness so beautiful, so unique, so unexpected that I don't know what to do with my heart;" "Spectacular as Disraeli and sincere as Gladstone;" "Till the first friend dies we think ecstasy impersonal, but then discover that he was the cup from which we drank it;" "Housekeeping is a prickly art;" "I was thinking to-day as I noticed that the supernatural was only the natural disclosed. Not revelation 'tis that waits, but our unfurnished eyes;" "An Indian woman, with gay baskets and a dazzling baby, at the kitchen door. I asked her what the baby liked, and she said 'to step.' The prairie before the door was gay with flowers of hay, and I let the baby in. She argued with the birds, she leaned on clover walls and they fell and dropped her. With jargon sweeter than a bell, she grappled buttercups, and they sank together, the buttercups the heaviest." In one letter to a friend she put these lines which she had written:

There is no frigate like a book
  To take us lands away,
Nor any coursers like a page
  Of prancing poetry.
This traverse may the poorest take,
  Without oppress of toll;
How frugal is the chariot
  That bears the human soul.

A word about jealousy ends our quotations: "Why should we censure Othello, when the criterion Lover says, 'Thou shalt have no other gods before me?'"

The Church and the Kingdom. By WASHINGTON GLADDEN. 12mo, pp. 75. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

Two addresses, delivered in May, 1894, are here given a permanent form which their importance fully warrants. Whatever Dr. Gladden writes is worth reading. It provokes thought, at least. The first address defines the kingdom of God as being, in its largest sense, "the whole social organism, so far as it is affected by divine influences." "The complete Christianization of all life is what we pray for and work for when we work and pray for the coming of the kingdom of heaven." "The Church is the organization in which religion is made our *special* care." "The kingdom of heaven is the entire social organism in its ideal perfection; the Church is one of the organs—the most central and important of them all—having much the same relation to Christian society that the brain has to the body." These sentences express the leading distinctions which are worked out and applied with much force and skill. The second lecture, given to the graduating class at Oberlin, is entitled "The Law of the

Kingdom." It is largely occupied with refuting Dr. Lyman Abbott's assertion that to love one's neighbor as one's self is not the Christian law of love, but only the Jewish law of justice. Dr. Gladden holds, and we think correctly, that what Christ calls the first and second commandments were not merely his summary of Jewish morality, but his own restatement of the law of life, and that pure altruism is not the distinctive principle of Christian morality. There was self-assertion as well as self-denial in Christ, a sublime self-regard as well as self-abnegation. A certain respect for self and declaration of the worth of self enter as a primal element into all true love. Only he who loves himself highly and nobly can love another worthily. We have no right to love our neighbor more than ourselves or to sacrifice our own manhood to our brother's. Both are equally precious in God's sight. We may well sacrifice the accidents of life for the essentials at any time, but when the deepest interests of the soul are under consideration we cannot prefer another's welfare to our own; we can do no more than make it equal. In the spiritual realm pure altruism is impossible. Our own manhood and spiritual integrity must not be sacrificed for any consideration whatever. Indeed, the more one gives of love and hope and courage the more one has. These principles find important application in family life and in almsgiving. They are wholesome truths for the guidance of life, embodying an essential element of the law of the kingdom.

From the Easy Chair. Third Series. By GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS. 16mo, pp. 232. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.

We have already noticed one or two of the preceding volumes of these delightful essays by the late occupant of the "Easy Chair" in *Harper's Magazine.* The present volume contains twenty-six additional papers, upon such topics as "Hawthorne and Brook Farm," "Beecher in his Pulpit after the Death of Lincoln," "Review of Union Troops, 1865," "April, 1865," "Historic Buildings," "The Boston Music Hall," "The New England Sabbath," and "Clergymen's Salaries"—the latter of which should appeal to many a hard-working pastor among our readers. In the presence of twenty-six such gems of finished writing and kindly feeling it seems a pity to find any fault at all; yet if the papers could have been dated it would have added much to their interest and value. We will not attempt to describe at length the contents of the book, but will content ourselves with one or two quotations which will speak for it more eloquently than we should be able to do. This from "Killing Deer:" "Lately I saw two deer, two stately bucks. It was a solitary, sunny opening upon which I suddenly came. They were lying at the edge of the wood, and rose with a startled spring, for an instant looked, and with one bound, as if they would leap over the tree tops, were lost in the thicket. The grace and charm they gave to the wood were indescribable. Into the remotest gloom they sent a flash of sunlight. Nothing fierce or treacherous or repulsive consorts with the image of a deer, and when they vanished the whole wood was peopled with their lovely forms. If I had gone back to dinner dragging a mangled body along the wood road

or carrying the piteous burden in a wagon, how could that sunlit beech wood ever again be so sylvan sweet and Arcadian? The tranquil, secluded, happy scene would have been bloodstained." And this from "Autumn Days:" "Let the hickories and pine trees preach to us a little in these warm October afternoons. A stately elm is the archbishop of my green diocese. In full canonicals he stands sublime. His flowing robes fill the blithe air with sacred grace. The light west winds and watery south are his fresh young deacons, his ecclesiastical aids-de-camp. He rules the landscape round; and I—this penitent old Easy Chair—attend devoutly when I hear the eloquent rustling of his voice, as the neighbors of Saint George Herbert, of Bemerton, used to stop their plows in the furrow and bow, with uncovered head, while the sound of his chapel bell tinkled in the air."

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier. By SAMUEL T. PICKARD. In two volumes, 12mo, pp. vi, 802. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $4.

It is doubtful if America has ever known a more lovable or beloved man than Greenleaf Whittier. Children, strong men of business, hearts with burdens, everybody, loved that simple man. When tidings of his death, which occurred September 7, 1892, were borne to his lifelong friend, Oliver Wendell Holmes, the dear old Autocrat of the Breakfast Table said, "One of the sweetest natures and one of the sweetest singers we ever had, or shall ever have, is gone from us." His was such a blameless life! When men speak of Byron they must always throw about him the cloak of their charity. Poe had his terrible weaknesses, and we have to overlook them. One can never read Burns without feeling in his heart, "Poor fellow!" He was so impotent of will. But there is nothing in the long life of Whittier that we feel called upon to excuse or extenuate. Not even do we speak of him as a "man with faults." Though living in the face of the public for full sixty years, and much of the time holding opinions at variance with the popular mind, and opinions so hostile as to compel the keenest scrutiny of his life by enemies of his position, against his character the first word has yet to be spoken. The tribute of Dr. Holmes to the memory of his friend is a beautiful one:

> Best loved and saintliest of our singing train,
> Earth's noblest tributes to thy name belong;
> A lifelong record closed without a stain,
> A blameless memory shrined in deathless song.

Whittier's life was a long one; he was born December 17, 1807. It was a simple life. Into a plain home he came—a New England Quaker farmer's home—with blood of Puritan and Huguenot in his veins. The floors were uncarpeted, but now and then white sand was scattered over them. Few books were on the shelves, not more than thirty volumes in all, mostly biographies of Quaker worthies. The Bible was held

in reverence and daily read. But when young Greenleaf expressed grave doubts as to the morality of some of the acts recorded in the Old Testament, and dared to question the Quakerism of David, because of his warlike tendencies, his father made him confine his reading of the Bible to the gospels and epistles. The influence of the Bible upon Whittier is so apparent that Stedman says, "The Bible is rarely absent from his verse, and its spirit never." His poetic instincts were first aroused by hearing his school-teacher read from a volume of Burns one evening as they sat about the fireplace, the reader all unconscious of the interest being awakened in the heart of the shy boy of fourteen, who in his corner was eagerly listening. From that time for seventy years the fires burned. The account of the first appearance of one of his poems is of unusual interest. "His sister Mary, feeling confident that some of his poems were as good as those she saw in the poets' corner of the *Free Press*, determined to offer one of them to that paper without giving the editor any hint of the source from whence it came. William Lloyd Garrison had just started this weekly paper in Newburyport, and its humanitarian tone so pleased the Quaker, John Whittier, that he subscribed for it. Garrison was only two years older than Whittier, but he began editorial work at an early age and was, in literary experience, much the senior of the young poet. One day he found under the door of his office a poem entitled, 'The Exile's Departure,' by and signed, 'W.' The piece was written during the previous year, and Mary had selected it as, in her opinion, the one most likely to be accepted. She sent it without her brother's knowledge. It was, therefore, a great surprise to the young poet when he opened the paper and turned to the column in which poetry was usually printed, to find his own verses conspicuously displayed. The paper came to him when he was with his father mending a stone wall by the roadside, picking up and placing the stones in position. As they were thus engaged the postman passed them on horseback and tossed the paper to the young man. His heart stood still a moment when he saw his own verses. Such delight as his comes only once in the lifetime of any aspirant to literary fame. His father at last called to him to put up the paper and keep at work. But he could not resist the temptation to take the paper again and again from his pocket to stare at his lines in print. He has said he was sure that he did not read a word of the poem all the time he looked at it." That was the beginning. His last verses were written about ten days before his death and were as prophetic as beautiful:

The hours draw near, howe'er delayed and late,
  When at the eternal gate
We leave the words and works we call our own
  And lift void hands alone

For love to fill. Our nakedness of soul
  Brings to that gate no toll;
Giftless we come to Him who all things gives,
  And live because He lives.

Doubtless the chief interest in these volumes will center in the chapters which deal with the early political ambitions of Whittier. Letters now published for the first time reveal these hitherto undreamed-of ambitions. The editor wisely says that "these letters do not fairly represent him when judged by the tenor of his later life, but without them we could have no true idea of his early manhood and of the great change which marked his religious, literary, and political life when about twenty-seven years of age. Previous to this time, while irreproachable in morals, no deep conviction of duty seems to have nerved him to self-denying, heroic action. He was evidently looking forward to a political, rather than a literary, career." "As a power in politics, even when working in a small minority, Whittier has never been rightly estimated." His taste for political life was acquired while he was editor of political papers in Boston and Hartford. Early he became possessed of an ambition, not only to help shape the policy of the party to which he belonged, but also to select the men who should carry that policy into operation. In the letters written at this time from the seclusion of his farm he refers to Choate, General Jackson, Calhoun, Clay, Webster, and others who were conspicuous. "I trust that Mr. Webster will beware how he lends himself to Jacksonism, and that Mr. Clay will hold aloof from nullification. The one is Scylla, the other Charybdis. But I do hope that Mr. Clay will oppose the placing of the whole military force of the United States in the hands of General Jackson. I would as soon trust it in the hands of the devil." He began his political life as a partisan of Clay. "I admire Clay and shall do all I can to promote his success," he writes a friend; nor did he abandon Clay until he realized how hopeless it was to expect from him any real service to the cause of freedom. Very early in his career his political friends urged him to allow himself to be a candidate for representative to Congress. He would have been nominated but for an insuperable barrier to which he called their attention—his age was a year under the constitutional requirement. Of the strength of his political ambition at this time there can now be no question. He suggested to his friends the prolongation of the struggle until he should become twenty-five years of age, which would be in December of that year, saying, "The truth of the matter is, the thing would be peculiarly beneficial to me; if not at home, it would be so abroad. It would give me an opportunity of seeing and knowing our public characters, and in case of Mr. Clay's election might enable me to do something for myself or my friends. It would be worth more to me now, young as I am, than almost any office after I had reached the meridian of life. In this matter, if I know my own heart, I am not entirely selfish. I never yet deserted a friend, and I never will. If my friends enable me to acquire influence it shall be exerted for their benefit. And, give me once an opportunity of exercising it, my first object shall be to evince my gratitude by exertions in behalf of those who have conferred such a favor upon me." But delicate health at critical times prevented his being the candidate of his party, and in a short time his political ambitions were deliberately sacrificed upon the altar of human freedom. Thereafter he was spurred

by duty. Conscience alone was his master thenceforth. There is something immeasurably sublime, like a mighty mountain which sets its barrier against the rushing billows of the sea, in his calm consecration to the despised cause of freedom. It was in 1833 that Whittier sounded the call. On through the years, ten, fifteen, twenty-five, amid assaults, contumely, and reproach, the stirring notes of that undaunted soul rang through the land. That was the time when his name was never mentioned without a sneer, except by a few hot-headed abolitionists. Then he was only the poet of a despised cause. But the years have brought changes. The laureate of the slaves is universally crowned. Whittier is, *par excellence*, "the ballad master and legend singer of the American people." Longfellow was a poet of broader culture, a writer of lays more melodious; Bryant wrote more comprehensively, though not more feelingly, of nature; Lowell had a vigor and power of poetic thought to which, save now and then, Whittier was a stranger; yet the poet of the people, the one shrined in the heart of hearts of the populace, was John Greenleaf Whittier. These volumes are made up largely of "familiar and unstudied letters" written by Whittier to his friends, treating of many subjects. These letters have been admirably used by Mr. Pickard in portraying the life and character and influence of the simple-hearted New England poet, whose life was a revelation of the spirit of Christianity, and whose impulses were unfailingly born of the "fullness of divine love manifested in the life, teachings, and self-sacrifice of Jesus Christ." Altogether, this is one of the most delightful biographies of recent years.

History of the Christian Church. By HENRY C. SHELDON, D.D., Author of *History of Christian Doctrine*, and Professor in Boston University. Five volumes, 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 619; vol. II, pp. 562; vol. III, pp. 612; vol. IV, pp. 449; vol. V, pp. 441. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, $10.

This work evinces, both in style and selection of matter, more regard for the necessary qualities of a readable production than is usually exhibited in its class of writings. So competent a judge as Professor W. T. Davison, of England, describes it as one of the clearest and most readable histories for the general reader anywhere obtainable, useful to elementary students as well as serviceable to advanced scholars, particularly through its summaries, tables, and general surveys, and also in its fresh, accurate, and comprehensive study of the modern period. The *Congregationalist* says that it will certainly take rank among standard Church histories. Professor Sheldon's work is intended to be comprehensive and complete, supplementing all previous works. It covers the whole historic movement of Christianity up to the near present. While most of the larger works scarcely reach the modern era, this gives a volume to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, another to the eighteenth century, and another to the nineteeth. Two thirds of "The Mediæval Church" and seven eighths of "The Modern Church"—or more than three out of five volumes—relate to fields not touched at all by Schaff's *Church History*. A relatively adequate space is given to English and American history—domains that are notoriously slighted in the treatises of German writers. The general animus of

the work pays hearty tribute to spiritual Christianity. No lack of charity is shown toward forms and institutions regarded as meeting merely æsthetic or utilitarian ends; but underlying every volume is the intense conviction that to treat matters of ceremony and ecclesiastical government as fundamental savors of veritable apostasy from the Gospel and initiates sure tendencies toward a despotic Pharisaism. While the work does not pander to anti-Roman fanaticism, it is better adapted than most of its class, through its careful array of documentary evidence, to offset the whitewashing efforts of Roman Catholic apologetics and to put in clear light historic facts which Protestant citizens, concerned for civil liberty and the safety of republican institutions in this country, ought to keep constantly in mind. Although histories in general are not apt to tempt the reviewer to make extracts, there are many passages in this particular work which might lure us to a long notice. In Volume I, which treats of the early Church, we are especially impressed by the picture given (pp. 7–44) of the Roman empire as a field of preparation for Christianity and as related to its introduction and spread, and by the account (pp. 243–259) of the growth of episcopacy. In Volume II, on the mediæval Church, we notice as significant pages 165–187 and 209–239, on the papal theocracy, pages 400–424, on Wyclif, and pages 427–459, on Huss and the Hussites; in Volume III, pages 7–34, on humanism, pages 301–317, on the reign of Elizabeth, pages 365–391, on the Inquisition, pages 391–429, on the Jesuits, pages 459–516, on the reign of Louis XIV; in Volume IV, pages 389–432, on German philosophy and theology; in Volume V, which contains Part III of the modern Church, pages 18–36, on recent developments in German theology, pages 44–129, on Romanism in continental Europe since the fall of Napoleon, and pages 136–162, on tractarianism, or Anglican ritualism. Of Strauss's *Leben Jesu* the author says: "The original theory of Strauss—not to mention more specific objections—violates a sound historic sense in the position and character which it assigns to Christ. As Dorner remarks, it is one of the best-established points of history that the central feature of Christianity, as the religion of reconciliation, which was clearly recognized in the apostolic and post-apostolic Church must rest back upon the deeds and sayings of Christ. It is unthinkable that the very first generations of Christians, as the Apocalypse and the Pauline epistles prove to have been the case, should have thought most emphatically of Christ as Mediator and Redeemer unless he had presented himself in that character. The expectation that he would come in glory to judge the world, which Strauss admits to have been a prevalent expectation among the primitive Christians, points likewise to the conclusion that Christ must have claimed exalted prerogatives and set himself forth as an object of religious faith. It avails little, then, to put off the composition of the gospel narratives till near the middle of the second century, in order to make out that the picture which they contain is essentially mythical, the result of gradual accretion upon a moderate basis of fact. There is no honest escape from the conclusion that in his own representation, and not merely in the exaggerating fancy of a later age, Christ stood on a

plane of supernatural dignity. Either, then, he actually possessed such a dignity, or he was an enthusiast who had utterly lost the way of sobriety through pride, self-deception, or mental confusion. The simple picture of a Jewish rabbi with an exceptional genius for religious truth, which was drawn by Strauss, is inadmissible. One must acknowledge verity in the high claims of the gospel narratives or imitate the hardihood of Renan in portraying the Founder of Christianity as a bewildered enthusiast. And what savors less of sobriety and credibility than this latter procedure, this assigning of narrowness and confusion of mind to one whose singular and growing mastery over the race, as well as the habitual serenity of his bearing in the gospel scenes, argues rather unique breadth, clearness, and penetration of spiritual vision and preeminent balance of religious judgment?" Of Dorner Professor Sheldon says, "Some reviewers have indeed spoken rather disparagingly of Dorner; but the patient research and wide vision shown in his works afford a basis for an enviable reputation," and quotes from another critic, who says that the most important of the eclectic mediating theologians and the type of the whole mediation school was indisputably Isaac August Dorner, "who possessed a deeply reflective Swabian nature, profound religious earnestness, and a vivid sense of the need of sounding by thought the depths of the truths of Christianity dear to his heart." Concerning another of the mediation school we read: "Rothe claims esteem by the double title of a noble and deeply religious nature and a unique power of constructive thinking. In his most elaborate work, the *Theological Ethics*, he has exhibited an organizing talent, a faculty for developing the vast theme of Christian truth from a special point of view, which recalls the great work of Schleiermacher. In method he reminds of Hegel; in content, of Schleiermacher and the most eminent of the later theosophists. . . . In harmony with his predilection for speculation of a theosophic cast, Rothe takes large account of nature as the eternal companion of spirit, and makes the spiritualization of the sensuous component in man's composite being a prominent aspect of the redemptive process." Another is quoted as saying of Rothe, "His method is deductive construction by means of speculative ideas, resulting in a Christian system of philosophy to which the supernaturalism of the Bible, the theosophy of Schelling and Oetinger, and the theology of Schleiermacher have been made to contribute." Professor Sheldon has given to the Church an admirable and valuable history.

What a Boy Saw in the Army. A Story of Sight-seeing and Adventure in the War for the Union. By JESSE BOWMAN YOUNG. One Hundred Original Drawings by FRANK BEARD. Quarto, pp. 390. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Sold by subscription only. Price, cloth, $2.25.

For real sight-seeing commend us to a wide-awake boy like the hero of this story. The eye of such a boy is as keen as an eagle's; nothing escapes his notice; he observes without prejudice; he remembers what he sees, and long years afterward can interest a new generation with his reminiscences. And in what place are there more sights to be seen than in the army—where the great game of strategy is being played, where brave

men are climbing from the ranks to the major generalship, and where a battle may come with any sunrise? Given a genuine boy as the spectator and the army as his arena of observation, and the conditions justify the expectation of an unusual volume of personal description. Nor are we, in the present instance, disappointed. The writer's own account of his sight-seeing is in the following words: "A stripling, in the stormy days of '61, heard the blast of a bugle and the beat of a drum—signals that the great war had opened. The sounds made his blood tingle and stirred his soul as they lured him to the front. He was then in the plastic period of boyhood, and the things which he saw and heard and felt took hold of him, biting into the quick—like the acid used in etching—and impressing upon his memory indelible pictures, in which terror and fun, privation and frolic, sorrow and joy, heroism and pathos vie with each other for mastery." And so the "boy" must write what he saw. "These pictures have haunted him for years, until he has at last transferred them to paper in so far as he has been able, in the effort to portray some of the scenes, experiences, and surroundings amid which the boys who wore the blue and followed the starry flag lived, moved, and had their being." It is enough to say, in a word, that the "boy's" descriptions are most captivating. In his company the willing reader finds himself in turn at Fort Donelson, Shiloh, and on the heights of Fredericksburg; with the Army of the Potomac in its winter quarters; at bloody Chancellorsville; and in the struggle of the Wilderness. But the picture which he paints with most vivid coloring is that of Gettysburg. So startlingly realistic is his portrayal that one gets a new conception of the topography of the famous Pennsylvania town, the intensity of the fight, and its crucial character. In the concluding pages of the volume the reader is attracted by the mention of Bishop Simpson's sermon, before the national officials, in the House of Representatives, and by the story of the celebrated parade of the returning army up Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington. And so "the pageant fades," before the "boy" has realized his commission as lieutenant colonel at the head of a black regiment. We enthusiastically commend this latest war story. It is a charming book for the boys who have come on the stage since the war drums of the Rebellion ceased; and many an older boy who turns its pages will read with moistened eyes and quickened heart the narrative of things he saw and of which he was a part.

The Footprints of the Jesuits. By Hon. R. W. THOMPSON, Ex-Secretary of the Navy, and Author of *The Papacy and the Civil Power.* 8vo, pp. 509. Cincinnati: Cranton & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, $1.75.

That Jesuitism is hostile to free institutions, that it has worked great harm in whatever country it has invaded, having been expelled at one time or another from nearly all lands, and that it would certainly overthrow our republican government and our most cherished liberties should it become dominant here Mr. Thompson very fully proves. He traces the history of the Society of Jesus from its establishment by Loyola in the sixteenth century to the present time, showing its relations to the

papacy and secular governments, its doings in various parts of the world, and its maleficent influence everywhere. He finds no difficulty in making out a very conclusive case against it, and, in view of the well-established facts of history, calls loudly upon the American people to be vigilantly on guard against these insidious and persistent foes of freedom. It can hardly be questioned, we think, that there is some danger to our beloved land from the encroachments and machinations of this wily foe, and that our common schools especially need to be watchfully defended against their attacks. We are not of those who consider that there is any occasion for panic. We are quite sure that the peril can be averted by the quiet, resolute use of just and honorable Christian measures. Some things that have been issued from the press in the supposed interests of Protestantism are a disgrace to the cause they assume to serve. But books like this, written in a good style and with as near an approach to judicial impartiality as can, perhaps, reasonably be expected from one whose whole purpose is to discredit a hated enemy, containing withal a large mass of well-digested information, must certainly do good.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Where Is My Dog? or, Is Man Alone Immortal? By the Rev. CHARLES JOSIAH ADAMS. Lecturer upon "The Cæsars and Christianity," etc. 12mo, pp. 202. New York: Fowler & Wells Co. Price, cloth, $1.

Is the dead dog with his master in the spirit world? This question, which the scholars of the past have asked and have not answered, a scholar of the present again discusses. His line of argument may be stated in a word. Showing more or less clearly that the beast and man have common physical faculties, and that in a degree the animal has the intellectual, moral, and spiritual faculties of man, the writer finds in this an evidence that the beast also has immortality. The argument, in other words, is inferential, and has only the value of an inference. The author's division of the work into paragraphic, rather than formal, chapters might be criticised were it worth the while. But the reader is attracted by the abundant and entertaining illustrations of animal intelligence which Mr. Adams cites, and finds himself in tender sympathy with the theory which is set forth. Though the book be only a speculation, it is instructive, reverent, and wholesome.

Children of Colonial Days. By ELIZABETH S. TUCKER. Quarto, pp. 100. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. Price, $2.50.

This is one of the brilliantly illustrated gift books of which the Stokes Company makes a specialty. It has numerous full-page color plates, after paintings in water colors by E. Percy Moran, with decorated borders and other designs, making a book, rich to the eye, about the little men and women of one hundred years ago—how they learned to spin, and took lessons on the harpsichord, and played battledore and shuttlecock when our great-grandmothers were young.

METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1895.

ART. I.—THE SPECULATIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF FREEDOM.

BY freedom I mean the power of self-control and self-direction in an intelligent being. More specifically, it is the power to form plans, purposes, ideals and to work for their realization. Or it is the power to choose between competing or conflicting possibilities and to realize the one chosen. Wherever this power is present we call the agent free. To unsophisticated thought men are manifestly free in this sense. Their freedom is, indeed, not unlimited and lawless, for it exists only on the basis of fixity provided by human nature and the nature of things. But, within the limits set by our constitution and the physical environment, men have a power of self-direction. They are able to form plans, purposes, ideals and to devote themselves to their realization. Moreover, this power seems to be involved in the very thought of a personal and rational life. A life of the Punch and Judy type, in which there is a deal of lively chattering and the appearance of strenuous action, without, however, any real thought and effort, is not a personal or rational life at all. A life, also, in which consciousness is merely the stage on which underlying mechanical impulses masquerade is, likewise, no proper rational life. The person counts for nothing. He is not cause, but effect. He has no initiative, but is through and through resultant.

But, as I have said, this is not the impression which life makes upon the unsophisticated mind. It is only at a later stage, when reflection begins, that such a view becomes even intelligi-

ble. Meanwhile, life seems to be carried on by freedom or under the form of freedom. The underlying necessity, if there be any, at least mimics freedom, and that to such an extent that any description of personal life in terms of mechanical necessity would break down from sheer excess of absurdity. We see, then, in life, not merely a mechanical movement, but a personal and free movement. Within the bounds of law, free men are forming and realizing purposes and ideals, whether good or bad. It is this fact which makes history other than a branch of physics. Such is the appearance of life, and such our spontaneous faith.

But on the development of reflection this view is often discredited. The idea of law and of necessary causation is developed, and the doctrine of freedom becomes a speculative offense. Then it is shrewdly surmised that the belief in freedom is an illusion born of ignorance and thoughtlessness. Men do, indeed, imagine themselves free; but if we knew all we should find the reign of law as absolute in human action as in the movements of the planets. This surmise quickly passes into affirmation; and then it is given out that freedom is no longer admissible, even in idea, and, of course, not admissible in fact. Science or some other homemade divinity has pronounced against it, and nothing more is to be said. This sort of thing is sadly familiar to us all, and it has a certain plausibility with the critically illiterate. Have we any more certain intuition than the law of causation? Is not the reign of law a universal postulate of science, and does not every day confirm it? How, then, can we fail to see that the limiting result of mental progress must be to include all events, mental and physical alike, in one inviolable system of law and necessity?

The debate, as thus presented, is manifestly a speculative and transcendental one. It will be admitted by all that if we were really free we could hardly have a clearer sense of freedom than we actually possess. This, however, is set aside as illusory; for the difficulty in accepting freedom lies, it is said, in the very nature of reason itself. The argument, then, must be somewhat apagogical; that is, it must consist, not so much in direct appeal to consciousness, as in showing that freedom is involved in facts which all admit. The customary argument for freedom consists in appealing to the sense of responsibility

and in pointing out that freedom is a manifest implication of this and other facts of our moral nature. I pass this argument, however, with mere mention, and seek to show that freedom is as much an implication of the rational life as it is of the moral life. Hence the title of this paper—"The Speculative Significance of Freedom."

There is a very general conviction in speculative circles that the notion of freedom is an offense to reason. If we hold it at all it must be out of deference to moral interests and at a very considerable sacrifice of our intellectual peace. I believe, on the contrary, that freedom is involved in reason itself, and that the denial of freedom must lead to the collapse of reason. In giving the grounds of this belief I consider first the problem of error. That problem lies in this fact: First, it is plain that, unless our faculties are essentially truthful, there is an end to all trustworthy thinking. But, secondly, it is equally plain that a large part of thought and belief is erroneous. Hence the question arises, as a matter of life or death for rational thought, how to reconcile the existence of error with faith in the essential truthfulness of our faculties. Freedom, we shall see, is the only solution which does not wreck reason itself.

We may get an introduction to the problem, and also a good illustration of the ease with which men overlook the bearings of necessitarianism, by considering a passage from Mr. Herbert Spencer's *First Principles*. In the last paragraphs of Part I of that work he raises the question why an advanced and progressive thinker should oppose traditional beliefs after he has outgrown them, seeing that those beliefs may well be better adapted to those who hold them than his own broader views. To this Mr. Spencer gives this answer:

> He must remember that, while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future, and that his thoughts are as children born to him, which he may not carelessly let die. He, like every other man, may properly consider himself as one of the myriad agencies through whom works the Unknown Cause; and when the Unknown Cause produces in him a certain belief he is thereby authorized to profess and act out that belief.

There is something attractive and inspiring in this utterance as long as we gaze upon the well-behaved and enlightened apostle of advanced thought who thus nobly represents the future and the Unknown Cause. But when we remember that Mr.

Spencer expressly includes all other men and all other beliefs in the same relation, and gives to them all the same sanction and authorization of the Unknown Cause, forthwith we begin to grope. For it is not the advanced thinker only who stands in this august relation and has this supreme sanction, but "every other man," also, "may properly consider himself as one of the myriad agencies through whom works the Unknown Cause;" and when the Unknown Cause produces in every other man a certain belief he, too, is "thereby authorized to profess and act out that belief." But it is plain that "every other man" is a somewhat numerous person, and his beliefs and acts, produced and authorized by the Unknown Cause, are a somewhat heterogeneous collection, which includes all the superstitions, absurdities, and abominations which have ever been evolved and all the horrors and cruelties which have ever been perpetrated. All of these are the product of the Unknown Cause, and the believers are, of course, "authorized to profess and act out" their beliefs; for all these are as "children born to them, which they may not carelessly let die."

The passage quoted from Mr. Spencer is rhetorically fine; but fine writing seems to be about all there is in it. It certainly is difficult to make out what the truth is in such a scheme. The Unknown Cause seems to have, not one opinion, but many; and it does not abide in any one for long. Particularly for a Spencerian it must be a very grave circumstance that the Unknown Cause has produced a great many false opinions for one true one; that, along with a little truth, it has shown an almost overwhelming tendency to error. It has shown a grotesque tendency to revel in low and unworthy views, fetichisms, anthropomorphisms, theologies, whims, infatuations, obstinacies, instead of attaining to the sun-clear truths of the synthetic philosophy. This is so much the case that latterly many persons of a pessimistic turn, of course at the instigation and with the sanction of the Unknown Cause, have begun to think meanly of the Unknown Cause and all its works, and especially of the account given of itself in the synthetic philosophy. In any case, it is plain that up to date the Unknown Cause has not advanced beyond an indefinite, incoherent heterogeneity of opinions, any one of which has the same source and sanction as any other. This is pretty tedious; and we have dwelt upon it at such length

only because it illustrates somewhat strikingly the position in which every system of necessity finds itself in dealing with the problem of error. For in such a system every thought, belief, conviction, whether truth or superstition, arises with equal necessity with every other. The belief in freedom is as necessary as the belief in necessity. Theism and atheism, spiritualism and materialism, freedom and necessity, consistency and caprice are alike necessarily produced in thought. Thoughts and beliefs become effects; and to speak of true and false thoughts seems like speaking of true or false chemical action or true or false blood. On this plane of necessary effect the actual is all, and the ideal distinctions of true and false have as little meaning as they would have on the plane of mechanical forces.

But possibly we may think to escape by a definition, and say that true thoughts are those that correspond to reality and false ones are those that do not thus correspond. But even if this be formally correct we are still no better off. For if, of these multitudinous thoughts which are necessarily produced, some are true and some are false we need to have some standard for distinguishing them from one another. But in what shall this standard consist? It is not in the necessity of the true thoughts and the nonnecessity of the false ones, for all are alike necessary. The belief in necessity is no more necessary than the belief in freedom. It would not help matters any to declare that true thoughts are the product of normal thinking, for the same puzzle would arise in finding a standard of normality. Just as little would it avail to take a vote on the subject; for there seems to be no logical connection between the notion of a majority and the notion of truth. The necessitarian, moreover, would be in a specially sorry plight, as the necessity which produces beliefs has produced the belief in freedom much more profusely than the belief in necessity. Besides, if there be a standard, how are we to use it? The thought of a standard implies a power to control our thoughts, to compare them with the standard, to reserve our decision, to think twice, to go over the ground again and again, until the transparent order of reason has been reached. But on this theory there is no such power. Thoughts come and thoughts go. Some are displaced by others, not because of any superior rationality, but because the new conditions have produced new conceptions. When, in a chemical

molecule, one element displaces another the new combination is not truer, but stronger, than the old. So, when a mental grouping is broken up and displaced by another it is not a question of truth, but of power. There is, then, not only no standard of truth, but no power to use it if we had it. Thus all beliefs sink into effects; and one is as good as another as long as it lasts.

These considerations make it clear that the question of freedom enters intimately into the structure of reason itself. It is a question, not merely of our executive activities in the outer world, but also of our inner rational activity. Hence the advantage of changing the venue from the court of ethics to that of reason. In the former there is always room for speaking of the weight of motives, of the stronger impulse, etc.; and thus we fail to get the clear illustration of freedom involved in the passionless operations of thought itself. There is the further advantage that everyone practically allows this self-control in thought. We are able to think twice, to return upon the argument, to tear asunder the plausible and misleading conjunctions of habit and association, and to reserve our decision until the crystalline connection of reason has been reached. The necessitarian is impatient of bad logic in his opponent, calls upon him to clear up his thoughts, and wonders why he is so slow in drawing a manifest conclusion. Even the materialist, for whom thinking is but the mental shadow of certain nervous processes, expects logic, and to that extent attributes freedom. For there is no hesitation, no thinking twice, no reserving of judgment in an order of necessary movement. There might possibly be a mimicry of such hesitation; but the reality could not exist in an order of necessity. In such an order the resultant is at once and irrevocably declared, as in the movement of a pair of scales. If we should make the grotesque supposition of a series of mechanical forces endowed with consciousness, what possible meaning could we attach to their demands upon one another for logic, or to their mutual reproaches for failure to think clearly or for holding this, that, or the other view? We should have necessity mimicking a free rational life; but the farcical nature of the performance would be apparent to the dullest.

Hence, in the field of thought proper, everyone, in spite of himself, assumes that reason is a self-controlling force. Freedom of thought cannot be rationally disputed without assuming

it. That advanced thinker whom Mr. Spencer introduced as in a strait whether to repress or express the truth that was in him made all the motions of freedom in Mr. Spencer's hands. Imagine a mind under the law of necessity puzzling itself with such a question. As well might we imagine a scale pan debating whether to rise or fall, and finally deciding to follow the heavier weight. And then reflect on the logical character of a debate in which the point denied has to be assumed to save the discussion from becoming farcical. Such is seen to be the real standing of the necessitarian argument as soon as we transfer the discussion to the field of thought. If, then, we were looking for the most important field of freedom we should certainly find it in the moral realm; but if we were seeking the purest illustration of freedom we should find it in the operations of pure thought. Here we have a self-directing activity, which proceeds according to laws inherent in itself and to ideals generated by itself.

But here it is important to note just what this freedom is. It is not a power to make things true or false at will. The rational connection of ideas and the uniformities of external nature we can neither make nor unmake. If we have the premises we cannot change the conclusion. Now, it is clear that freedom, which I defined as the power of self-direction in an intelligent being, is not to be taken to mean absolute and lawless arbitrariness. Such a conception would swamp reason no less than necessity does. Freedom, except on a basis of uniformity and fixity, is valueless and fatal to rationality. And this leads to a discovery. Freedom and uniformity must be united in rationality, and neither can dispense with the other. In our rational life we find the basis of uniformity given in the laws of thought and the fixed connections of ideas. We did not make the laws, and we cannot abrogate them. They are forever secure from all tampering and overthrow. Yet, though thus imperative, we find that they do not of themselves secure obedience. If they did error would be impossible. Hence, in addition to the laws of thought founded in the nature of rationality, there is needed an act of ratification and of self-control in accordance with those laws. Only thus does reason become regnant in our thinking; and only thus do we become properly rational beings. Again, the truths of reason and of physical science are quite independ-

ent of our volition. Yet the inviolability of their existence does not provide for our knowledge of them. They do not get themselves known, but we come to know them only through slow, painful, and persistent research. Science itself is one of the great achievements of human freedom. We do not drift into it, neither is it let down ready-made from the skies; but by the ceaseless toil and devotion of free men the temple of science and knowledge is slowly built up.

Here, then, in freedom is the source of both truth and error in knowledge. Our faculties are made for truth; but this alone does not secure truth. We must use those faculties carefully, critically, persistently if any valuable knowledge is to be reached. The chief factor in the progress of knowledge is the will and set purpose to know. Our faculties are made for truth, but they may be carelessly used or willfully misused; and thus error, with all its brood, is born. Here is the source of the whims, the caprices, the infatuations, the obstinacies of men. There is no solution of the problem of human error except in the fact of human freedom, at least none which does not overthrow reason itself. A rational activity must be a free activity —not a lawless or capricious one, indeed, but one which directs and controls itself from within according to its own inner light and law. When this is not the case reason sinks into a mental mechanism, for which the ideal distinctions of truth and error have neither meaning nor application. In that case error is not a human, but a cosmic, fact. It is not a result of human carelessness or willfulness, but a necessary product of persistent force or the fundamental reality or the Unknown Cause or whatever we choose to call the basal existence of the universe. Then we have to admit in the cosmos, not merely an element of reason, but a strong element of unreason—an element which has worked itself out into all the blunders and caprices and infatuations of men—an element, moreover, which up to date seems to be much too strong for the element of reason. The puzzles in which this view would land us have been indicated in treating of Mr. Spencer's Unknown Cause, which produces and authorizes everyone's beliefs.

The traditional arguments for both freedom and necessity have generally been shortsighted and superficial. They have commonly confined themselves to our executive activities in the

outer world, and have overlooked the significance of freedom in the thought-life. This has been largely due to supposing that the psychological distinctions of will and intelligence represent a real distinction of things, instead of different aspects of one thing. In this way will has been set apart for unintelligent and unmotived willing, while the intellect is supposed to be complete in itself. With such a psychology it is not strange that nonsense has reigned supreme. In fact, however, both will and intellect are only a pair of abstractions. The reality is the willing, knowing self. The willing is not done in the dark of ignorance, but in the light of intelligence; and the knowing is not something that does itself, but something which is reached only through that will to know which lies at the root of knowledge. I am persuaded, therefore, that one wishing to find his way into this problem of freedom will do well to consider, first of all, the question of freedom in intelligence itself and the collapse of rationality involved in the system of necessity.

Thus far we have considered the significance of freedom in relation to the human subject. I next point out that, without assuming a free cause as the source of the outer, world the mind is unable to satisfy its own rational nature or to bring any line of thought to an end. Thus the search for unity and the desire for explanation and for the unification of the system of things in a common source are alike frustrated, until we pass beyond the order of necessary and mechanical thinking and rise to the conception of free intelligence as the source and spring of all existence. As we need the conception of freedom in man for the solution of the problem of error, so we also need the conception of freedom at the foundation of the cosmos to make it amenable to the demands of our intelligence. I argue as follows:

Only phenomena are given in immediate perception. Their causes are not given, and the nature of those causes is a problem to be solved by thought, not by sense. But the explanation of effects by necessary causes finally consists in assuming a cause or set of causes of such nature or in such relations that they must produce just those effects and no others. We carry the effects in principle into the causes, and our deduction of the effects consists in drawing out what we put in. We infer the causes from the effects, and deduce the effects from the causes.

But in all this we are simply manipulating an identical equation, reading it alternately from left to right and from right to left, with no real progress in either case. The gist of the method is thus given by Mephistopheles in "Faust:"

> The first was so, the second was so,
> And hence the third and fourth were so;
> And had first and second never been,
> The third and fourth, too, had not been.

We know that the first and second were so because the third and fourth were so; and we know that the third and fourth must have been because we know by hypothesis that the first and second must have been.

In a necessary system, then, there is no real explanation. We merely read the present back into past conditions which implied the present; and our deduction of the present consists in reading those hypothetical past conditions forward into their assumed implications. Our thought merely oscillates between the present actual and the past potential, without reaching any simplicity as we go backward or making any advance as we come forward. The fact, however, is easily overlooked, for two reasons. One is that the aim in much of our explanation is purely practical and does not seek for any ultimate reason. Hence, when we have connected an event with other events according to some rule we count it explained; and practically there is no need to look further. If, then, our aim be practical, and not speculative, we may content ourselves with looking for the laws according to which events happen. But such explanation gives no real explanation; it only postpones the problem.

The other reason for our failure to see the vanity of all explanation by necessary causes is the ease with which simplifications of words are mistaken for simplifications of things. The complexity and plurality of things disappear in the simplicity and identity of the class term; and then we fancy that the things themselves have been simplified and unified. To complete the illusion, we assume that the class term implies all to which it applies, and, hence, the corresponding reality implies all the realities to which the class term applies. But in all this we are the prey of a logical, or rather a verbal, illusion. When we class things together we do nothing to the

things. We merely get a common name, which leaves the things as distinct as ever. And this name, though it applies to all the individuals, implies none of them. But untrained thought mistakes the order of logical manipulation for an order of reality; and thus some term, like "matter" or "force," which is really only the last term of logical abstraction, is made the first term of real existence; and thus, again, the logical subordination of individuals to the containing class is mistaken for an ontological implication. Of course, a mind under the influence of this illusion has no difficulty in reaching an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity at the beginning and in persuading it to evolve to order.

But when we guard against the illusive simplifications of verbal thinking it is evident that, on the plane of necessity, the desire for explanation can never be satisfied. As we go backward we carry the problem with us; and when, in weariness, we stop the problem in all its complexity is still with us. In a necessary system the antecedents which are to explain anything must already imply that thing to its minutest details. If they do not imply it they cannot produce it; and if they do imply it our thought moves in a circle. The net result is that things are as they are, and no more can be said about the matter. A positivist, of course, would profess himself satisfied with this result; but the human mind in general is not satisfied. Human thinking has been notoriously prolific of explanations and philosophies of things—a fact which shows the tendency and need of our reason. Unfortunately, this speculation has largely been carried on in ignorance of its own conditions and implications. Hence the numberless futile explanations which cumber the history of thought. But if we are to escape the deadlock to which the notion of necessity brings us it can be only by the conception of free intelligence. This is, indeed, the only real explanation of anything. Until we reach this we merely lose ourselves in the mazes of mechanism and wander through exceedingly dry places, seeking rest, but finding none.

A similar argument applies to the search for unity. We talk much of unity nowadays, and, indeed, monism is quite the order of the day. The conception of a fundamental pluralism is cast out as altogether abominable. This fact shows the strong speculative demand for unity, but it by no means shows

how and where unity may be found. The unities which experience presents us are mainly of a formal kind, as when we call a crowd one. In such cases the mind gives the form of unity to something which in itself is no unity at all. Such unities have no existence apart from the mind which forms them. But the speculative problem is to find a concrete unity, and not merely a formal one—a unity which has real, as well as conceptional, existence. And after much beating about it appears that such unity can never be found on the plane of necessity. From the plurality of cosmic manifestation we could never infer a necessary unity; nor could such unity ever produce a plurality. If we start with a plurality we never get behind it; and if we start with a unity it refuses to move at all. If we decide to call something a unity, so long as we view it as necessitated we are compelled to carry some kind of mechanism of metaphysical states into our alleged unity in order to secure any motion; and then, though we continue to speak confidently about unity, we are at a loss to tell in what it consists. The opposed and interacting states are as far as we get, and the unity is only in name. Reason, indeed, calls loudly for unity, but it has no means of integrating a plurality into a true unity or of differentiating a unitary necessity into a plurality. Here is another deadlock for the speculative reason, and the only way out of it lies in the notion of free intelligence. This is the one thing that can be manifold without being many, that can posit plurality over against itself and maintain its own unity, and that can bind the many together in the unity of plan and purposeful activity. Apart from this the world falls asunder into an unmanageable plurality, having only the formal unity our thought attributes to it, and being essentially a contradictory puzzle for our intelligence. Hence, the mind must either lose itself in an endless and bootless regress; or it must rise above the plane of necessity to a free mind, on which the cosmos depends and by which it exists.

Thus far we have explained and illustrated the fact of freedom and its significance for life, for science, for philosophy, for reason itself. This significance will further appear if we next examine the opposite idea of necessity. This is commonly supposed to be clear and self-evident, while freedom is the difficult notion. This illusion is pretty sure to arise during the early

stages of reflection; but deeper reflection dispels it. The only clear conception we have of necessity is rational necessity—that is, the necessity which attaches to the relations of ideas, as in logic and mathematics. But this necessity is not found in experience, whether of the inner or outer world. The elements of experience and their connections are all contingent, so far as rational necessity goes; that is, we cannot deduce them from ideas or connect them by any rational bond. The necessity, then, if there be any, is metaphysical. But this is an exceedingly obscure notion, and one which eludes any positive conception. It can be neither rationally comprehended nor sensuously cognized; and the more we wrestle with the idea the worse our puzzle becomes. Consider the following difficulties:

Under certain conditions an event occurs, and we call it a necessary one. Now, the fact of observation, of course, is only that under certain conditions we have found that kind of event to happen. That it happens by necessity is something added to the observation. Uniformity of happening is all we find; and, so far as observation goes, it is perfectly open to us to view this uniformity as administered by freedom. The freedom and the necessity are no part of the observation, but theories offered for its explanation. If, now, we say that the event was necessary, that its antecedents compelled it, we must certainly suppose that there was something in the antecedents which provided for it. How shall we think of that something? The event itself was not actual until its occurrence. What was it before? If we say the event simply followed the antecedents, without being determined by them, we give up all connection —even reason itself. The event, then, was in some sense predetermined and preexistent in its antecedents; but how? Here we help ourselves by a word and say, "It was potential in them." But "potentiality" is an obscure word, except on the plane of freedom. Here it refers to the possible self-determinations of the free spirit; but what a necessary metaphysical potentiality might be is hard to say. It must be in some sense an actuality, or it could never modify actuality; and yet it cannot be an actual actuality without antedating itself. We are driven, then, to distinguish two kinds of actuality—potential actuality and actual actuality—without, however, the least shadow of insight into

the distinction between them. Thus the doctrine of necessity finds itself in unstable equilibrium between the groundless becoming of Hume's doctrine, in which events succeed one another without any inner ground or connection, and a doctrine of freedom, in which the ground of progress and connection is to be found, not in an unmanageable metaphysical bond which defies all understanding, but in the ever-present freedom which posits events in a certain order, and thus forever administers all that we mean by the system of law and founds all that we mean by necessity in things.

The metaphysics of necessity is certainly very obscure, and it is even hard to keep the notion from vanishing under our hands. Mr. Mill felt so strongly both the difficulty of the notion and the lack of proof of any corresponding fact that he proposed to banish the term entirely from philosophy and replace it by the empirical notion of uniformity. But this may be only the obscurity which attaches to all ultimate facts; and the metaphysics of freedom may be equally or more obnoxious to criticism. This, indeed, is very generally alleged to be the case. The leading difficulties lie in the supposed demands of the principle of causality and in the alleged postulates of science. We must, in closing, devote a word or two to this matter.

The objections drawn from the law of causation rest upon a misunderstanding of both freedom and causation. Freedom is ascribed to the will, and the will is abstracted from feeling and intelligence. Thus freedom is reduced to blind arbitrariness and loses its value. But this fiction results, as we have seen, from mistaking the abstractions of psychology for separate and mutually indifferent factors. Fortunately, psychology has got beyond this. If anything is free it is not the will, but the knowing and feeling soul; and this soul determines itself, not in the dark of ignorance or in the indifference of emotionless and valueless life, but in the light of knowledge and with experience of life's values. Now, such self-directing activity does not violate the law of causation. That law tells us only to seek an agent; but it does not tell us what the agent must be. So far as the law goes, a self-directing cause is as possible as any other; indeed, it is the only cause of which we have any experience. Of course, we cannot tell how freedom is made or how freedom is possible; but just as little can we tell how necessity

is made or is possible. But, though we cannot tell how freedom is possible, we seem to have some experience of it as a fact, while we not only have no experience of metaphysical necessity, but the idea itself is elusive to the last degree, if, indeed, it does not disappear altogether, either in a groundless becoming, on the one hand, or in the infinite regress, on the other. Hence, so far as the law of causation is concerned, the question of free causality is simply one of fact. If experience shows, or seems to show, causes which have any measure of self-control and self-direction there is no good speculative or other reason against their recognition.

But now the objections drawn from the postulates of science are ordered up. Science assumes the uniformity of law, and thus excludes freedom. Science assumes that under like circumstances there must be the same result. Freedom assumes that under like circumstances there may be a different result. The opposition is absolute and forbids mediation. Either, says Mr. Spencer in his *Principles of Psychology*, mental phenomena are subject to law or they are not. If they are not subject to law his work and every other on the subject are nonsense. This is peremptory; and thus we seem to be landed in a very grievous antinomy. On the one hand, a system of necessity destroys reason, and, on the other hand, the admission of freedom is fatal to science. But it is plain that the supreme condition of science is reason itself. It is reason which generates science, and it is reason in whose interests science is wrought out. A conception of science, therefore, which implies the undermining of that very reason which produces science is manifestly self-destructive. We must, therefore, assume the free reason as the absolute condition of science, and determine the aims of science in accordance therewith.

Now, the objection to freedom in the interest of science is mainly a closet difficulty. It may be formidable in closet speculation and academic theorizing, but it has no real weight. It is, indeed, irrelevant to the true conception of both freedom and science. It tacitly assumes that freedom means pure lawlessness, whereas freedom itself presupposes the order of law as its condition. Freedom uses this order, and science studies this order. Science concerns itself with the modes of being and happening among things and events, and their existence and nature

are in no way affected by the question of freedom. The forms and laws of sensibility, the laws and categories of intelligence are not involved in freedom; and, whether we affirm or deny freedom, these laws and forms exist as the proper subject of psychological study. The belief in freedom vacates the science of psychology just as much and just as little as it vacates the science of physics or chemistry. In both mental and physical realms the believer in freedom finds an agent acting in accordance with an order of law and, by means of that order, freely realizing his own aims. Freedom, then, is not opposed to physics or chemistry or psychology or any other modest science which studies the laws of things and events, but only to "science"—that is, that speculative dream which aims to bind up all things in a scheme of necessity; and this, so far from being science, is simply one of those uncritical dreams of which the dogmatic intellect has ever been so prolific.

There is implicit, however, in this uncritical dream a speculative aim which deserves consideration. It results from the desire for totality or systematic completeness. There is an unwillingness to leave anything unrelated and uncomprehended. Hence, the ever-recurring fancy that, if we knew all, we should find everything bound up in a rigid and all-comprehending system. But this aim, which is a legitimate one, is thwarted by a profound ignorance of the conditions of its own attainment. Hence, the thought to find the systematic totality in a metaphysical necessity of the mechanical type. The impossibility of this we have already seen. Even supposing that metaphysical necessity means anything, we cannot attain to any finality by this road. We lose ourselves in an infinite regress and a boundless plurality. We have, also, so little insight into the contents of this necessity that we cannot tell what any moment may bring forth. There is no metaphysical security for any law of nature whatever. It may be necessary now, but how long it will stay so or what will be necessary to-morrow is quite beyond us. Thus we are left hopelessly in the lurch by the necessity to which we appeal.

But, in our revolt against necessity, we must be on our guard against falling into the opposite abyss of lawless caprice. A world in which events fall out by chance and haphazard is also intolerable to intelligence. And the fancy that this is the

alternative to necessity has been one great support of the latter doctrine. As long as this fancy is held, the mind must oscillate between the two extremes, being driven out from either as soon as it grasps its implications. The only way out lies in the notion of rational purpose, or of a Creator who is working a rational work in accordance with a rational plan. In this plan everything will have its place and function and will be comprehended in an all-embracing purpose. In this work we shall have no unintelligible metaphysical necessities called laws, but rather uniformities of procedure, freely chosen with reference to the plan. At the same time we shall have no lawless and chance events, as all will arise in accordance with the purpose of the whole. Metaphysical necessity in the world must be replaced in our thought by the conception of uniformity, administered by freedom for the attainment of rational ends. Here in the unity of the free Creator, in the unity of his plan, and in his ever-working will is the only place where the world has unity, completeness, and systematic connection. Metaphysics adds its conviction that here is the only place where the world has any existence whatsoever.

In this paper my aim has been to suggest fruitful lines of thought, rather than to carry out any one in detail. It is plain that the problems of thought and knowledge are more complex and subtle than the offhand and amateur speculator imagines. Current thought is full of verbal thinking mistaken for real thinking, of verbal simplifications and deductions mistaken for real simplifications and deductions, of abstract and partial views mistaken for concrete and complete views. The only remedy is to deepen and broaden our thinking, by surveying the problems of thought and life in their totality and in systematic connection. When this is done it will appear that freedom, instead of being an offense to reason, is one of the chief factors of the rational life.

Borden P. Bowne.

Art. II—HANS SACHS, THE POET OF THE REFORMATION.

On the fifth of November, 1894, the Protestants of Germany celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Hans Sachs. This humble shoemaker of Nuremberg became the most voluminous and the most popular German poet of the sixteenth century. Sachs occupies a unique place in the literature of the Fatherland; and a study of his life and times throws a sidelight upon the Reformation age which reveals many unnoticed, but most graphic and realistic, details. Hans Sachs was preeminently a child of his own times. To understand him properly and to appreciate him adequately it is necessary to study him historically. He shines most clearly and most attractively in his mediæval setting. One needs to stand in the dawning light of that wonderful sixteenth century; to walk through the quaint old streets of his native Nuremberg; to catch the sound of the awakening genius of the people; to count their heart throbs by the beating of their hammers; to feel the uplifting power of their new lore of learning and of their new hope of a fuller and freer spiritual life. Then he may look in at the doorway on the Kotgasse, see Hans Sachs busy every day at his shoemaker's bench, and be better able to comprehend how it was possible for this man to stir so mightily the moral consciousness of his countrymen and create for himself a permanent place in the history and literature of his age.

At the close of the fifteenth century, when Hans Sachs was born, Nuremberg had reached the highest point in its development. It had attained an almost unequaled commercial importance among the cities of Germany. During the Middle Ages the natural highway between southern and northern Europe was through the Brenner Pass, from Venice to Innspruck. As the stream of commerce flowed from Italy into Germany it emptied itself into the imperial cities of Augsburg and Nuremberg, and these became the chief markets for the products of the South and East. Nuremberg, however, was more favorably situated for trade with the North, and it also had an advantage over Augsburg in the great variety of its own manu-

factured articles. Its art industries were famous in all lands. Rarely does one find a more striking example of the influence of commerce upon industry and of industry upon art than in this mediæval city. The gold and silver, the pearls and precious stones, the ivory and costly woods which were brought from distant lands were a perpetual stimulus to the workers in these precious metals and materials.* Most renowned of all the mediæval artists of Nuremberg was Albert Dürer. The same year that Hans Sachs was born the young painter, then twenty-three years of age, returned from a four years' journey through the chief cities of Germany.

A city which had attained such prosperity in commerce and in art was naturally coveted by the powers of the Church. It was considered especially desirable as a center for the various monastic orders. There were cloisters belonging to the Augustinians, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and the Carthusians. Notwithstanding the presence of these active emissaries of the Church, the people in general were never largely influenced by the clergy. There was a sturdy independence and a self-aggressiveness about the citizens of Nuremberg which made it difficult for the priesthood to subdue and control them. It is true that the indulgence sellers often carried on a flourishing business in the city, but the reason was to be found, not so much in the people's faith in the efficacy of the indulgences, as in their loyalty to the emperor. The pope was preaching against the Turks, and he and his hirelings must be encouraged in their tirades against the common foe. The ninety-five theses nailed upon the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg resounded through the land like so many thunder peals. Nor did their echoes die away. All Germany was aroused. The eyes of the intelligent began to be opened to the hollowness of clerical pretense. Men of position and influence sympathized with the new movement. Pamphlet after pamphlet followed each other in quick succession. But these discussions were almost entirely confined to the monks, the nobility, and the ruling classes. The real nature of the controversy was not yet clearly comprehended by the common peo-

*A manuscript catalogue, dating from the end of the sixteenth century and now preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin, enumerates more than two hundred distinct trades that were recognized in the city and district of Nuremberg.

ple. A voice was needed to speak to them in their own tongue and to arouse them to enthusiasm for the cause of the Reformation. That voice came from the shop of the Nuremberg shoemaker, in his first great poem—the song of the "Wittenberg Nightingale."

Hans Sachs was an only child. His father, a respectable tailor, owned the house in which he lived and in which Hans was born. It stood on the Kotgasse, now called the Brunnengasse—a street leading to a large square whose center has been occupied, for nearly six hundred years, by the handsome Church of St. Lawrence. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the city possessed four Latin schools. The instruction was given by the clergy; but the schools stood directly under the supervision of a committee of the city council, of which Willibald Pirkheimer, a prominent advocate of humanism, was chairman. It was to one of these Latin schools that Hans Sachs was sent when he was seven years old. Here, in addition to the fundamental branches, the boy studied grammar, geography, and singing, as well as astronomy and Latin. He remained in school eight years, and showed early a craving for knowledge and a clear comprehension of what he learned. The elder Sachs considered it essential that his son should learn a trade. Consequently, at fifteen years of age, the boy was apprenticed to a shoemaker. During his two years of service he made the acquaintance of Lienhard Nunnenbeck, a linen weaver and, at the same time, a *meistersinger* of considerable repute. From this man young Hans learned the first principles of mastersinging, of which he afterward became the most notable representative. But he was not long able to prosecute these studies, because the time for his *Wanderjahre* had come. Says Thomas Carlyle:*

Wanderjahre denotes the period which a German artisan is, by law or usage, obliged to pass in traveling to perfect himself in his craft, after the conclusion of his *Lehrjahre* (apprenticeship) and before his mastership can begin. In many guilds this custom is as old as their existence and continues still to be indispensable. It is said to have originated in the frequent journeys of the German emperors to Italy, and the consequent improvement observed in such workmen among their menials as had accompanied them thither.

* Essay on Goethe.

So it happened that the seventeen-year-old shoemaker lad must start out on his wanderings. First, he went to Ratisbon, thence to Passau, and thence to the picturesque town of Salzburg, where he found a school for mastersinging. He relates that at Wels in Upper Austria, in the year 1513, he resolved to cultivate the art of poetry as an intellectual recreation, in addition to his work as a shoemaker. His earliest poem appeared at this time, but he never regarded it as having especial merit. From Salzburg the young journeyman wandered to Munich, where he remained a year, becoming a director of the school for vocal music. Thence he traveled to the fine old city of Würzburg, on the River Main. It had an especial attraction for him, because here the famous early German poet, Walther von der Vogelweide, had ended his days and found his grave. Journeying toward the west, Sachs visited Frankfort and some of the cities on the Rhine. But he had now reached the fifth year of his wanderings; so he remained only a short time in each place, wending his way through the beautiful forests and quaint towns of Thuringia, until in 1516 he found himself again within the walls of his native city.

Among the noteworthy customs and rules of the trades it was a universal law that no journeyman could be recognized as a master workman until he had been "honorably married and had had a wedding." It therefore became Hans Sachs's business to find himself a wife. As he was by nature given to caution and deliberation, he appears to have devoted careful thought to the subject. Evidence of this is found in two Shrove Tuesday plays, produced in 1517 and 1518, and especially in a poem written in the latter year. In these he enforces the truth that true happiness is to be found only in married life, and his own subsequent experience proved the correctness of his theory. He sought as a life companion one who was capable in every respect, and he believed that he had found her in the person of Kunigunde Krenzer, an orphan from the neighboring village of Wendelstein. His parents approved his choice, and the wedding took place September 1, 1519. The house on the Kotgasse where Hans was born was presented to him by his father. Here, for several years, the young couple lived, and Sachs devoted himself to his trade. He failed to court the muse of poetry, preferring to wait until he should feel freer

from the necessity of providing for his temporal welfare. His industry was not unrewarded, for he soon became known as one of the most skillful and successful workmen in the city. In 1542 he bought a house on the other side of the river Pegnitz, in the Sebald quarter. The street is now called Hans Sachs Street; but the original residence is no longer standing. In its place are two small houses, on one of which is a tablet with the inscription, "Here lived Hans Sachs." Standing before it, one can almost imagine that he hears, issuing from the open window, the quick tap of the shoemaker's hammer or sees the poet among his books and papers, dealing the blows whose echoes still resound among the German people.

His marriage with Kunigunde proved to be a happy one. In his writings he often spoke jestingly, and even derisively, of the peculiarities of ill-natured women; but he did not find his examples or the cause for his satirical references in his own home. In the poem "The Bittersweet Married Life," a young man is made to report a conversation with "Meister Hans" on the advisability of marriage. In a long series of antitheses, with keen humor and a masterly command of language the poet portrays the light and the dark sides of married life. The lines begin,

> My wife is my paradise;
> My purgatory likewise.

And the concluding sentences may be rendered,

> She is my servant and my master,
> She is my wound as well as plaster,
> She is my heart's dear dwelling place,
> But makes my hair grow gray apace.

Allowance must be made here for poetical license. Sachs knew very well that all marriages did not turn out as happily as his own; and the twinkle of his eye as he penned these lines had in it nothing but love for his "dear Kunigunde."

During these years which Hans Sachs devoted to his family and his shoemaking the new doctrines which emanated from the cloister at Wittenberg were rapidly spreading. In Nuremberg Willibald Pirkheimer was regarded as a forerunner of the Reformation. He was included in the papal bull against the reformers, but in later years maintained a more and more conservative attitude. The real leader of the Nuremberg Reforma-

tion was Lazarus Spengler, first secretary of the council and Luther's faithful champion. In 1519 he published a defense of Luther's doctrines, and was the representative of the city at the Diet of Worms. The city council endeavored, however, to restrain the zealous adherents of the great reformer, and even forbade the sale of his writings. This action was taken out of respect to the position of the emperor. The council deemed it better to take no decided stand, either for one party or the other, but to await developments. When the Diet was held in Nuremberg, in 1522, there were great church festivities. Gorgeous processions marched through the streets; priests and prelates, elaborately arrayed, dazzled the eyes of beholders. But all these evidences of wealth, power, and glory made no permanent impression. They could not restrain the great popular current which had already set in toward the new doctrines.

For several years no poetical production had issued from the shoemaker's workshop. About this time his wife noticed that her husband was more given to meditation than usual, that he often took long walks alone through the fields and in the Laurenzer woods, spending many hours away from home. When she asked him about it he replied that he was thinking. Every evening he sat at his table, often until late at night, reading and studying various books and small pamphlets, which he bought secretly and read with as much avidity as though the salvation of his soul depended on them. Day and night his thoughts became occupied with what the Augustinian monk so clearly and so forcibly proclaimed. He managed to obtain a copy of the suppressed Nuremberg edition of the theses against indulgences and brought it home as a great treasure. Numerous editions of Luther's early writings were being issued, not only from Wittenberg, but from Leipsic, Strasburg, and Basel. They were widely circulated, and Sachs eagerly sought them. When the tract *An Address to the Christian Nobles of the German Nation* appeared the humble shoemaker thought that it would scarcely be adapted to his taste and circumstances. But when he read the bold words which Luther used in the Introduction—"God will help his Church by means of the laity, since the clergy, whose duty it was, have become altogether careless about it"—the poet of the people felt himself called

upon to utter his voice on the side of the Reformation. His whole nature was mightily stirred. The natural and inevitable result was the pouring forth of the famous poem, "The Wittenberg Nightingale." It was a tribute of love and admiration to Martin Luther and, at the same time, an announcement of his own evangelical faith.

The entire poem is allegorical. The nightingale is, as the title indicates, Martin Luther. His singing heralds the dawning of the day. His notes are strong and far reaching. They well represent the widespread effect of Luther's doctrines, as well as the strength and beauty of his writings. The song of the nightingale awakens the sheep (the Christians), thus arousing the anger of the lion (Pope Leo), who attempts to destroy the nightingale by sending the wolves after it. But the flock of sheep leave the wilderness, following the notes of the nightingale and escaping the wolves (bishops and abbots) and the serpents (the monks and nuns), who have so long deceived, betrayed, and sought to devour them. The traffic in indulgences, the reading of masses, the worship of the saints, the torments of purgatory, and all the long list of errors with which the priests endeavored to maintain dominion over their poor, deluded victims are pictured with remarkable vividness, unsurpassed wealth of language, and with scathing sarcasm. The shaven heads, the long prayers, the burning of candles, the carrying of banners, the offering of incense, the baptism of bells, the selling of grace, the consecration of salt and wax and water—all this and much more of the same sort constitute "the pope's divine service." Opponents of Luther are represented, according to a common custom of the time, as animals. Emser is the buck, the name which had already been applied to him by Luther; Dr. Eck, the wild boar. The learned men who directed their polemics against Luther are pictured as "croaking frogs," while the uneducated who failed to respect him because they could not comprehend him are "wild geese." The poem consists of seven hundred lines, and gives a vivid and comprehensive representation of the entire Reformation movement. Toward the close the poet rises to a high pitch of moral indignation against the tyranny of priestcraft and exhorts all Christians "to stand by the word of God," for "the end of the dominion of the true antichrist will surely come."

He declares that the sinful and doomed Babylon of which Daniel wrote has its fulfillment in the papacy; and, therefore, he calls upon all believers to

> Return from the wilderness,
> To our shepherd, Jesus Christ.
> A good shepherd he is,
> Prevented our death by his;
> Our help in adversity,
> Our hope for eternity.
> Let all who believe in his name,
> Now join in a loud "Amen."

The first edition of this poem bears no date; but Sachs in his writings gives its date as "the eighth day of July, 1523." On the title-page, underneath a rough woodcut which covers nearly the entire page, are the words from Luke xix, 40, "I tell you that, if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out." The woodcut represents a nightingale sitting on a tree, under which are the lion and the other animals named in the poem, while upon a mountain in the background stands the Lamb, with the banner of victory. The inscription at the head of the Preface reads, "To all lovers of evangelical truth Johannes Sachs, shoemaker, wishes grace and peace in Christ Jesus our Lord." The "Wittenberg Nightingale" may be considered as the poetical masterpiece of Hans Sachs. The effect which the author sought to produce was achieved in a far higher degree than he could have expected. The poem made an extraordinary impression. During the first year six different editions were issued. It is referred to by many other writers of the period. Some, like Cochlæus, the bitter anti-Lutheran of Frankfort-on-the-Main, sneered at the shoemaker; and others, like the artist Greifenberger, defended him and praised the poem.

The remarkable popularity which this composition attained encouraged the author to continue to champion the cause of the reformers. The next year he issued four popular *Theological Dialogues*, the only samples of prose among all the thousands of his productions. These are written in a style which was very attractive to the masses. The weaknesses of the Catholic clergy, their ignorance of the Scriptures and of the history of the Church, their love for gain and for a life of indolence—these are brought out with a freshness and irony that are ex-

ceedingly effective. Sachs shows how well versed he was in the Bible and how firmly he had grounded his faith in the word of God. He was probably well acquainted with the Bible before Luther appeared, although he did not possess one himself; but it was not until he purchased a copy of Luther's translation that he began to really make the Scriptures a subject of study. His skillful use of texts was one of his chief weapons in attacking the abuses of the Church. In the last of these dialogues, "A Conversation of an Evangelical Christian with a Lutheran," he manifests the spirit of moderation and toleration with which he regarded the controversies which were raging around him. He endeavored to restrain the extreme zeal of the Lutherans against the Catholics, claiming that the latter should be overcome by the word of God, and, wherever the Scriptures allowed, their practices should be treated with tolerance.* Sachs did not attempt to incorporate in his poetry a tirade against the Catholics or to overwhelm them in polemical discussions. He sought rather, by the use of the legitimate arts of poetry, to present the existing evils in such a light that the people would be compelled to rid themselves of them. He also rendered an especial service to the cause of the Reformation by his influence upon its hymnology. He changed many Catholic hymns so that they should be in harmony with what he believed to be a pure Christianity. For the name of Mary and of various saints that of Jesus was substituted. He also composed several new hymns and versified some of the psalms, arranging them for use in church singing. In 1527 a collection of hymns and psalms appeared, in which those of Sachs stood with those of Luther.

In the years 1539 and 1540 Sachs produced two poems of a more serious tone, in which he complained in most painful terms of the decline of the Reformation and the gradual disappearance of many of its most valued acquisitions. The first of these, styled "Martyred Theology," represents theology as a much-abused woman. It describes in detail all the martyrdoms she has endured, and pictures in an unenviable light the various sects and parties which were the chief actors in bringing

*Opponents of the Reformation have not failed to make use of the sharp reproofs which Sachs administered to the impatient, and sometimes immoral, Lutherans of his day. In Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzergeschichte* quotations from the above dialogue are introduced to prove the cause of the decline of the Reformation.

about the existing desolation in the theological world. "The Complaining Gospel" is a plea for God's word. It has delivered man from a long night of error, only to be again forsaken by him and to be despised and perverted. So disheartened is the poet at the threatening loss of all that has been so happily attained that he declares, "If Christ himself should come and accept his own word the narrow-minded throng would crucify him again as an erring deceiver, a rebel, and a murderer." He concludes the complaint with a heartfelt prayer to God that he may preserve to us his holy word, that by it we may be "inflamed through every part—body, soul, head, and heart," and that men may again be established in the true faith. It deeply grieved him that so many of the adherents of the Reformation failed to recognize that the purified faith they had received included a new and a higher moral law, and that they were under obligation to live according to it. Similar complaints were made by Pirkheimer; but, in contrast with Sachs, Pirkheimer's testimony must be discounted, for he lacked a firm evangelical faith, and his own private life was not above reproach.

The sudden death of Martin Luther, on the eighteenth of February, 1546, was a severe blow to all the Protestants, and few of them felt it more keenly than the shoemaker-poet. It was the occasion of a new evidence of his firm adherence to the cause of evangelical truth. Moved by his own grief, he wrote his "Epitaph to Doctor Martin Luther," a noble tribute to the consummate worth of the great reformer and a witness to the high regard in which he was held by the common people. The following rendering will give an idea of the contents of the poem, though it lacks the terse, vigorous expression and the melodious rhythm of the old German original. The poet says:

I thought myself in a temple built in the Saxon style, brightly illumined by candles, and filled with the odor of incense. Before the altar stood a catafalque covered with a pall. Above it hung a shield adorned with a rose, in whose center was a cross.* I cried, "O, God! what means this?" I thought, "What if this were the dead body of Dr. Martin Luther?" Presently there advanced from the choir, in snow-white garb, a matron whose name is Theologia. She stood by the bier of the dead; she wrung her hands and burst into passionate tears. With sobs she began and said: "Liest thou there, and art thou dead, O thou hero

* It will be remembered that this was Luther's coat of arms.

true and bold, chosen of God to fight for me so valiantly? Thou didst overcome my enemy by the word of God, by discussion, writing, and preaching. Thou hast led me forth from the great tribulation of my Babylonian captivity, in which I lay so long that I was well-nigh forgotten. My captors dragged me back and forth. My snowy raiment was soiled and torn. I was so bruised, wounded, and disfigured by their godless, human doctrines that one would scarcely have known me. My foes despised me, and I was counted as naught. At last thou, O noble hero, by the grace of God didst set me free. Thou didst bathe my wounds; thou didst cleanse my garments from falsehood and deceit; thou didst anoint me and heal me, so that now I am fully restored, strong, and pure as in the beginning. In the accomplishment of this great task thy life has often been endangered. Pope, bishop, king, and prince have thirsted for thy blood. But as one of God's heroes thou hast ever remained steadfast, faithful, and true, turning aside for no danger, and ever pursuing the pathway of God and of the truth. But, now that thou hast departed, who will be my defender? What will be my fate, so unhappy and desolate am I in the midst of my enemies?" "I will answer thee [replies the poet]. Fear thou not; be of good courage, thou holy one. God himself hath thee in his keeping. He hath given thee in abundance many noble men, who still live and who are well able to protect thee. Yea, the entire multitude of Christians shall stand thy guard, for thou hast become known throughout the length and breadth of the Fatherland. None of them will forsake thee. They will preserve thee from the vast multitude of errors taught by men. No power or craft can harm thee. The gates of hell shall not prevail against thee. Therefore, let thy mourning be only for this—that Dr. Martin, conqueror and victor, a truly apostolic warrior, who has finished the fight on earth and broken the might of thine enemies, hath now, by the tender mercy of God, been summoned to his eternal rest." And that Christ may help us all, after the misery of life, to enter into eternal joy—this is the prayer of Hans Sachs.

Death came still nearer to the poet in 1560, when his "beloved companion," Kunigunde, was taken from him. The blow was the more severe because he was left entirely alone, all of their seven children having died previously. The genuineness of his sorrow for his wife is touchingly manifested in his poem written in her memory. It is one of the pearls of his poetical compositions. In this same year Sachs made a "general register" of all the poems which he had written. Their number is astonishing. In this list he gives the names of nearly fifty-four hundred. These were subsequently increased to more than six thousand. He even surpassed Luther, and is probably the most prolific writer whom the German nation has

produced. The larger part of these writings are still extant. Several editions of his poems were published during his lifetime. In 1870 the Stuttgart Literary Society began the publication of a complete edition of his works. The volumes are critically edited, and, thus far, twenty-one of them have appeared. Hans Sachs died on the evening of the nineteenth of January, 1576, being in his eighty-second year. He was buried in the Cemetery of St. John, just outside the city, where lay the bodies of Albert Dürer and other noted men of Nuremberg. But, strange to say, like John Calvin's at Geneva, his grave is no longer definitely known. Thus ended the life of one of the most unique characters in German history.

The writings of the Nuremberg shoemaker present no great poetical problems. Whatever he thought and felt he expressed distinctly and clearly. The lucidity of his style is one of its chief attractions. It was to this characteristic, more than to any other, that he owed his widespread popularity. As one reads page after page of his poems and notices continually how smoothly, how naturally, how melodiously flows the current of thought and of language the impression is irresistible that this man was a master of the forms of literary expression. He understood the art of producing suspense in the mind of the reader, and he often used it to great advantage. He does not disclose at once all the details of the scene which he wishes to put before the imagination, but allows these to come to light incidentally. The description is mingled with the action of the poem. It is all the more effective because unnoticed. His style has a peculiar charm in its quaint simplicity. In the "Creation, Fall, and Expulsion of Adam from Paradise" he pictures, in a very naïve manner, Eve's alarm whenever God visits her and Adam's instruction of his boys, as he tells them how to behave before God, how to take off their hats, bow, and give God their hand.

The unique position of Hans Sachs in the history of German literature is worthy of special mention. He is the sole representative of German poetry during the Reformation period. That no other poets were produced has often led to the charge that the Reformation was antagonistic to the advancement of literature. Thus, Paul Lacroix writes: "The Reformation, it must be said, was everywhere fatal to language

and literature; and it dealt an especially severe blow at German poetry. Hans Sachs, the Nuremberg shoemaker, is, perhaps, the only poet who, trying his hand at all branches of poetry, ventured to brave the Lutheran intolerance." * While it is true that there is no other great name in German poetry during this century, it must not be overlooked that a similar statement can be made concerning countries which were not touched by the Lutheran Reformation. It would be difficult to find in the literature of any other nation a single great name that lends literary luster to the first half of the sixteenth century. The Reformation dawned at a time when German national literature was at its lowest ebb. Hitherto, the intellectual life of the people had been limited to a very small circle and confined within a very narrow range. It had been made to conform to the modes of expression current in other languages. The Reformation brought with it new forces, which created a new literary epoch. The Germans were impelled to cultivate their own language, to utilize their own habits of thought, and to develop the inherent resources of their own national life. It is true that the evidences of this intellectual regeneration were not immediately manifested in any marked degree. There was no widespread literary activity. The reason plainly was that the Reformation itself produced such a moral upheaval that the awakening intelligence of the nation everywhere turned its attention and directed its energies toward the profound moral and ecclesiastical problems thus suddenly revealed. It was an age of action, rather than of expression, but action which was inevitably followed by expression. The turmoil and unrest of the Reformation age furnished the elements for the rich literary deposits of the succeeding centuries.

After the middle of the seventeenth century the popularity of Hans Sachs began to wane. The reasons were his unexampled productivity and the changes which had taken place in the German language during the previous hundred years. The people no longer understood the old form of speech in which Sachs had written. For the poet's literary resurrection we are chiefly indebted to Goethe. He gave a true picture of the man in his poem "Hans Sachs's Poetical Mission." He taught

* *Science and Literature in the Middle Ages*, p. 448. Lacroix is a Parisian Catholic, and classes Wyclif, Huss, and Luther among the "heresiarchs."

Wieland to admire him, and the Weimar essayist praised the Nuremberg poet in prose, wrote tales in the Hans Sachs manner, and sought to enrich his vocabulary from old German sources. The influence which Sachs exercised over Goethe, Scherer says, is "traceable in his satirical dramas, in little didactic plays, in his poem written in praise of the old master himself, and, above all, in 'Faust.'" * Goethe began to write "Faust" in prose; but when he became familiar with Hans Sachs and his peculiar style he determined to put the story into its appropriate old German setting and to write in verse. It is thus to the poet of the Reformation that we are indebted for the final impulse which gave to the world the most celebrated dramatic poem in German literature.

Hans Sachs is the greatest "people's poet" whom the German nation has yet produced. He was himself a man of the people. Birth, training, trade, and personal temperament gave him a large sympathy with the struggling masses. As late as his sixty-third year he worked at his shoemaker's bench. He loved the common people. He lived for them, wrote of them, and spoke to them. The multitude of his poems on domestic and industrial life comprehends everything which a close observer saw around him. There is no important element of his times which he has not touched. From his poems it would be possible to construct a picture of the Reformation age which would be the most complete and most reliable ever presented by any writer. Schiller says, "The poet is a citizen, not only of his country, but of his times." If he be judged by this criterion Hans Sachs will be placed among the world's greatest poets.

* Scherer, *History of German Literature*, vol. ii, p. 100.

N. Walling Clark.

ART. III—THE GENERAL CONFERENCE AS A WORKING BODY.

IT is probable that several changes will be made, in the not distant future, in our General Conference system. Leaving constitutional questions to others, we propose now to examine the practical workings of the General Conference in the past, that we may discover how to secure the highest efficiency of this legislative body of the Church for the years to come. The subject will be presented under three heads: (1) the number of members composing the Conference; (2) the length of its sessions; (3) its methods of work.

I. The number of the members is variable from one session to another. Some provision should be made to reduce this variation to a minimum. It is generally believed that a deliberative body of more than two or three hundred members is necessarily unwieldy and unfitted for proper work. A careful study of the Conference at work will correct this mistaken judgment. The national political conventions called quadrennially to nominate candidates for president and vice president and to adopt platforms for the parties they represent are not unwieldy; yet they contain approximately three hundred more members than our own General Conference and five hundred more than that of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. A comparison of these two Conferences will be instructive. The last General Conference of the Southern Church, held at Memphis in 1894, was composed of 343 delegates, while our own General Conference at Omaha, in 1892, numbered 504. The smaller body has already provided for reducing its number about twenty-five per cent; and a proposition for reducing the size of our own body is now before the Church. It appears to the writer, from personal observation of the two Conferences at their work—the smaller at St. Louis and Memphis, the larger at Cincinnati, New York, and Omaha—that the advantage is clearly with the larger body, and that an assembly of five hundred delegates is not too cumbersome for legislation. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has reduced the size of her General Conference before it had reached that best suited for such work. To those who believe that a great re-

duction in numbers would cure most of the infirmities of the great assembly of our Church the following facts and observations are submitted for consideration.

At the General Conference held in New York in 1888 there were 463 delegates. The highest number at any time present and voting was 459, leaving 4 absent or not voting. Fourteen counted votes, taken on different days, show an average of 35 absent or not voting. The Southern General Conference held at Memphis in 1894 consisted of 343 members. In each of the three largest votes taken the number of voters was 296, or 47 less than the total membership of the Conference. The average number voting in fourteen counted votes was 258, or 85 less than the total number. Comparing fourteen counted votes in each of the two Conferences, the proportion of members absent or not voting was over three times greater in the smaller body than in the larger. The attendance of members in their seats indicates, in a general way, the estimate put upon the importance of legislation. But the difference may be attributed, in part, to the better accommodations enjoyed by the larger body. In the unfinished auditorium at Omaha the conditions were not so favorable as in New York, either as regards the seating facilities or the acoustic properties of the hall. But even the Omaha Conference of 504 delegates—nearly fifty per cent larger than the Southern body—shows a better percentage of members present and voting than the Memphis Conference, which assembled in a church. The highest vote at Omaha showed 484 members voting and 20 absent or not voting. Fourteen votes on different days disclosed an average of 50 absent or not voting. It is worthy of note, in passing, that when the New York General Conference was brought to an end for want of a quorum more than two thirds of the ministerial delegates were present, while only about three sevenths of the laymen were in their seats. At Omaha an aye and no vote was taken May 25, and only 10 ministers were found absent or not voting, while 36 of the laymen did not vote. The Southern General Conference contains a larger proportion of laymen, the two orders being equally represented; but as no division occurred at the last session between the ministerial and lay delegates it is not easy to discover the comparative attendance of the two orders.

A Southern bishop said at Memphis, in the presence of one of our fraternal delegates, that he should be sorry to see the day when their Conference should become so large as to be compelled to go elsewhere than to a church to hold its sessions. But one of the advantages for work enjoyed by our General Conference comes from the fact that, when it became too large to find accommodation within a church, it sought a place better adapted to its purposes than any church building could possibly be. The weariness of the flesh resulting from a four hours' sitting in pews without support for the arms causes restlessness both in body and mind—a condition unfavorable to the best legislation. It has been urged in favor of holding the sessions in the auditorium of a church that the place serves as a wholesome restraint upon the members during the discussions. But the facts fail to support this claim. What may be called turbulent vehemence in debate, not to mention the use of irrelevant and biting personalities, does not oftener mar the proceedings of the larger body in its hall than those of the smaller body in its church. A few "sons of thunder" among Methodist legislators lose themselves in the ardor of debate wherever they may happen to be. The difficulty experienced in hearing the speakers in a large body is often presented as an argument in favor of small deliberative bodies. But this would prove too much; for some speakers would not be easily heard in an assembly of only two hundred delegates. At the Memphis Conference, with only about three hundred usually present and with the farthest row of pews only thirteen from the platform, there was as much difficulty experienced in keeping order and in hearing the speakers as in the large Exposition Hall at Omaha, at a Conference having half again as many members and four times as many visitors. With the present numbers in our General Conference, "unwieldiness" is a question of location and methods rather than of bulk.

Another matter has been advanced as favoring the smaller number—namely, the greater expense incident to the meeting of a large body of delegates. While an amount of nearly $36,000 is large in the aggregate, yet when divided among the whole membership of the Church it is barely one cent and a half once every four years per member—a sum too insignificant to be called a burden upon the Church. It cost the

Southern Church about $18,700, or a little less than a cent and a half per member to pay the expenses of her General Conference at Memphis. But the delegates received notice that they must pay their own board if they remained beyond the fifteenth day's session; and the Conference was afterward extended to the sixteenth day. It is hardly just to grumble about the cost of travel and board of delegates who get no compensation for their labors. A wise economy would insure a large but judicious expenditure, in order to secure the most convenient place for the meetings and provide all possible facilities for the work.

Another question for consideration is the provision to be made for the accommodation of spectators. Says the *Western Christian Advocate* of May 16, 1894:

> The first obligation of a General Conference is to the Church, not to the lobby. We would do well to follow the example of the Church, South, in having our General Conference committees sit with closed doors. We would do well to go further and have the sessions of the General Conference with closed doors. Eliminate the galleries from the problem, and the question of time for business becomes much simpler.

This utterance appears to us to have been made without reflection. The galleries are not filled with lobbyists, but with loyal and honorably interested Methodists—"devout men, out of every nation under heaven." It is not proper for any legislative body to transact its business in secret session. When a statesman speaks on some question of national interest the halls of Congress are crowded with spectators. So must it ever be when churchmen speak in the chief council of our Zion. Deeply interested multitudes will be there to listen, and the discussions will be the better for their presence. The number of visitors who attend the business sessions of our General Conference is much larger than that attending the meetings of the Southern Conference at either St. Louis or Memphis. Nor have the committees any need to exclude visitors, except on special occasions, which can be provided for as the needs arise. Our Conference has a decided advantage over that of the Southern Church, in that its principal committees are large enough to be representative bodies, and are thus fully competent to give thorough discussion to important questions

before they are presented for final action to the Conference itself. This is of great importance and goes far toward supplying the need for two houses of legislation. The committees, being unincumbered with routine business, have ample time for a thorough consideration of important questions.

II. With the great increase in membership and the opening up of new lines of work and new fields of activity necessitating much additional legislation, there is, nevertheless, a noticeable tendency to hurry through the business and shorten the sessions of the General Conference. The unseemly haste toward the close of the session should not be encouraged. Newspapers often congratulate the people upon the final adjournment of a legislature, as if it were an evil to be endured and the end of it a joyful relief. Shall we form the same low estimate of our chief assembly? Some who stand high enough to give their words a wide range of influence have uttered words that encourage the movement toward shorter sessions. The following will serve as a sample: "The General Conference will become more and more an unsettling and disturbing element in the Church." We have come upon times when important interests of our world-wide Methodism demand patient and careful consideration; but our General Conference of 1892 closed on the twenty-first day of the session, or six days earlier than the preceding General Conference.

Has the presence of laymen contributed to this haste? The General Conference of the Church, South, contains laymen in equal numbers with the ministerial delegates; and its session of last year was much shorter than ours at Omaha, adjourning on the sixteenth day. Barely fifteen minutes were given to the discussion of the subject of the federation of Methodisms on the day before the final adjournment. But their haste on the closing day is strikingly shown in a protest, signed by forty-eight members of the Conference, "against the hasty action of this body by which two entire chapters of the Discipline, covering the methods of trial and appeal of bishops, traveling preachers, and members, were adopted, without opportunity for due consideration, and even before the paper had been read to the body." In our own Conference, from the first day, a spirit of hurry seizes upon the members. Toward the close this spirit has obtained complete mastery. A call for the pre-

vious question or a motion to lay on the table can be relied upon to cut off discussion on questions demanding the most careful consideration. Deliberation, in any true sense of the word, is impossible under the five-minute rule and amid the general hurry that marks the closing days and tumultuous ending of our sessions. The last day at Omaha furnished a striking example of action taken without due deliberation in the strange proposition, sent down to be acted upon by the Annual Conferences, on the matter of the admission of women into the General Conference.

For this mischievous tendency both the causes and the remedy should be diligently sought. Personal convenience appears to determine the time of departure of many delegates, who seem to feel no sense of obligation to the Church at large or to the Conferences whose representatives they are. It would add much to the working power of the General Conference to eliminate the member who comes proposing only to remain two weeks, or until "his man" is elected. It would be well to dispense with the much-visiting member who comes chiefly to see the city. It might be of advantage, also, to require the chairman of each delegation to report the number of hours each member is absent from his seat. In the committees it often happens that a newly seated alternate or a member who has been "seeing the city" comes in to vote upon a question that has been thoroughly canvassed in his absence. It is not easy to decide which is of greater detriment to wise legislation—a vacant seat or one occupied by two or even three different persons during the session. The trouble, however, is much greater in the smaller General Conference—that of the Church, South—than in our own. Both of these matters—this haste in getting through with the business of the session, and this culpable inattention to the responsibilities assumed—are mischievous in their tendencies and unworthy of those who have accepted the position of representatives in the highest legislative body in the Church.

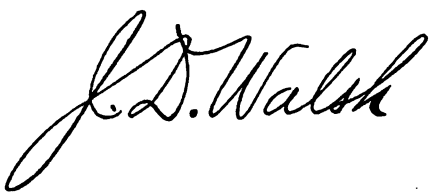
III. Much time is saved in our General Conference by making the action of the Committee on Boundaries so far final that the questions involved do not come before the Conference for consideration. This sort of work, usually of local interest, can best be done in committee. More time could be saved if

the election of all general secretaries and official editors were removed from the General Conference. Some better way of holding these elections could certainly be devised. Committee work, too, would be greatly improved if the smaller Annual Conferences should surrender or be deprived of their separate representation, and should, instead, be grouped together into and represented by districts, so that every General Conference delegation should consist of at least four members. With the present number (twelve) of standing committees, meeting on alternate days, it requires a delegation of six members in order to be regularly represented at all committee meetings. About thirty-six Annual Conferences send but two delegates each. These delegates will with some regularity attend the meetings of two or three of the principal committees, but will pay only occasional visits to the others. Few, if any, of the committees have more than forty in regular attendance, out of a total enrollment of considerably over one hundred.

With a General Conference not varying much from our last one in point of numbers, that is to say, containing about five hundred members, the best legislative work can be done, if the other conditions for successful work are only maintained at their best. It will advance the welfare of the Church much more to give careful attention to securing a proper place for the holding of the session, to providing all attainable facilities for the work of the Conference, and to adopting right methods of procedure, than to cry for a short session and a smaller body, expecting to find in these a cure for present evils. In one respect a Methodist General Conference has a great advantage over those general assemblies of other Churches which elect their own presiding officers. With a bishop in the chair who has an extensive personal acquaintance among the delegates and who has had long experience in presiding over deliberative bodies, who is supported, too, by his colleagues on the platform, it is provided with a presidency that could hardly be excelled. The fault is not in the chair if the body be "unwieldy," nor in the presence of spectators, nor in the mere number of delegates.

Who, then, is the ideal delegate? Not necessarily the man who is oftenest on his feet or he who goes to the Conference with the greatest knowledge of the matters to be presented. The majority in any Conference will do little or no speaking,

except in committee; and very few will have given special study beforehand to one half the subjects upon which they will be called to vote. A member burdened with egotism or enamored of his own eloquence will learn little of a subject during a discussion; and the man of average attainments who listens well to all discussions, both in committee and in open Conference, will be apt to make the best and safest legislator, especially if he be not in too great haste to get home. Let men be chosen who realize that the magnitude of the interests placed in their hands imposes weighty and solemn obligations upon them for their best service. Let the Committee on Entertainment see that a building with good acoustic properties and with comfortable seats be provided. Let all conscientious delegates sit through the four hours' sessions for a month and a day, if need be. And let us hear no more about making the General Conference a small body. This business should not be done in a corner.



BILITY OF HERETICS.

the controversies among Protestants
e doctrine, that the Roman Catholic Church
re, shy sect of esoteric teachings, instead of filling
ern history back almost to apostolic times and having proclaimed her tenets in a thousand authentic and public documents. It was really amusing some years ago to observe a Presbyterian clergyman communicating, with an air of mysterious astonishment, the results of a private interview with Archbishop Corrigan's secretary, to the effect that his Church allows that a good many Protestants may be saved. We should suppose, from the air of pleased surprise and innocent importance with which he made the announcement, that this opinion had been buried under the pyramids and had just been excavated by him, along with the mummy of Rameses the Great, for the general enlightenment. He seems not to have been aware that no opinion can bind a Catholic conscience unless proclaimed *urbi et orbi*, or unless universally taught in the Church as something essential to the faith. There is, therefore, no room for excavations or mysterious disclosures in the field of Roman Catholic doctrine. Opinions may be entertained more or less widely and with more or less of reserve; but, unless universally published and universally received as of dogmatic obligation, they cannot be enforced upon any Roman Catholic who chooses to deny them. He may be enjoined against publicly contradicting a widely spread opinion which is not of faith, but he cannot be required to profess it. Nor can we be sure that a doctrine is held by Rome to-day because she held it a thousand or fifteen hundred years ago. It is remarked by Dr. Döllinger that Rome, six hundred years back, burned people for teaching papal infallibility, and to-day she excommunicates them for denying it. Even Roman Catholics now very commonly accept Cardinal Newman's theory of development, according to which the general type of doctrine has always been the same in the Catholic Church (as indeed it has), but that this has been very slowly evolved, and, meanwhile, many opinions incompatible with it have long prevailed and often been inconsiderately enforced, as if they were of the faith. Whatever we may say of this theory

in general, in its relations to the infallibility of the Church, it seems not to work amiss as to the salvability of heretics, especially as it would, I think, be difficult to cite any instance of discipline inflicted on a Catholic, ancient or modern, for entertaining a charitable presumption as to the future destiny of pious schismatics whose schism has been inherited and has not originated with them.

As good a starting point as any in our consideration of this matter is Dr. Johann Anton Theiner's work, *Das Seligkeitsdogma der römisch-katholischen Kirche* ("The Roman Catholic Doctrine of Salvability"), published at Breslau in 1847. The names Theiner and Breslau suggest a Roman Catholic origin. However this may be, the work of over six hundred and fifty closely printed octavo pages, crowded with the most accurate learning, breathes from beginning to end the most unrelenting virulence against the Church of Rome. The author's aim is to prove that the Roman Catholic Church has always taught, and still teaches, that from the first Whitsuntide (or, at least, from the fall of the temple) till now no human being, baptized or unbaptized, infant or adult, dying out of visible communion with the see of Peter has ever been, or ever will be, saved. All pretenses to the contrary he declares to have been mere hypocritical appearances, assumed to beguile the unwary and lull them into an unsuspicious benevolence toward Rome, which shall make them easier victims of her proselytizing designs. Now, anyone who will attentively read Dr. Theiner's work will not fail to be persuaded of his ample competency to decide this matter. If he cannot establish his point no one can. Learning and ability being conceded, the only question is one of good faith.

Before considering this, however, let us admit, what everyone knows, that the Catholic Church from the time of her full development, as early as the year 200, has always taught unwaveringly that out of the Church there is no salvation. *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus* is a formula that no Catholic, ancient or modern, Eastern or Western, has ever ventured to contradict, unless he stood prepared to forfeit his Catholic name. The only question has been one of interpretation. We need not concern ourselves much about the Eastern Church. Her ancient writers have been of a milder, and her modern of a narrower,

temper than the Western. Orthodoxy has been her great note, while catholicity has been emphatically embodied in the Church of Rome. With the latter, doctrinal error has been of less account than disobedience. False doctrine, however erroneous, even though it should confound the persons of the Trinity, to use Bellarmine's illustration, is not heresy, so long as the man stands prepared to accept whatever he learns that the Church has authentically defined. The true question, therefore, is with Rome, Can schismatics be saved? It is indifferent whether their schism declares itself in the rejection of an authentic doctrine or in disobedience to a legitimate command of the Church. However, as inward separation from the Church is most unequivocally exhibited in the rejection of defined doctrine, we need not change our title, provided we interpret it as including schismatics even though doctrinally sound, as the Greeks are admitted to be and as some Roman Catholics maintain that a large share of the Anglicans are.

Theiner, who must not be confused with his brother, an eminent Catholic divine, is right in taking Augustine as the decisive authority as to the ancient Catholic doctrine of salvability. However, he raises a strong presumption against the honesty of his attitude toward Augustine by hurling at him the hateful term *Frömmler*, "a pretender to piety," and holding up against him the excesses of his earlier life as a proof that the devout sobriety of his later years was put on for sinister ends. Now, I need not defend the noble sincerity of Augustine's conversion against Theiner or against any other ignoble adversary. Nor need I vindicate his right to that symbol of the flaming heart which the Roman Church, with the marvelous justice of her appreciations of her great saints, has assigned to him. But I mention Theiner's scoffing disparagement as the keynote to the tone of his whole book. It is thoroughly scientific in form and utterly unscientific in fact, having no more moral title to respect than any one of our coarsest and most blundering polemical tracts. This shows that scientific temperance would not establish his contention, and that he resorts to unworthy virulence for this reason. However, he surveys the whole field of the controversy with so ample a sweep of view that we cannot do better than in this respect to follow his lead.

Augustine and the whole Catholic Church of his day doubtless held that outside the pale of baptism justifying grace is not given. A virtuous heathen might not be condemned to torment; although the fathers are by no means so indulgent in this as the schoolmen and the modern Catholic divines. But at all events he would never be admitted into the kingdom of heaven. Yet even here we must make a profoundly important exception. Augustine declares that most of the Christians of his day denied the eternity of future punishment. Nor will he allow them to be called heretics. He commends their compassionateness and is willing to concede that eternal punishments may be from time to time remitted, or even altogether intermitted—an opinion very commonly prevalent throughout the later ages, and one to which the Church seems never to have raised any opposition. However, he insists that Scripture makes it plain that we cannot go farther than this. He and the Church of his day, of course, held that whoever is baptized in the Catholic Church, not being in mortal sin, is forgiven and justified, and, dying in this state, is saved. He also holds that whoever is, with due matter, form, and intent, baptized out of the Catholic Church receives the sacrament, indeed, but not the grace of the sacrament. If, now, he comes into the Church, then, having already the baptismal character, he first receives the baptismal grace. But who are baptized in the Catholic Church? Only those that are baptized by Catholic Christians? Theiner answers for him, "Yes." Augustine answers for himself as follows: "Those who defend their own opinion, however false and perverse, with no pertinacious animosity, especially when they have not engendered it by the audacity of their own presumption, but have received it from lapsed parents led away into error, and seek the truth with cautious solicitude, being prepared to be set right when they have discovered it, are in no way to be reckoned among heretics"—*nequaquam sunt inter hæreticos deputandi.* It follows, then, that all such persons, even though not baptized by Catholics, have been baptized in the Catholic Church and have been made partakers of justifying grace.

To this Theiner, who adduces the passage at length, replies that Augustine wrote it before he was firmly fixed in orthodoxy; that he addresses it to Donatist bishops, whose good

will he wished to gain; that the whole letter shows him to confine it to those who were just ready to come over; and that his whole subsequent life agrees with this last assumption. How far he may have recognized any particular Donatists as exemplifying his principle I cannot say. Men in controversies so intense as this which laid Africa waste seldom show much practical charity. But there his *dictum* is, plain in its terms, received into the canon law, still authoritative in the Church, and certainly lending itself much more easily to a large, than to a narrow, interpretation. Dr. Theiner, however, when Melchior, Bishop of Diepenbrock, about 1850, in a pastoral letter, quotes this declaration of Augustine and its reception into the canon law as a proof that "the Catholic Church accounts as still belonging to her those who, incorporated with her by baptism, remain outwardly estranged from her on earth by reason of innocent error," flies out against him as a hypocritical deceiver endeavoring to mislead the world for the dark designs of his Church. Inasmuch as the pastorals of a Catholic prelate, though not supposed infallible, are of high doctrinal authority for his diocesans unless reversed by Rome—which it appears that this pastoral was not—it follows that Melchior, to deceive Protestants, has set himself to mislead his own people from the faith! It is hard to say whether this imputation is the more odious or the more ridiculous.

How absolutely Theiner in this controversy, for all his learning, is devoid of common honesty, as a man of so virulent a temper of necessity always is, appears from the fact that in this very place—after showing that, with hardly an exception, Catholic divines held baptism, except for martyrs, to be in every conceivable case indispensable for salvation, until St. Bernard and the schoolmen after him allowed that the baptism of desire suffices where that of water cannot be had—he remarks that this has never become a Church doctrine, and that the Council of Trent, Session VII, Canon V (erroneously given IV), *De Baptismo*, declares baptism necessary to salvation. Undoubtedly it does; but in what sense? In the sense that the application of water is always necessary? Then the baptism of blood in martyrdom would be excluded, which Theiner admits that the Church receives. Since, then, we see, even on Theiner's showing, that by calling baptism necessary the Council does not

mean that the external rite is always requisite, the author's appeal to the word *necessarium* is of no force. It does not of itself exclude the baptism of volition. Does the Council, even while not denying this, neglect it? No. In the same session Canon IV, *De Sacramentis in Genere*, reads: "If anyone shall say that the sacraments of the new law are not necessary to salvation, but superfluous, and that without them, *or the earnest desire of them* [*eorum voto*], men, by faith alone, obtain from God the grace of justification, although all are not necessary for everyone, *anathema sit.*" Here the clause which I have emphasized gives the Council's own interpretation of *necessarium*. It instructs us authoritatively that the Church, in declaring baptism necessary for all, the eucharist necessary for all of full age, and penance necessary for all falling into mortal sin after baptism, means that the defect of these sacraments, where inevitable, is supplied by the earnest desire of them—*votum sacramenti.*

It is not true, then, as Theiner affirms, that the baptism of volition, as sufficing where the external rite cannot be had, has not become a Church doctrine. It has been indissolubly connected by the Council of Trent with the baptism of water, as its adequate substitute in case of necessity. Dr. Theiner, of course, is perfectly well aware that it has become a mere commonplace of Roman Catholic theology, alike of learned treatises and of popular catechisms. It may be that the anathema of the Council does not formally strike the denial of it when separated from the whole canon; but neither does an anathema strike the denial of the absolute indissolubility of Christian marriage, which yet the Council of Trent treats as undoubtedly the true Catholic doctrine. Accordingly, the Inquisition at Goa, having learned that a young Frenchman, besides a want of respect to the Holy Office itself, had once denied that the baptism of volition could ever suffice, condemned him to five years in the galleys for this inconsiderate speech. It is true that the King of Portugal annulled the sentence—not, however, as bad theology, but for fear of trouble with France. Indeed, the immaculate conception of Mary is not by any means established on as certain a basis of authority as the baptism of desire. Accordingly, the Roman Catechism, drawn up by direction of Trent and, though not of dogmatic obligation, yet

the true representative of Tridentine theology, instructs the parish clergy that they should see to it that infants are baptized as soon after birth as possible, but that they should delay the baptism of catechumens until they are fully instructed, inasmuch as they, having already the baptism of volition, will not be deprived of eternal life if called out of the world without the external sacrament.

It has been suggested, by some who can hardly bear to admit that the Church of Rome allows the possibility of salvation without external baptism, that, at least, she only extends it to those who die suddenly while they are actually preparing for it. To this it suffices to answer that the Council of Trent makes no such limitation; and it is certain that modern Roman Catholic theology makes none. Thus, the Abbé Huc, traveling from Thibet to China in company with a very foul-mouthed heathen mandarin who died suddenly on the journey, violates no canon of orthodoxy in expressing the hope—confessedly a faint one—that God may have granted him "the baptism of desire" with his parting breath. Huc's book was put on the *Index*, but not for this. This question, whether the unbaptized may be saved, does not immediately bear on the salvability of heretics, since a catechumen is not a heretic. Yet the way was opened for wider and yet wider conceptions of God's redeeming purposes as one wall of exclusion after another fell under the expanding force of the Christian consciousness. When Rome, about the year 250, breasted the whole current of Catholic opinion in Africa and Asia by contending for, and after long controversy carrying through, the position that heretical baptism, rightly administered and intended, was valid, she then, as Dr. Schaff remarks, opened a back door by which the spirit of Christian brotherhood has continually reëntered as often as hierarchical pride has driven it out by the front. Hierarchical pride, or a temper which Protestants cannot distinguish from it, has undoubtedly thus far prevailed in her relations to Christians divided from her, and has shaped her official, and most of her theological, language; but the happy decision of the third century has not allowed her to treat Christians out of communion with her as no Christians. The tone of brotherhood is as yet far from controlling; but it has become, of course with abundant exceptions and relapses, gradually more and more decided, although often in strange contrast

with the literal sense of established formulas; and since, at least, the time of Benedict XIV, who died in 1758, and still more of Clement XIV, who abolished the Maundy Thursday reading of the hateful bull of universal excommunication *In Cœna Domini*, the spirit of brotherhood has gradually invaded even the official declarations of Rome, and—though even here with some very unhappy exceptions—has never been more decided than in the tone of the excellent man who fills the papal chair at present. But I shall revert to this farther on.

Theiner says no more than the truth in remarking that the concession of validity to heretical baptism has often been galling to Catholic arrogance and has provoked strong reactions. Since Nicæa, these must be evasive; and in the form of evasion they show themselves very unpleasantly at present toward Protestantism. It is true, a great part of the Protestants of England and America rebaptize Roman Catholics coming over to them; but this does not excuse Rome for going back from her own principles by allowing so general a rebaptizing, even though *sub conditione*, of converts from Protestanism. She pleads, indeed, that Anglo-Saxon Protestants are so negligent in baptizing that she can never be sure that converts have actually been touched by the sacramental water. Yet this will certainly not apply to Baptists, whom she occasionally receives and whom, like the rest, she rebaptizes provisionally. It seems evident that we have here to deal, not with ritual scrupulousness alone, but with a strong reaction of sectarian exclusiveness. She does not allege the invalidity of our ministry, inasmuch as she receives lay baptism, though ordinarily irregular, as always competent for validity. Were it not that this ungracious usage appears to be mostly restricted to the countries of English speech, and that it still veils itself under the form of hypothetical repetition, there would be danger that this last thin link of visible Christian unity would be altogether snapped. It is true that, since the doctrine of virtual baptism has come up, and, still more, that of implied desire—*votum implicitum*—the results in widening the rent are by no means so disastrous as they would once have been. The widely accepted view now is that loyalty to the mind of Christ, conjoined with true contrition, is divinely imputed in lieu both of a missing sacrament and of the explicit desire for it. In other words, he who means to obey

Christ does obey Christ, virtually, though not expressly. Rome herself has become alarmed, and has encouraged the American bishops to warn their clergy that they incur a suspension from all sacerdotal functions by rebaptizing a Protestant absolutely whom it would have sufficed to rebaptize provisionally, or by baptizing him provisionally when inquiry would have shown that his first baptism was undoubtedly valid. It is to be hoped that this warning will do some good. Yet, when a convert from Protestantism is put up to believe in some trumpery miracle or vision supposed to be given to show him that his first baptism was void, it is evident that the hateful spirit of mere sectarianism is still strong to override one of the fundamental decisions of Rome.

It is fortunate that the instinct of domination itself has come to the aid of Christian fellowship. Rome teaches explicitly that she has no authority over the unbaptized. Heathen, Jews, Moslems, Quakers, and the yet unbaptized children of Baptists and of indifferent persons are all, by her own showings outside her jurisdiction. Accordingly, as Henry C. Lea remarks, while baptized Jews in Spain were never sure of their lives from the jealousies of the Inquisition, unbaptized Jew, went about at their ease. Her right to claim the obedience of Christians she grounds solely on the fact that they are baptized in form and, it is to be presumed, baptized validly. Therefore, however doubtful in the case of individuals, she is obliged, in the interest of her own claims, to admit that the Protestant world, as a whole, is made up of baptized persons. Thus, as Cardinal Manning expresses it, speaking immediately of England, Protestant Christendom must be considered as yet included within the covenant of salvation. Theiner's contention—that by true Catholic doctrine even infants, though as yet incapable of heresy or schism or other mortal sins, must be viewed, if not baptized by Catholics, as having received the bare sacrament, not the grace of the sacrament—is, as we have seen, plainly inconsistent with Augustine's declaration and is wholly opposed to the tenor of modern Roman Catholic theology. The Jesuits, therefore, and Manning in agreement with them, have simply developed Augustine's opinion to its legitimate conclusion, in questioning whether the English people can rightly be called either heretics or schismatics, and in declaring

that a great many of them appear never to have committed a mortal sin and are, therefore, presumably the predestinated heirs of salvation. They also remark that every added generation of Protestant habit, making it harder to apprehend the claims of Rome, augments the probability of good faith and lessens the difficulties of being saved outside the visible limits of Catholicism. These concessions apply more immediately to Anglicanism, but extend in a general way to the whole body of British Protestants and, indeed, of Protestants generally. Cardinal Newman even takes the salvability of Protestants as the fulcrum of an argument against the necessity of the devotion to Mary. If it were necessary, says he, how then could Protestants be saved? The eminent Jesuit Elizalde's powerfully logical work (from the elder point of view) was very ungraciously received by his order and has utterly failed to check this milder way of regarding Protestant nations.

The first step, therefore, toward admitting the salvability of heretics was the admission that heretical baptism, rightly administered—that is, with natural water actually flowing on the face and applied in the name of the Trinity—is valid, however ignorantly or unbelievingly performed, if only there has been an intention "to administer the rite known among Christians by the name of baptism." The second great step was the admission that schismatics by inheritance are not necessarily schismatics or heretics in God's view. The next, coming centuries later, was the establishment of the baptism of desire. All things working toward charity work very slowly. There seems a providential necessity in this, especially in the development of the Christian Church. We know by constant observation that charity is apt to be more or less latitudinarian, and a vigorous grasp on principles more or less intolerant. Now, at the time of Christ the world was full of religions that have utterly failed to approve themselves as capable of becoming universal. The most splendid of all, the Græco-Roman, spoke for all the rest in surrendering its remnant of vital force to the Church. Buddhism has never been able to establish, at most, a higher title for its founder than that of the "light of Asia," meaning, in fact, eastern Asia, where he has, moreover, to divide his prerogatives with three or four other systems. Brahmanism is by its very essence, incapable of existing beyond the sacred soil of India.

Zoroastrianism has declined to a glimmering spark. The rising Church was, therefore, right in recognizing herself as the sole vehicle of communication with God, the only community capable of bringing all mankind into a temporal and eternal fellowship with him and with one another. So long, therefore, as her destiny was not assured, any amount of exclusiveness was better than a flabby good nature toward systems that were only cumbering the ground. It was through her uncompromising firmness in maintaining that only within her own limits could a man be brought into union with God, here and hereafter, that she was saved from disintegration and assured of her final victory. Even in our time Christianity and Christian civilization would be dissolved if the disposition of some Christians were to prevail and all men were to be treated as standing within about the same range of spiritual opportunities, allowing to Christians merely a somewhat more eminent measure of these. All through these ages, however, charitable presumptions have not been lacking, and have seldom or never given umbrage to the Catholic Church. As a Jesuit missionary in Japan said to the Rev. Edward A. Lawrence, "The Church must have her formularies; but God is very much kinder than the Church." It has sufficed for the instinct of self-maintenance that the general and public formula has been, *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus.* This has had a more or less rigorous application from man to man, from country to country, from age to age. It has surely not been an evil thing that it was, on the whole, interpreted most severely in the Middle Ages; for then, between barbarism on the north and east, advancing Islam on the south and southeast, and fundamental heresy in the center, the Christian Church and order of society seemed in danger of vanishing clean out of the earth.

It is time that we should disentangle our minds of fallacious associations engendered in an uncritical time and in the heat of conflict. It is very bad logic to say, "Rome calls us and the Albigenses both heretics; therefore, we both represent one cause." We do nothing of the kind. Scholarship is now unanimous in showing that, with the exception of the Waldenses, and, perhaps, one or two evanescent circles besides, the swarming sects of the Middle Ages before the Great Schism—Albigenses, Bogomiles, Bulgarian heretics, Cathari, or whatever they might be called—were dualists, utterly denying that the world was

created by the supreme God, holding it incurably evil, and teaching that there is no certainty of salvation except in reducing the contact with matter and all ethical activities of society to their lowest terms, and that, therefore, suicide is an eminent Christian virtue. The Church, therefore, was simply maintaining the immutable principles of Christian doctrine and morals by the uncompromising severity of her judgment against all these heresies. It is remarked by Paul Sabatier, in his *Life of St. Francis of Assisi:*

> Some of these movements were for great and sacred causes; but we must not let our sympathies be so moved by the persecutions suffered by heretics as to cloud our judgment. It would have been better had Rome triumphed by gentleness, by education and holiness; but, unhappily, a soldier may not always choose his weapons, and when life is at stake he seizes the first he finds within his reach. The papacy has not always been reactionary and obscurantist; when it overthrew the Cathari, for example, its victory was that of reason and good sense.

Even the Waldenses were tainted with this dualism; and their properly Christian wing, even in those cruel times, was instinctively recognized by the Catholic priesthood as its auxiliary in the contest with the Cathari. As Archbishop Trench remarks, the Waldenses alone, of all the multitudinous sects of the Middle Ages, survived persecution, because they alone deserved to survive.

After the reconciliation of the Great Schism, which was purely a question of papal title, and in which it is acknowledged that men and women of equal sanctity and soundness are found on either side, there remained only three notable heresies—two originating during the schism—the Waldenses, the Lollards, and the Hussites. The Waldenses were hardly regarded as fully heretical. The Council of Basel even ordained two bishops for them. The Lollards were nearly extinct. The Hussites, in their prevailing Utraquist form, were finally reconciled to the Church, as a body peculiarly privileged and, as I judge, without being required to accept the condemnation of Huss. Indeed, even now there are Catholic churches of Bohemia in which his picture hangs up as that of a saint. The Taborite wing, putting off their warlike fierceness, issued in the elder Moravian Church and attracted little attention outside of their own country. Heresy and schism having, therefore, for a while

almost disappeared, it is probable that the abstract question, Can schismatics and heretics be saved? was but little agitated.

It is probably a memorial of this more tranquil frame of mind, not yet disturbed by the rising commotions in Germany, that we possess in a theological treatise, published at Milan in 1520, on the nature of justifying faith. I have never seen it and do not recall the name of the author; but his position appears to be about this: The faith that justifies must always and everywhere have been the same thing—namely, an entire and self-surrendering confidence in the righteous goodness of God. Whatever state of ignorance, therefore, still leaves motives that induce such a confidence is consistent with the salvation of those who live under it. The dissertation appears to have given no offense, nor, indeed, to have received much notice of any kind, although it is possible that it may have helped to develop the views of which the Jesuits ultimately became the chief representatives.

Now came the mighty schism of the Reformation, which, to the Catholic consciousness, appeared as a breaking loose of all the forces of hell. For eighty years the defection spread more and more widely. Until the year 1600, therefore, it still appeared to Catholics as a fresh movement to be conscientiously repressed. By that time, however, a great part of the Protestants were such by an inheritance of several generations; yet to the Catholic mind the character of personal complicity in heresy and schism was reflected upon them from their fresher confederates, and the question of salvability, whenever raised, was promptly answered in the negative. The continental Protestants, on the other hand, Lutherans and even Calvinists, appear to have commonly agreed with Luther that "many and mighty saints have remained under the pope." But in Britain they were less tolerant. Knox and the Presbyterians were thrown into convulsions of anger at a timid suggestion that, perhaps, an occasional child of God might be found even among the papists. Richard Hooker very nearly fell into disgrace by suggesting that, at least before the Reformation, some of their ancestors might, perhaps, have been saved. He made his peace, however, by modifying his thesis to this effect—that, at least, there was more hope for them than for the Lutherans. The Catholics roared out, "Burn the Protestant heretics!" The Protestants

bellowed back, "Cut down the popish idolaters!" The Jesuit Mariana applauded the assassin of Henry III of France. Theodore Beza applauded the assassin of the Duke of Guise. Philip Melanchthon prayed that God would raise up an assassin to cut down Henry VIII of England. John Knox pronounced the murder of David Rizzio a godly deed. Reason and conscience, manners and morals, and, above all, primal humanity, appeared on the point of all going to wreck together. At last the tide of Protestant advance was stayed, and Rome, by fair means and foul, even recovered half of wasted Germany. The peace of Westphalia, signed in 1648, assured the desolated world that the hour of international religious aggressions was past. The treaty was celebrated by the Capuchins from the pulpits of Vienna as a noble and holy work, and received by the Jesuits with deep disgust.

Yet, curiously enough, it was the Jesuits, rather than the Capuchins, who soon became the champions of opinions which represented it as a matter of comparatively little consequence whether a man were Catholic or Protestant. Dr. Theiner notices, though with evident disrelish, the fact that, from about 1650 or 1670, a good many of the Jesuits have championed the salvability of Protestants. This fact unquestionably runs sadly athwart his purpose of demonstrating that Roman Catholicism denies this, for the Jesuits were then commonly regarded in theology, as in everything else, as being the very flower of Catholicism. Pascal had already dealt his deadly blow; but its withering force was not yet fully disclosed. It is true that the Holy See soon began to condemn a great many moral propositions of the Jesuit writers, but, I believe, not one doctrinal proposition, certainly not one bearing favorably on the salvation of Protestants.* Dr. Theiner, therefore, finds himself in some embarrassment. He is fain to resort to his favorite weapon, and hurls against the Jesuits a charge of hypocrisy. Their doctrine of probabilism, he declares, and with good warrant, allows them to teach almost anything that they like; and, therefore, where they find their account in it they teach that Protestants may be saved, and, where they do not, that they will surely be damned.

Undoubtedly the Jesuits have, times innumerable, varied their

*Subsequent reading shows me one such condemnation. See footnote on p. 734.

teachings according to their interests. No society has ever existed that exemplified so many forms of simulation and dissimulation, practical and theoretical. There can be no doubt, however, that as a whole they have been immovably, even fanatically, devoted to the doctrine of probabilism and have stood unflinchingly for it, even when it made against them. Partisanship here has been too strong for policy, as it has many a time been in the history of the order. It was not in the interest of any negotiation with Protestants that a French Jesuit of the seventeenth century contended that a Protestant who holds his own religion probable, but Catholicism more probable, is excused from turning Catholic till he comes to die; and it was not to please the Huguenots, but to drive their associate into greater self-consistency, that his brethren declared that such a Protestant does not prejudice his salvation by dying, as well as living, in his own religion.* Indeed, so far as the Jesuits dissembled at all, they seem rather to have dissembled the other way. Thus, the French Jesuit, mentioned by Döllinger and Reusch, who had been a missionary in England does not appear to have used any such indulgent formulas there; but on returning to France he assures his fellow Catholics, as I have mentioned, that great numbers of the English, though zealous Protestants, are really neither heretics nor schismatics, and declares that, of the many converts he and other priests had received, a large number were still in a state of baptismal grace and, of course, needed no absolution, but, even had they died in the Church of England, would infallibly have been saved.

But this is a little thing compared with what we find from their private correspondence, much of which was seized and published at the dissolution of the order. This correspondence gives their ideas as expressed among themselves. Thus, we find Father La Quintinye writing in 1666 from France to Oliva, the general of the order, at Rome, complaining bitterly of the length to which his brethren went in their indulgent presumptions regarding the heretics. It might, he intimates, perhaps be endured that a charitable hope should be held out to the lay heretic in an heretical country, visited but dimly by the light of Catholic truth; but his brethren, he declares, in their private conferences were not content with this. They insisted that it

* This assertion had been condemned by Innocent XI.

was possible and, indeed, was of actual occurrence that Protestants brought up in France itself, surrounded from infancy by the bright light of Catholic faith, might yet grow up justified children of God. Even here, says he (I give the substance, not the words), we can imagine a layman so ignorant and simple, and sometimes so shut up in heretical companionship, that such a presumption, by a violent stretch of charity, might be suffered to pass. But my Jesuit brethren think even this a little thing. They affirm that even a Calvinistic minister, and one of eminent parts, of wide reading, and much experience of controversy, may, in Catholic France, occupy "the chair of pestilence" for many years without ever losing baptismal grace, so that, if at last by God's favor he comes into the true Church, his confessor cannot absolve him, because, having heard from him a confession of his whole life, he can find nothing in him to absolve. To this bitter complaint of the worthy La Quintinye, along with many much better-grounded complaints, Oliva dryly replies that he has heard how intractable he is among his brethren, and expects him to be of one mind with them, but, if not, at least to keep his dissentient opinions to himself.

Here we find that the theory of hypocrisy will not work at all. In the first place, this good opinion of Protestant sanctity does not rest on the doubtful and exceptionable doctrine of probabilism, but on the undoubted and unexceptionable doctrine of invincible ignorance. Next, we find that it becomes more emphatic in proportion as it is more completely secluded within the inner circles of Jesuitism itself. The Jesuits, we see, extol possible and actual Protestant piety much more unreservedly where no Protestant can hear. And it is not they that have disclosed this to us, but their enemies. Next, we find that the head of the order, an Italian, not a Frenchman, living in Rome itself, not in Paris, finds this way of thinking entirely unexceptionable and scolds his subordinate for not being willing to share it. In like manner, when the Jansenist cardinal Le Camus requested the Jesuits in his diocese of Grenoble to aid him in working for the conversion of Protestants, they excused themselves with the careless remark, "*Quand on croira en Jésus-Christ, on se sauve partout*"—"If one only believes in Jesus Christ he will be saved in any Church."

If, then, we must, as good Protestants, accuse the Jesuits of dissembling in this matter, it is plain that we shall have to reverse Dr. Theiner's indictment, and accuse them of concealing from the Protestants the high hopes which they really cherished of their salvation. This accusation, too, would be unjust, but less glaringly so than the other. In truth, the Jesuits made no special mystery of their opinions, either in France or in Italy. When they were accused to the Inquisition at Naples of teaching that many heretics, and even many heathen, would probably be saved, they appear to have taken no pains to reply, and the Inquisition no pains to investigate. A Jesuit at Antwerp, being appointed to attend a Protestant soldier condemned to be shot for some breach of discipline, required of him no retractation of Protestantism, but simply assisted him to recite various prayers expressive of faith and love, read aloud to him the seventeenth chapter of John, and after his death solicited the prayers of the faithful for him as presumably one of the holy souls in purgatory. This gave great scandal to the Jansenists, but seems to have been wholly acceptable to the Jesuits.

The pious and illustrious Innocent XI highly appreciated the noble qualities of Jansenism and cordially disliked the Jesuits, many of whose moral propositions he condemned; and he even contemplated abolishing the order, as Clement XIV actually did. He probably shared the sterner views of his Jansenist friends as to the difficulty of being saved out of the visible communion with Rome. Yet he appears never to have raised any objection to the Jesuit teachings in this direction.* Nor does the heroic Jesuit general Gonzalez, who really fell a martyr to the stress of his efforts to uproot probabilism, appear to have tried to debar his brethren of their liberty to a large presumption of charity in favor of the salvation of heretics. Thus encouraged, the Jesuits, in 1713, induced the Church to take the first formal step toward pronouncing that heretics may be saved. They slipped into the list of the one hundred and one condemnations found in the odious constitution *Unigenitus* a condemnation of this proposition: "Grace is not given out of the Church." This, though little noticed at the time, was really the beginning of an essentially new attitude of the Roman Catholic Church toward Christians standing aloof from her,

* With the one exception noted above.

and ultimately toward mankind at large. The best thing that could be done for Clement XI would be to forget the odiousness of the rest of the *Unigenitus* and to remember that he condemned the proposition that grace is not given out of the Church.

It was a good while before the full effects of this new position of Rome were apprehended, although it was not so much a reversal, as a more explicit development, of earlier teachings. Prosper Lambertini, afterward the eminent Benedict XIV, held that God, in the order of nature, may develop virtues in the heathen which shall essentially affect their future condition for good, but will not suffice to bring them to the beatific vision. For a long while many, even of the Jesuits themselves, would not go so far as to say that the grace of final salvation was granted out of the Church. Archbishop Carroll, who had been a Jesuit, had a pretty keen controversy with a fellow Jesuit who still insisted against Carroll that visible communion with Rome is always necessary to salvation. Even lately, the Paulist Alfred Young has found it necessary, in controversy with a New York Redemptorist, to contend for the Catholic proposition, "A Protestant is capable of making an act of saving faith." The late Dr. Schaff, however, appears to stop short of the actually prevailing interpretation of the clause of the *Unigenitus* above quoted, explaining it as meaning that grace may be given out of the Church, but not the grace of salvation. That was hardly the position, even of Benedict XIV, as applied to the dissentient Christians, and very certainly is not the present position of the papacy, as I shall presently show. The Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes, who was for several years a Roman Catholic, remarks that it is contrary to the mind of Rome to make any restriction, reservation, or explanation whatever of her affirmation that grace may be given out of the Church. To say, then, that the grace of regeneration may be given, but not the grace of sanctification, or the grace fo sanctification, but not the grace of final perseverance, appears to be a distinct evasion of the position of Clement XI. Moreover, it contradicts the fundamental doctrine of the Roman Church, which, like every Christian Church worthy the name, teaches that God never bestows a grace except with the purpose of making it, unless frustrated by the perverseness of men, introductory to a greater grace, and so on to perfection.

Clement XI negatively pronounced for salvability out of the Church. But Pius IX, as remarked by Cardinal Newman, appears to be the first pope who publicly and officially proclaimed the salvability of heretics in its positive form. His encyclical to the bishops of Italy, dated August 10, 1863, declares:

> We and you know that those who lie under invincible ignorance as regards our most holy religion and who, diligently observing the natural law and its precepts which are engraven by God on the hearts of all, and, prepared to obey God, lead a good and upright life, are able, by the operation of the power of divine light and grace, to obtain eternal life.

In an earlier allocution Pius instructed the faithful that prejudice against Catholicism, in a pious and upright man, is not necessarily to be imputed as sinfulness. How easy it is, he observes, to come early under an invincible bias of education which will never permit a man, however honest, to apprehend the Catholic religion in its true light! It will be observed that this official declaration of Pius IX goes much farther than to pronounce heretics salvable. It evidently applies also to Jews, Moslems, and pagans if they be pure in mind, lovers of truth, and lovers of God. And this is now undoubtedly the prevailing opinion in the Roman Catholic Church, being a point as to which the Jesuits and their enemies are entirely agreed, as Dr. Döllinger remarks. The Jesuits, however, appear to be content to let the papal declarations work gradually and to tolerate members, even in their own body, who refuse as yet to receive their full force.

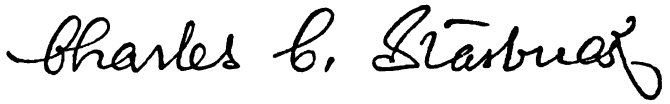
Some one has expressed wonder that Pius IX should be quoted in favor of the salvability of heretics when he is known to have been so hostile to liberal Catholicism. But there his words are, explicit, authentic, official, authoritative. Nor is there any difficulty in the case. Who have been the great enemies of liberal Catholicism? The Jesuits. And who have been the great champions of the salvability of heretics? Again, the Jesuits. There is not the least inconsistency in this. Because a man believes that many heretics, and even many heathen, will probably be saved, there is no reason why he may not be hostile to civil progress, to education, to religious liberty, to the independence of the State, to all other Churches than his own. God, he might say, may save many souls, notwithstanding these evil things; how many more, then, if the evil could be

entirely swept away? The Jansenists were much more the friends of enlightenment and of civil progress than the Jesuits; yet they confined the elect strictly within the visible limits of the Catholic Church. Pius IX was too benevolent a man not to have large hopes of the saving mercies of God; but he was too narrow-minded a man to reconcile himself with the modern age. He cordially detested its abounding evils, and hardly less cordially its new forms of higher good. As remarked by Dr. Roswell D. Hitchcock, his famous encyclical and syllabus are curiously divided, about half and half, between condemnations of flagrant evils, and of precious benefits, of modern civilization.

In what way can the old formula, "Out of the Church no salvation," be reconciled with the new formula, "A devout heretic may be saved?" There seem to be two ways. One is to use the word "Protestant" in two senses. Protestantism, to Catholic apprehension, means the spirit of rebellion against the legitimate authority of the Church. A genuine Protestant, therefore, cannot be saved. Or "Protestant" simply means one who is devoted to his ancestral religion, not because of its rebelliousness, but because of its Christianity. Such a one is, in the view of God, simply a Roman Catholic Christian unhappily circumstanced. No one can be saved unless he follows the Roman Catholic religion; but he may, by invincible error, call by a hostile name that which the divine judgment accepts as true Catholic piety. He will not, it is held, be saved simply by good faith in his heresy. There must be added to this actual faith and love. Therefore, one catechism might teach that a Protestant can be saved, and another that he cannot be, without any contradiction between them. These distinctions, as we know, are familiar even to illiterate Catholics. Thus, when Bishop Wilberforce's Irish coachman declared that his lordship would be saved "on account of his inconsavable ignorance," he showed that he had been well taught in his religion, although he was somewhat more severe in his choice of an adjective than he intended to be. Thus, also, when Cardinal Gibbons declares that whoever is not with the pope is not with Christ, his meaning, as the *Independent* well says, is by no means so truculent as his words. His book, *The Faith of our Fathers*, unequivocally acknowledges as a justified Christian everyone who receives the evangelical message with faith

and love, however ignorant of Christ's full will. The more direct way is to distinguish between the soul of the Church and her body. Thus, the highly authoritative catechism of the Jesuit Deharbe says, "Such as are heretics without their own fault, but sincerely search after the truth, and in the meantime do the will of God to the best of their knowledge, although they are separated from the body, remain, however, united to the soul of the Church and partake of her graces;" though, of course, they are regarded as suffering many grievous spiritual privations.

Of course, the presumption as to the greater or less number of God's elect children outside the visible limits of the Catholic Church will be greater or less from man to man, according to temper or the measure of familiarity with Protestants. No doubt there are whole regions of the Church where Protestants are practically regarded as, one and all, children of perdition. Indeed, Orestes A. Brownson, complaining of Lady Georgiana Fullerton, that in her stories she assumes all religious Protestants to be virtually Catholics, insists that every particular Protestant ought always to be regarded as out of a state of salvation. He may indeed, says Brownson, be known to God as a member of the Catholic Church; but this ought never to be assumed. The prevailing tone of feeling in instructed Catholic circles seems to be between these extremes, but decidedly and increasingly inclining rather to Lady Georgiana than to Orestes A. Brownson.



ART. V.—JOHN WOOLMAN AND STEPHEN GIRARD—A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE BIOGRAPHY.

IN the year 1681, sixty-one years after the landing of the Pilgrims and seven years prior to the English Revolution, a deputy surveyor of the province of West New Jersey, North America, made to the council of proprietors a report containing this statement: "Surveyed one parcel of land abutting on Rancocas Creek, within which tract of land is a mountain, to which the province, east, west, south, and north, sends a beautiful aspect, named by the owner thereof Mount Holly." At the base of this "mountain," which, in fact, is only a modest hill two hundred feet high, and on the banks of the Rancocas there arose in due time a town, to which was also given the name of Mount Holly. The history of the place during a period of two hundred years, from the days of its life as "a good-sized hamlet" in 1750, through the French and Indian War, the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Rebellion, to this last decade of the nineteenth century, in which it reports itself as a "thriving city of sixty-five hundred inhabitants," would, no doubt, prove of interest. But it is not of Mount Holly itself that I write, though the theme is attractive. I write of two men whose names appear in the category of the world's distinguished philanthropists, one of whom was born in or near the village, and the other of whom resided there for a year during the British supremacy in Philadelphia — John Woolman, tailor, nurseryman, Quaker preacher, social reformer; and Stephen Girard, mariner, merchant, millionaire. Each of these transacted business in the streets of Mount Holly.

Almost all memorial of Woolman has disappeared. The "small, plain, two-story structure, with two windows in each story in front," was long ago destroyed. The store in which he began his career as an antislavery agitator has been either removed or remodeled, so that its identity has been lost. No portrait of him was ever painted, no statue ever carved. There are no monuments to his memory, no institutions whose existence is due to his foresight or wealth. And yet John G. Whittier says, "A far-reaching moral, social, and political revolution, undoing the evil work of centuries, unquestionably

owes much of its original impulse to the life and labors of a poor, unlearned workingman of New Jersey, whose very existence was scarcely known beyond the narrow circle of his religious society." In language of sweet simplicity and beautiful *naïveté* he wrote a *Journal* and, dying in the city of York, England, bequeathed it to the sect with which his ministry had been identified. He did not know that in the inventory of the world's spiritual and literary resources it would be classed among the most valuable of its assets. Mount Holly loyally regards John Woolman as her greatest citizen, the one worthiest of reverence.

Stephen Girard, contemporary of Woolman for more than twenty-two years, is a far more familiar figure in the history of the United States and of Christendom. Of Girard there are memorials, unique and splendid; and in Mount Holly the house in which he lived may still be pointed out, and his store, though incorporated in a larger building, is yet identifiable. Portraits have been engraved, a statue has been erected, and in Philadelphia there stands, unsurpassed among modern reproductions of Greek architecture, the Girard College for Orphans. For half a century this institution has fulfilled its high purpose of educating boys—for this life. Thither thousands of visitors go every year to see its splendid buildings, its beautiful grounds, and the beneficiaries of the colossal bequest of the French cabin boy who, poor, uneducated, almost friendless, sailed away from Bordeaux to the West Indies and died an honored citizen of the United States, a multimillionaire at a time when millionaires were few.

It were easy to debate the question, "Who was the world's greater benefactor, John Woolman or Stephen Girard?" and good argument may be adduced to prove that the banker whose loans—at interest—saved the credit, if not the very life, of the United States in 1814, whose immense contributions to the city treasury of Philadelphia made many great public improvements possible, whose gifts to charitable institutions and churches sustained their life during critical emergencies, and whose beneficence created a great institution for the benefit of orphaned boys was a greater philanthropist, a nobler benefactor, a truer friend of humanity than a mere Quaker preacher, by trade a tailor, whose vocation was only that of a traveling evangelist in a minor religious sect, bearing his testimony against

slavery and other social evils and writing a few pamphlets and a journal of a few score pages. Judged by manifest achievement, the products of Girard's philanthropy are far beyond those of Woolman's. But, whatever the merit due to deeds of charity, whatever the place of almsgiving in the economy of personal salvation, and whatever the degree of honor and admiration to be ascribed to him who gives or bequeaths the harvest of his successful ventures in business to his fellow-mortals in need, I am confident that there are such distinctions in the spirit in which philanthropists render service, such inherent differences in quality of character, that one who does less than another may be far greater and more fully realize the ideals of life than he whose gifts are known in all the crowded streets and glorified through all the passing centuries. Though Woolman's name is overshadowed by that of Girard, it stands for a better type of manhood, a more genial spirit of life, a sweeter heart, a truer solution of the complex problem of existence. And so in this study of comparative biography, gauging Girard's life according to the standard of Woolman's character and conduct, I pronounce Woolman to be the better man, and his life, considered in itself, a better life—better in its impulses and ideals, better in its immediate and ultimate relations and results.

Without attempting an analysis of the facts of heredity—that push under the effect of which life is begun, if not carried on, in this world—there are facts of ancestry which ought to be studied in comparing any two men and pronouncing equitable judgment upon their careers. Woolman's life was begun under the influence of parents who fulfilled the duties of their relation. Perhaps the boy was prematurely, certainly precociously, pious. At seven years of age he was acquainted, as he says, "with the operations of divine love." He remembered leaving the society of his schoolmates to read a chapter from his New Testament. On "first days," after the meeting, his parents used frequently to "set" him to read the Bible or other religious books. Still, he was a boy, and on at least one occasion was borne away by the stone-throwing instincts that characterize the "savage period" through which most boys pass in the evolution of normal manhood, and was guilty of killing a mother robin. Smitten with remorse and wishing to obviate all ill consequence to the young birds in the nest, he promptly annihilated the whole

brood. He was once disrespectful in speech to his mother. He even drifted or was drawn into "wanton company," and, though never guilty of serious sin, became indifferent to the requirements of a Christain life and bade fair—or foul—to become as giddy as any of the young folks who lived in Mount Holly in the early years of the eighteenth century. But he was not satisfied with the "mirth and wantonness" of this society, and before he had attained his majority had begun that positive religious life which afterward became more and more intense until the end.

Girard was born in France in 1750, of parents who seem to have discriminated against him, denying him the opportunities of education granted to their other children. Losing in boyhood the sight of his right eye, he became bitter and cynical under his misfortunes and shipped to the West Indies as a cabin boy. Returning home, he was so frigidly received that he sailed away and never again saw France. Locating in Philadelphia in 1769—the same year in which Woolman's mind was being "exercised" for his fellow-creatures in the West Indies and disturbed by recollections of having sold rum, sugar, and molasses in the store at Mount Holly—Girard established himself in business on Water street, but made, also, several voyages between the West Indies, New York, and Philadelphia. At the beginning of the Revolution he opened a grocery and cider-bottling establishment. Having no compunctions of conscience in regard to the sale of intoxicating drinks, he further engaged in the liquor traffic, making large profits on contracts with the Continental army. In 1780 he resumed trade with the Indies, and in 1782 leased a range of stores which, to his own advantage, he sublet. Here is a man with Midas's fingers; everything becomes gold. All winds waft him on to wealth.

So, too, Woolman seems a favorite of the god of riches. He "had begun with selling trimmings for garments, and from thence proceeded to sell cloths and linens." His trade increased year by year, thrifty Quaker that he was, among Quakers who were loyal to a brother in business. But Woolman says:

> I felt a stop in my mind. . . . The increase of business became my burden; for, though my natural inclination was toward merchandise, yet I believed that truth required me to live more free from outward cumbers,

and there was now a strife in my mind between the two. Then I lessened my outward business and as I had opportunity told my customers of my intentions, that they might consider what shop to turn to; and in a while I wholly laid down my merchandise and followed my trade as a tailor by myself, having no apprentice.

Woolman did not condemn the mercantile life in itself. He admitted that it might be free from secularizing effect if lived in a pure spirit; but for himself it had become inconsistent with that ideal which he had gradually formed. He wished to read, to think, to meet men in their homes and "meeting houses," to discuss high themes of duty, to bear free testimony against social evils, and to extirpate them in a spirit of fearlessness and charity. Deliberately, therefore, he withdrew from business and limited himself to his handicraft and to collateral occupations as a scrivener and gardener.

Girard could neither imitate such an act nor understand the ethical impulses that prompted it. Perhaps it was not necessary that he should imitate it; perhaps it was his vocation to buy and sell, as it was that of Samuel Budgett, of Bristol, England. But it was essential to Woolman's peace of mind and joy of heart that he should cherish a higher purpose than that of mercantile life for its own sake or as a means of excluding thought of other duty and other pleasure. He resolved to be master of his own life work, while Girard resolved to intoxicate himself with labor. Woolman said: "To labor hard, or cause others to do so, that we may live conformably to customs which Christ, our Redeemer, discountenanced by his example in the days of his flesh and which are contrary to divine order, is to manure a soil for propagating an evil seed in the earth." Girard said: "I work like a galley slave. I have no higher ambition than to labor. When I rise in the morning my only effort is to labor so hard during the day that when the night comes I may be enabled to sleep soundly." Contrasted with the serene life of Woolman, the life of Girard was a mistake and a failure, because Girard willfully refused to accept the methods instituted by God for the perfecting of heart and mind. As in his business life, so in his home life, Girard excluded God. For many years his wife was insane. He attempted to conceal the fact; but people talked, and Girard was compelled to commit her to an asylum. There a babe was

born and died. At last the mother and wife sank into the grave, and Girard, disciple of Voltaire and Rousseau, stumbled on into the starless night of skepticism bitterer than ever.

Woolman's family life was unshadowed, unless by his own long absences on his journeys, or those periods of depression when he was waiting for his "voices" to summon him forth on his mission against slavery. For that was his especial mission—to testify against slavery. He had known no other society than that of which negro slavery was an element; but his moral instincts led him aright, and on a memorable occasion in the shop at Mount Holly he uttered his first modest protest against traffic in human life. He writes:

> My employer, having a negro woman, sold her and desired me to write a bill of sale, the man being waiting who bought her. The thing was sudden; and, though I felt uneasy at the thoughts of writing an instrument of slavery for one of my fellow-creatures, yet I remembered that I was hired by the year, that it was my master who directed me to do it, and that it was an elderly man, a member of our society, who bought her. So, through weakness, I gave way and wrote it; but at the executing of it I was so afflicted in my mind that I said, before my master and the Friend, that I believed slave-keeping to be a practice inconsistent with the Christian religion.

This was in 1742. Woolman was then only twenty-two years old. Whittier says that this event, "simple and inconsiderable in itself, was made the instrumentality of exerting a mighty influence upon slavery in the Society of Friends." It was the beginning of a unique career of agitation, so different from that of later abolitionists that its methods of disseminating unpopular opinions and creating a public sentiment in their favor are well worth study and imitation. Of course, slavery was not then the powerful institution that it subsequently became; but Woolman pronounced it wrong and accepted the task of testifying against it in public and in private, in the meeting house and in the mansion. In the parlors and dining rooms of the planters themselves he quietly uttered his protest against slave labor. Referring to one of his itineraries among the "meetings," he says:

> My mind was deeply engaged in this visit, both in public and private; and at several places where I was, on observing that they had slaves, I found myself under a necessity, in a friendly way, to labor with them on

that subject, expressing, as way opened, the inconsistency of that practice with the purity of the Christian religion and the ill effects of it manifested amongst us.

"In a friendly way"—that was the key to his method. He acquired the art of antagonizing evils without exciting hostility. He was neither ostracized nor mobbed, though never a popular person.

Girard did not consider it his vocation to denounce the evils of the social system—much less to refuse to profit by the unrequited slave labor of the West Indian islands or of the slave colonies and slave States. He was not as scrupulously honest as Woolman. It is definitely alleged that he would not pay a debt if it were possible to avoid it. He was not ashamed to repudiate it if repudiation could be technically justified in the name of "law." In contrast with such a spirit is the scrupulous integrity of the "eccentric" Woolman, as exhibited in a transaction of which he makes the following record in his *Journal:*

As persons setting negroes free in our province are bound by law to maintain them in case they have need of relief, some in the time of my youth, who scrupled to keep slaves for [the whole] term of life, were wont to detain their young negroes in their service without wages till they were thirty years of age. With this custom I so far agreed that, being joined with another Friend in executing the will of a deceased Friend, I once sold a negro lad till he might attain the age of thirty years and applied the money to the use of the estate. With abasement of heart I may now say that sometimes, as I have sat in a meeting with my heart exercised toward that awful Being who respecteth not persons nor colors and have thought upon this lad, I have felt that all was not clear in my mind concerning him; and, as I have attended to this exercise and fervently sought the Lord, it hath appeared to me that I should make some restitution. . . . I executed a bond binding myself and my executors to pay to the man to whom he was sold what, to candid men, might appear equitable for the last four and a half years of his time, in case the said youth should be living and in a condition likely to provide comfortably for himself.

Girard and others would pronounce this an eccentricity or extreme of virtue. But in this eccentricity of virtue lay the merit of Woolman's conduct. I am told by some that he was unbalanced—a moral monomaniac! But of such is the kingdom of God.

In deciding upon his behavior he was sometimes in long-continued perplexity, and his conclusions were reached only

after the most careful deliberation and earnest prayer; but in one instance his mind was influenced and his decision determined by a dream, or vision. He writes:

I was brought so near the gates of death that I forgot my name. Being then desirous to know who I was, I saw a mass of matter of a dull, gloomy color between the south and the east, and was informed that this mass was human beings in as great misery as they could be and live, and that I was mixed with them, and that henceforth I might not consider myself as a distinct or separate being. In this state I remained several hours. I then heard a soft, melodious voice, more pure and harmonious than any I had heard with my ears before. I believed it was the voice of an angel who spake to the other angels; the words were, "John Woolman is dead!" I soon remembered that I was once John Woolman, and, being assured that I was alive in the body, I greatly wondered what that heavenly voice could mean. . . . I was then carried in spirit to the mines, where poor, oppressed people were digging rich treasures for those called Christians, and heard them blaspheme the name of Christ, at which I was grieved, for his name to me was precious.

Recovering his health of body and emerging from this state of trance—akin to that exaltation to paradise of which St. Paul writes—he saw, as he says, that the use of silver vessels was stained with pride and that he should not conform to those social customs which required their presence upon the table. With all this conscientiousness and accumulation of scruples, he must have been an unwelcome guest had he not possessed the charm of an unusual humility. He did not regard himself an authoritative censor of morals and manners—only a man who aspired to a scrupulous and unspotted purity. He did not shrink, however, from the hard task of arraigning evildoers. Lotteries, luxuries, foolish fashions of dress, the traffic in intoxicating drinks, theatrical performances, the money mania—all these he antagonized, not with the fierceness and theatricality of his contemporary, Benjamin Lay, but with impressive mingling of gentleness of manner and positiveness of conviction.

At last, after a tour among Indian tribes in this country, he felt moved to visit England. For four months he exercised his ministry in the places sanctified by memories of the founders of Quakerism, and, having reached York, fell ill. During his sickness he uttered these words of communing with God:

O Lord, my God! the amazing horrors of darkness were gathered around me and covered me all over, and I saw no way to go forth. I felt the

depth and extent of the misery of my fellow-creatures separated from the divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was crushed under it. I lifted up my hand, I stretched out my arm, but there was none to help me; I looked round about and was amazed. In the depths of my misery, O Lord, I remembered that thou art omnipotent, that I had called thee Father, and I felt that I loved thee, and I was made quiet in my will, and I waited for deliverance from thee. Thou hadst pity upon me when no man could help me. I saw that meekness under suffering was showed to us in the most affecting example of thy Son, and thou taught me to follow him, and I said, "Thy will, O Father, be done!"

And so the will of the Father was done; he entered into the larger life October 5, 1772.

To Stephen Girard, as to Woolman, the end—or the beginning—came at last. He had toiled on through a tortuous course of harassing public and private affairs, had held to his oars like a wretched galley slave, was worn out with ceaseless cares, exhausted of nerve force until he succumbed to insomnia, disgusted even with money-making, anxious only to occupy himself with business. There were rifts in the clouds, and an occasional gleam of optimism shot through the rifts. He served his city well during the dreadful days of the plague, flinging himself into danger without fear and, perhaps, with the secret wish that death might come and end his impoverished life. He died; and the Quaker City decreed him a public funeral. Over the dust of the French infidel, the miser, the inhospitable cynic, rises his monument—the majestic college. The story of his life, whatever its value, has no inspiration for the two-worldly or other-worldly man—for him who would attain the true peace and completeness of living. To write Woolman's *Journal* and live Woolman's life would be greater honor than to gather millions of money at the price of peace and of fellowship with the best men of the ages.

On Thursday, August 16, 1894, as I rode through the streets of Mount Holly, the door of the old Friends' meeting house, built in 1775, stood open. It was "fifth day," and meeting was to be held. Before noon of that day I stood at the gates of Girard College, and was given a card containing an extract from the will of Stephen Girard prohibiting the admission of any "ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever, . . . for any purpose, or as a visitor." Because the hands of William T. Harris and Stephen M. Merrill had once been im-

posed upon my head in ordination I was not permitted to pass the lodge. Had I sat in the lowly brick meeting house, unadorned and obscure, I would have been in fellowship with the spirits of just men made perfect and with the Spirit of God. Had I entered the halls of Girard College I should have been impressed by majesty of architecture and grandeur of wealth; but, beyond and beneath, I would have had visions of a sorrow-smitten, pessimistic, cynical infidel. He has often been styled a philanthropist. I fancy he would sneer at the title. Woolman would decline it, too; but in his heart he loved God, and in his heart he loved all his fellow-men.

G. M. Hammell.

ART. VI.—SOCIAL AND ETHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF INDIVIDUAL WEALTH.

Is a man really culpable of moral misdemeanor if he becomes very wealthy? In other words, is it wicked to get rich? A certain number of persons seem disposed to answer these questions in the affirmative. The theory is not a new one; but of late it has taken a more definite form and is, therefore, more influential. It is not the sole object of this paper to refute the doctrine or to convert the believers in it from the error of their ways; but, since a vague feeling prevails more or less widely that there is not only an unequal, but an unjust, distribution of wealth, it is desirable to get a clearer conception of the good and evil involved in the actual conditions. Let us examine the grounds of the conviction that large accumulations by a limited number of the members of a community, while others are only moderately provided for and still others are miserably poor, are intrinsically vicious.

The main assumption appears to be that only a certain amount of wealth can be created, and only so much as can be produced by manual labor. Even if this were so there would still be inequalities; for manual laborers differ widely in their powers of production, one man's ability in this respect being three, five, or, perhaps, ten times as great as that of another. It is true that these are usually ranked as skilled laborers; but skilled labor, in its proper sense, depends upon certain physical qualities. On the whole, they may be classed among manual workers. But the power to produce wealth in any extraordinary degree is purely psychical. It ranges all the way from moderate cleverness in adapting means to ends to consummate genius. In its general characteristics it is entirely analogous—we might say entirely similar—to powers that are exclusively intellectual. We know how widely men differ in respect of scientific, literary, and artistic abilities, and how few there are who attain to really great competence as statesmen or as military leaders. There is no reason for believing that men differ any less in those capabilities which are essential to the production of wealth. Nor is there any basis for the assumption that only a limited amount of wealth can be created by a single in-

dividual. Production is the rendering of the utilities of nature available to man. The resources of nature are practically infinite; the ability to lay hold of them is all that is needed; and there is no reason for limiting this power to anything heretofore achieved.

The psychical factors operating in the production of wealth are both more numerous and more influential than have been apprehended by the majority of even able thinkers. Leaving out for the present the added power that has come through the invention of machinery, by which production is increased from five to fifty fold, and the scientific discoveries on which these inventions rest, we may yet readily see how largely the creation of wealth is due to mere mental ability. We have instances where, by the simple organization of a force of laboring men and a skillful distribution of the work according to individual capacity, the product has been increased to more than two hundred times the previous amount, and this, too, by purely handicraft process. Clearly enough the increase in these cases was the result of superior mental, and not of manual, power. Still more remarkable is the effect of the ingenuity of man when working with machinery.

The plea is made by certain socialistic writers that, while it is true that this great increase of productive effect has its source in psychical, rather than physical, causes, it is also true that the men who possess the former are dependent on manual laborers, and, therefore, that these should be, if not equal sharers in the industrial result, at least larger sharers than they are. The general tendency of thought with the class of thinkers to whom reference is made is that there should be an equality of distribution. If by this were only meant that the amount going to the manual laborers should be equal to that going to employers it might be replied that the former do now receive not only as large an amount, but even much more. In the annual report for 1893 upon the manufactures of the State of Massachusetts by the Bureau of Statistics we find that in nine leading industries, embracing more than nineteen hundred establishments, the amount directly paid in wages was fifty-five per cent of the whole product, while that paid indirectly would make a considerable addition. In many instances it went up to sixty, and even sixty-five, per cent. But this is not accepted

as a fair equivalent by many. Some go to the extent of insisting that every laborer should receive as much as any proprietor. This would, of course, imply an equality of compensation among the laborers themselves. It would be difficult to show that ethical justice demands such a distribution. If it is to be conceded it must be either on the ground of benevolence or of industrial policy. On these topics something further will appear as we go on.

As to the principle that the mutual dependence of manual laborers and the *entrepreneur* implies the right of sharing equally in the product, it is evidently contrary to the practical judgment of man in other and analogous social relations. No one really thinks that the organ blower should receive equal credit with the man who handles the keys in a musical performance; and yet the latter is as really dependent on the former as the man of great business ability is on his workmen. The sculptor is dependent on the common quarryman and the stone hewer for the block out of which he makes his statue; but no one claims that the latter are entitled to an equal share with the former in the merit, to say nothing of the pecuniary result, of the production.

It is further to be noted that the dependence of the two parties is not wholly mutual. It is admitted that the manual laborer is dependent on the ability of the capitalist employer for the opportunity to labor in any largely productive way, and that the latter is dependent on the former. But it seems to be overlooked that, while the latter can do all that the former can, the former cannot do all that the latter can. Karl Marx makes it his main indictment of the present industrial system and a reason why it should give place to collectivism that all the surplus product of labor—that is, all save the bare pittance necessary for subsistence—is appropriated by the employer, who is a mere exploiter of labor, himself creating no value. Leaving out of account for the present the contradiction of the bare pittance allegation by a multitude of facts, the doctrine that the employer or *entrepreneur* produces nothing is easily refuted. It has already been seen how great is the increase of product from organization and skillful distribution of the laborers, and that the power to effect this to much advantage resides in only a few minds. One can see at a glance

what would be the result, or rather the lack of result, if a thousand Italians or other not highly intelligent laborers were set to work to build a railway through any section of the country without some directing mind. Not a rod of the road would be constructed—this, too, without saying anything concerning preliminary engineering. It is seen, again, in the difference in the success of different industrial enterprises where the abilities of the operatives are practically the same and there can be no superiority or inferiority save in the management. There are, for instance, in Massachusetts one hundred and thirty-seven cotton factories, of which eighty-seven make more or less net profits for their shareholders, while fifty make no net profits at all, and some of them sustain losses. Yet the same wages were paid, and the manual labor performed was as efficient in those making no profits as in the others. Admitting that there are certain accidental elements contributing to the poor showing of the one set and the good showing of the other, it is still palpable that the substantial difference is in the character of the men who direct the business.

Another part of Marx's argument is more subtle and more likely to mislead. It is to the effect that every product comprises three elements—the material which has been elaborated, the effect of the wear and waste of tools and machinery used in its production, and the labor expended. The value of the first two reappears in the new product, and is precisely the same as that which has disappeared from the material and the instruments. The remaining value, that is, all the real value of the product, is the result of manual labor and, therefore, rightly belongs to the manual laborer. But of this he insists that the larger part goes to the exploiter of labor, who produces nothing. It can easily be shown that Marx wholly leaves out the chief psychical factors in production. His argument is valid only as it applies to physical effort and effect. But, aside from this, it is subject to a *reductio ad absurdum*. Nearly always, in any considerable establishment, there are not only different machines, widely varying in productive power, but there are also certain processes of the simple handicraft order. Ten men work side by side. Two of them operate a machine of which the value of the product is twenty dollars a day. Three work with one producing the value of forty-five dollars a day. Five

of them are doing simple mechanical work worth in the aggregate ten dollars a day. Now, according to Marx's theory, here are three sets of men, entitled respectively to ten, fifteen, and two dollars a day per man; and it is to be noted that the exertion is, if anything, less in the more highly paid than in the less highly paid. There would seem to be some absurdity in this on the very face of it.

I said that Marx took no account of the psychical factors in production. It may furthermore be said that he does not take account of even all the physical factors—only of those implied in the human effort put forth. But nature does something in the creation of wealth, always cooperating under required conditions. Indeed, nature is the principal producer, the human agency being almost exclusively concerned in furnishing the proper conditions. Mr. Mallock * makes this evident in his supposed case of three cultivators of the soil. Each has his plot of ground; each puts in the same amount of work; and all are presumed to be equally intelligent and equally diligent. But the product is in the ratio of fifteen, twelve, and nine. To be consistent, Marx would have to say that these amounts are produced severally by the respective laborers. The common sense of the ordinary thinker would assert that, while the productive powers of the men are equal, those of the natural agents are unequal—that is, the difference is owing to the character of the soil. We are compelled to admit that nature varies more in this respect than do the physical powers of man. What is true in the case of land is true, also, of material in the form of capital or machinery. Evidently, so far as manual labor is concerned, while we may readily see that more is contributed to the creation of wealth by the same number of men than formerly—for the facts of better compensation, a higher standard of living, and, consequently, more physical vigor would imply this—yet this accounts for only a small fraction of the relative increase in production. For the rest we must look to invention and to the psychical elements involved in management and direction. How much is to be attributed to these has only recently begun to be apprehended. In fact, these extraordinary powers have never existed in anything like their present large measure till

* *Labor and the Popular Welfare*, pp. 95–109.

within the last hundred years. As previously intimated, this power of the *entrepreneur* is found in only a few minds. Mr. Mallock makes an estimate, and gives good reason for it, that one sixteenth of the population really produces nearly two thirds of the wealth. These considerations ought to be sufficient, even if there were no others, to account for the great disparity of wealth without presuming any vicious principle.

There is a class of thinkers who, while they are compelled, in view of the facts cited, to admit that there is a palpable difference in the wealth-producing power of individuals, yet insist that it exists to only a limited extent. They do not believe that the vast accumulations made by certain persons can be legitimately acquired. They hold that beyond a limited amount such fortunes are gained only by means implying the withholding of the share properly belonging to others, and that no one can rightfully amass an estate of two or three millions without defrauding others. Just where the line should be drawn they do not undertake to determine. But, so far as can be seen in the light which investigation has thrown on the subject, no limit need be fixed. The only condition to be observed is that no one shall have less because some other has more. If this is insisted on there will be no danger that one or a very small number will possess all the wealth of the community; and that is what seems to be feared by those who look with concern upon the vast accumulations which have been made by some in recent years.

Of course, it is in the very nature of things that great wealth will be the portion of only a minority, just as great learning, extraordinary talent, and transcendent genius are the portion of only comparatively few. For, as we have seen, the wealth-creating ability is analogous to other mental endowments. Though it is found in only a small number, the great majority who have it not are not losers, but rather great gainers, because of this fact. A concrete case may help us to see this more clearly. In a New England town off the line of the railroads there are about one hundred and sixty families. There are two villages. There is no large business concern in the town, farming being the principal occupation. There are some half a dozen professional men, the usual quota of mechanics, and three or four country merchants. Most of the families are in

moderately comfortable conditions. The number of paupers reaches about the ordinary average in such communities. There are in the town three men of wealth. One of them is a man of national reputation. These three men own about five times as much property as all the rest of the inhabitants together—that is, less than one fiftieth of the families possess about five sixths of the wealth. There is no complaint in the town because these men are so rich. There are no indications that anyone is poorer on that account. On the contrary, it is tolerably evident that the people as a whole are better off because of it. In a neighboring town, where there are no rich men, certainly the general condition is far from being any better. Now, this may be an exceptional instance. No doubt there are cases where the wealth of the few is at the expense of the many; but this is not a necessary or general consequence. In the *Forum* for November, 1889, Mr. Shearman maintained that one seventieth of the people of the United States own two thirds of the property. This is singularly near the state of things in the little country town just spoken of. We may freely grant that such disparity and such concentration are not the normal or the healthiest condition of things. And we may do this without at all admitting that the causes of this inequality reside wholly or principally in our vicious methods of taxation. These certainly are exceedingly imperfect—as, indeed, any system must be—and in some of their features needlessly oppressive. But, bad as they are, these systems are insufficient to account for the existing conditions.

It needs no formal argument to prove that considerable numbers of men have accumulated wealth through unfair means. Selfishness is an almost universally prevailing vice. While in many it is restrained or subordinated, in others it palpably breaks out in fraud, in taking advantage of the weak, and in scarcely concealed robbery. Frequently, it defeats itself, but, unhappily, not always; and often a man becomes enormously rich because he has taken that which is justly the wealth of others. But this no more disproves that great wealth may be legitimately acquired, than the obvious fact that rogues and knaves by the thousand secure a living by unjust means proves that a living can be obtained in no other way. Sometimes great fortunes are made by speculation. I use the term

"speculation" here in its narrower sense, to indicate a sort of transaction in which one gains what others inevitably lose, stock gambling being a typical example of these transactions. No wealth is created by this method of business. The community as a whole is not one whit better off on account of it. The great mass of men in moderate circumstances are not greatly affected by these transactions. But there is a particular fact which should be considered here. Men who figure on the exchange do not generally belong to the industrial army. It makes little difference to the latter whether Mr. Smith makes three or four millions out of Mr. Jones, or whether the latter has relieved the former of a similar amount in some shrewd deal. Mr. Brown may have been so acute in discerning the set of the speculative current at one period as to become a multifold millionaire; at another time he may have so miscalculated it as to be compelled to earn his daily bread in some honest occupation. It makes no difference to the great body of honest toilers. They are neither richer nor poorer by these ups and downs in the financial careers of the men alluded to.

But it is otherwise when a few men form combinations by which they control the market and compel the great body of consumers to pay more than the normal price for the necessaries of life. In this way a few may get enormously rich at the expense of the many; and both the poor and the well to do—and the former more than the latter—are made to contribute to their unrighteous accumulations. But we must still insist that not all great fortunes come in this or in kindred ways. It is clearly conceivable that men may secure for themselves great wealth, while they are at the same time helping others to improve their condition. Nor is this a mere conception of the imagination; it is often actualized in real life. When Cornelius Vanderbilt entered upon his project of uniting several railway corporations into one trunk line between Chicago and the Atlantic seaboard, it is hardly to be presumed that he was actuated by a merely philanthropic sentiment. It is possible, though not certain, that he had no thought of benefiting any but himself. It is evident that he did benefit himself to the extent of some millions of dollars; but there is no reason to believe that the poverty of any was increased. On the contrary, the resulting reduction in freight charges tended to increase the wealth of

every Western farmer and Eastern wage-earner; for the one sold his product at a larger profit, and the other purchased it at a lower price.

The consequences of accumulations which involve injustice on the part of the fortune builder are certainly evil. I do not mean by this legal or technical fraud, but such taking advantage of others, in ways that the civil law cannot reach and that even public opinion does not always condemn, as implies that the gain of one is conditioned on the loss of another. This is not only an ethical wrong, but it is a social and economic evil. It gives certain persons more than they can use to advantage and deprives others of the comforts of life. Another and more general evil is that great wealth gives its possessor power over those who have small competencies. The facilities for production are, as is charged by the socialists, in the hands of the wealthy; and it is possible to use them as a means of oppression and extortion. This is not only possible, but is likely to become actual with the unprincipled and the selfish. There are many instances where such advantage is taken and the poor are made still poorer. It is not good that one man or a whole class of men should be placed at the mercy of another man or combination of men. Inevitably, their power will sometimes be used to the further depression of those who are already sadly depressed and to keeping them from ever rising. It is true that social forces are always operating to counteract this tendency to oppression; but these are never sufficient to wholly prevent it. There are multiplied instances of degradation, want, and suffering caused by industrial oppressions; and the greed, extortion, and cruelty displayed call loudly for redress.

But it does not follow that such abuses are the natural result of individual accumulation. On the contrary, many and vast benefits accrue. First, there is the universally admitted fact that a very large amount of capital is necessary as a condition for the profitable employment of labor. Even the temporary withdrawal of any considerable portion of the wealth used in production occasions great loss and distress to workingmen. It is not a sufficient reply to say that in former times, when great capitals rarely existed, the manual laborer maintained himself and his family in comparative comfort. Indeed, as a matter of fact, the condition of the average laborer was far from being

as satisfactory as now. And we are to remember that in civilized nations population has so greatly increased within the last two centuries that, without the almost incredible modern developments in machinery, which imply an immense increase in capital, production would have fallen far short of the demand and the sufferings of the poor would have become almost insupportable. Again, these accumulations, where they are legitimate, imply an ability on the part of their possessors which by no means exhausts itself in the acquisition. This ability adds to the welfare of many another. It plans and carries on great enterprises, and thus furnishes employment to thousands of laborers. As we have seen, such ability is rare; and yet on its existence and exercise depends, in large measure, the prosperity of the great mass of laboring men. There is not a very large number of men who can successfully manage business enterprises of even moderate proportions; not simply because most men lack the requisite capital, but also because they have not the necessary mental equipment. Of all who undertake to do business on more than the most ordinary scale only a few succeed. It has been estimated that ninety per cent fail sooner or later. This may be an exaggeration; but if it be only half true the lesson is the same. It is better for the large majority to be assured of a fair wage regularly paid, than to assume responsibilities with which only men of extraordinary sagacity are competent to cope.

To this kind of security there is for the masses no other alternative than the establishment of State socialism; and, whatever modifications the present system may undergo in the socialistic direction, modern society is not disposed to accept socialism as a whole, with its untested industrial theories. The benefits of such a system could be proved only by experience; and our communities are not willing to be the subjects of experiment on so gigantic a scale, where almost infinite risks are involved. It is admitted by nearly all the sober and candid advocates of collectivism that, even assuming the soundness of the theory and its practicability, it must come about gradually and not till after a lapse of many years. Rodbertus puts it at five hundred, others at a century or more. But what are we to do in the meantime? Evidently, we must go on with the present system, giving to it such modifications as investigation

and discussion may suggest. Such changes are going on all the time. We may expect they will continue and, perhaps, be more frequent and more radical in the future than in the past.

All parties acknowledge that great social evils exist. An excessive optimism, that sees nothing to mend, has no proper place in the mind of any candid thinker. The removal of these evils must come from either of two sources. On the one hand, those who are unfavorably affected must demand justice and equity, and their voice must be heard. They have certain means of emancipation in their own hands, and through organization and agitation they are doing something to diminish the hardships of their lot. They may labor under many and great errors—this is inevitable—but education, experience, and candor will correct them. The other source of rectification referred to lies with the rich and prosperous. It may be laid down as a stable principle that the right of every man to all the wealth he honestly acquires, however much it may be, does not carry with it the right to use it in any way that may suit caprice or minister to selfish desires. There are duties, as well as rights, and *noblesse oblige* has its application here more aptly than anywhere else. Between two parties rights and obligations do not always precisely coincide. One may have no right to demand a service of me, while I am, nevertheless, in duty bound to render it. The obligation may emanate from a higher source and be evolved from a larger relationship. If I see a man in great distress, from which it is in my power to relieve him without unreasonable cost to myself, while he may have no claim upon me for this help, yet it is clearly my duty to render it. It is the distinction between justice and benevolence. They are both equally binding, but they are not the same. The one can be made the subject of civil law, the other cannot. The one may be enforced in the tribunals of justice, the other may not. But in the great court of public sentiment the man who fails to respond to the call of humanity is summarily and universally condemned.

The duty of wealth is not exhausted in affording aid to individuals in misfortune or in public, and even profuse, charities. To the community which has furnished the conditions of great accumulations something is owing. Sometimes this debt is discharged wholly or in part in the endowment of schools and

colleges, in the bestowment of libraries and museums and the buildings and means to contain and support them, in the founding of lecture courses, in the establishment of hospitals and other great charities, in the presentation of parks and fountains and other works of art. It is so deeply seated in the convictions of men that private wealth ought to contribute to these purposes—not because the public has a claim, but from a sense of higher social and moral obligations—that when a man of vast possessions dies and leaves no bequests for such objects there is not only disappointment, but something like execration, generally suppressed, it is true, yet not wholly concealed. There is, furthermore, binding upon the man of wealth the duty to use his property for the economic welfare of the community. There is much censure in our time of the "idle rich," and it is wholly legitimate. Generally speaking, no man of physical and mental health has a right to be unemployed. One should, at least, produce as much as one consumes. Inherited wealth implies no right to spend life in mere indulgence. There are thousands who claim this right and who are as useless to the world as any of the army of tramps and penniless loafers which infests our communities. The responsibility of the rich is not met when they simply deal justly in paying the tradesmen who serve them, the domestics whom they employ, or the artists whose productions they buy. It is their duty to use a reasonable amount of their property as capital and to be themselves engaged in production, thus both adding to the wealth of the community and providing opportunity to those who desire to labor. It is not designed to condemn those who, possessing large wealth either of their own creation or by inheritance, devote themselves to philanthropy and the public service. Such men are a greater benefit to society thus than they could be in any other way.

Another stricture is in order. Rich men, in claiming the right to do what they will with their own, will do well to remember that this does not imply the liberty of extravagant, useless, and wasteful expenditure. No man, no matter how rich he may be, may so destroy property that out of it shall come no addition of value to himself or others. A generous and bountiful style, it is true, is not only allowable, but is often demanded. A certain high standard of living is desirable, even

for men in moderate circumstances. There is, nevertheless, a profusion of expenditure which is ostentatious and vulgar, which ministers neither to the welfare of the individual or family nor to the advantage of the community, and which cannot be otherwise properly characterized than as a wicked waste of opportunity. It is hardly necessary to add, especially as something has already been said on this topic, that wealth cannot be innocently used as a means of oppression. Men may not rightly combine their fortunes to put down competition, destroy the business of their rivals, ruin independent producers, get control of the world's markets, levy toll upon the people like the bandit barons of the Middle Ages, and thus build colossal fortunes for themselves. Such uses of wealth are violations of ethical and social laws, and they have in them the seeds of dire retribution.

Geo. M. Steele.

ART. VII.—METHODIST EPISCOPACY IN TRANSITION.

METHODIST episcopacy is both apostolic and scriptural. It is apostolic, in that it first came into existence as the outgrowth of an extraordinary spiritual movement, after the manner of primitive episcopacy; and it is scriptural, in that it was founded in remarkable harmony with scriptural precedent and under the liberal charter of self-government which the New Testament grants to every Christian organization. Every friend of Christian unity and Christian liberty, and especially every Methodist, should ever thank God that Mr. Wesley was led to set apart the first Methodist bishops himself, without interposition of any prelate claiming to exercise his functions by an authority derived from an unbroken line of successors to the original apostles. Beyond all doubt, this fiction of an "historic" episcopacy is the greatest barrier in the way of Christian unity throughout the world to-day; and the most practical, as well as the most effective, protest which has been made against it is the widespread presence of another episcopacy—historic, without having any history to be ashamed of, and apostolic, without possessing a long succession of prelates many of whom were models of all that apostles should not be. This modern form of episcopacy is rapidly extending its influence, and seems destined to a still wider and more rapid extension in the future.

I have used the word "outgrowth" as descriptive of the origin of Methodist episcopacy, meaning that God directed by providential tokens those who first gave it a definite shape. No one among the early founders of Methodism, from Mr. Wesley down, anticipated at the outset that such a feature would ever be impressed on the Methodist system. It took shape very gradually; and, while its formal acknowledgment by the election of Bishops Coke and Asbury as bishops of an independent Church had some of the suddenness of a surprise, this momentous act was in reality but the culmination of a long series of events which logically led up to it and which could hardly have terminated differently. It follows naturally that a system which, from the very first, was subject to the laws of providential development can never acquire the character of a rigid framework beyond the reach of either amendment or adjust-

ment to new emergencies. As a matter of fact, it has been subject to modification from the beginning, and will, no doubt, continue to be so as long as the Church retains the vitality of a growing body. It ought to be admitted as inevitable, therefore, by every Church accepting this form of episcopacy, that the system will change from time to time; and the discussion of modifications which may seem desirable and at times inevitable should never be regarded as implying disloyalty to the system itself. As a simple matter of history, the episcopacy which was adopted at the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church has already been modified in several important respects, until at the present day, so far as its practical workings are concerned, it differs very widely from that which bore the same name a century ago.

What were the chief distinctive features of the Methodist episcopacy in the days of Coke and Asbury? In the first place, it was presbyterial, as distinct from the sacerdotal, or prelatical, episcopacy with which the world had become familiar in the Roman, Eastern, and Anglican Churches. Next, it was general, as distinguished from the diocesan feature which many maintained had been handed down from the apostles and had thus become as inviolable as the episcopacy itself. The bishop was not regarded as inseparable from a limited, and usually very small, piece of territory, but could have duties assigned to him in any part of the wide domain of the Church. In the third place, the position which he held was regarded as an office bestowed upon him by the suffrages of his equals, and not as the prerogative of an order received at the hands of superiors. In office he stood above his brethren; but in ministerial orders they were his equals. As such, he was amenable to these brethren for his conduct, could be placed on trial by them, and could make no appeal against their action to a higher order of ministers. In every feature of the episcopacy the supremacy of the Church and the subordination of the bishop were recognized. Lastly, it is to be noted that the bishop was not only a general superintendent, in the sense of exercising a general supervision over the Church, but that this supervision was of a militant character. The early Methodist bishop was expected to be a leader. The Church of Asbury's day was, in the best sense of the word, a militant Church. The supervision of the

bishop was that of a commander on the battlefield, and in every action he was expected in person to keep close behind the skirmish line. If his authority was very great, corresponding to the militant character of his office, his subordination was equally marked. The senior of the first two bishops once had his jurisdiction limited by a simple vote of his brethren, so that his status was made to correspond in a remarkable degree to that of a missionary bishop at the present day. It will thus be seen that Methodist episcopacy, as first formulated, was a very unique institution in the Christian world. Nothing exactly corresponding to it had been seen since the early days of Christianity. Under God, it owed its origin to the Church. In both of these respects it became a living protest against the prevailing "historic" error, that the Church owed its origin to the episcopacy and could not even exist without its presence and control.

It would be interesting to note the changes which gradually took place in the evolution of our episcopacy; but space will not permit this, nor is it necessary to notice them except in brief outline. It was quickly found that the bishops could not all be present at each Conference session, and this obligation was quietly dropped. The rapid extension of the work soon made it impossible for them to be present at all the circuits, and in consequence their faces began to be less and less familiar to the mass of the common people. The creation of a General Conference strengthened their position and added in some respects to their functions, but did not tend to draw them nearer to the people. Their judicial functions became more strictly defined, and their responsibilities in general more weighty, as time passed. There was no regular rotation in the presidency of the Annual Conferences; and in the New England Conference, where Bishop Hedding presided for five or six successive years, a "districted episcopacy" was for a time in practical existence, without any attention being called to the fact.*

* Since the above was written an article has appeared in *Zion's Herald*, written by Dr. D. H. Ela, in which the case as here presented is greatly strengthened. Dr. Ela says: "The general superintendency has not kept pace with the growth of the body. It has nothing like the acquaintance with, and supervision of, the Church which existed in earlier days. Indeed, it has been in danger of losing its vital relation to the body. Bishop Asbury presided at sixteen of the first nineteen sessions of the New England Conference. He knew personally every man, and visited annually nearly every circuit in the Conference. Bishop McKendree attended every session but one of the Conference from 1809 to 1817—the first five with Asbury. Bishop Hedding attended twenty of the twenty-six sessions from 1824 to 1849.

The Asburyan era practically came to a close in 1852. Three of the four bishops elected in that year were, each in his way, representatives of new ideas and new policies. The time was favorable for an advance in many directions. The separation of the Southern Conferences was a relief, not only from embittered controversy, but from an intolerable situation. A new wave of emigration was rolling westward. New educational institutions were springing into existence, and ministerial education had just received its highest indorsement by the election of Bishop Baker. The Missionary Society was just beginning to realize the purpose for which it had been founded, and in the great cities leading men were waking to the momentous responsibilities which confronted the Church. It was a time for great leaders and brave leadership; and at no period in our history have more capable men come to the front, both in the episcopacy and outside of it.

It was at or near this date that the first attempt was made to introduce a regular system into the work of supervising the Annual Conferences. To each bishop a certain number of Conferences was assigned for a period of twelve months; and, although these Conferences were not by any means selected with regard to contiguity of territory, yet a most important principle was thereby recognized and a still more important precedent established. Each bishop was placed in charge of a specified field for the term of twelve months. For that length of time the whole work was divided into districts; and this policy prevails to the present day. As the years passed by the foreign missions began to enroll converts in many countries, and in due time Annual Conferences were organized in foreign lands, at first tentatively, but later with all the rights and privileges of Annual Conferences in the United States. These Conferences were placed under the permanent supervision of the several bishops, the same general superintendent in some cases retaining exclusive jurisdiction over a Conference for a dozen years or more. In this way another most important precedent was established, namely, that the

Down to 1854 no bishop presided alone in the Conference until he had attended at least one session of the Conference in company with an older bishop. Such acquaintance with, and personal supervision of, the Conference by the bishop has become year by year less possible and more neglected, till now it begins with the opening of the annual session and closes with the reading of the appointments."

"general itinerant superintendency" does not require an interchange of the supervision of the Conferences among the bishops every twelve months. Meanwhile, the creation of Judicial Conferences, the immense expansion of our publishing interests, the increase of benevolent societies in the Church, the growth of legislation, and the outline on the horizon of new questions of the greatest importance have all combined to add to the responsibilities of the bishops, and, at the same time, to withdraw them more and more from the sphere of active leadership which pertained to them during the Asburyan era.

It seems very probable that with the advent of a new century our Church will enter upon the third stage of her history. We are now in the closing years of the second era. Many changes have occurred during the past fifty years, and the end is not yet. In the early days of Asbury no one foresaw the rapid expansion of the country, both in territory and population, and certainly no one anticipated that before the close of the present century our ministers, in different parts of the world, would be witnessing for Christ in thirty-six different languages. No one foresaw, no one could have foreseen, the extraordinary development of new interests which has taken place; and hence it was simply impossible a century ago, or even half a century ago, to formulate a policy which would meet the demands of an era like the present. The episcopacy of a hundred years ago is not equal to present emergencies. A hundred Asburys could not now supervise the work as the one Asbury did it in the beginning; while it is as certain as any future and contingent event can be that the difficulties of the situation will increase rapidly, rather than diminish, with the lapse of years. A widespread impression prevails among our people that some parts of our present episcopal system need readjustment, in order to adapt the Church to her new responsibilities and prepare fully for the stupendous duties of the coming century. Among various proposals, perhaps the most prominent, as well as the most practical, is that of giving more definite fields of labor to the several general superintendents.

The demand for a "districted episcopacy" is more urgent and much more general at the present time than is commonly supposed. No episcopal system can permanently succeed which

does not include the continuous personal supervision of a responsible leader. It need hardly be said that our present system fails conspicuously at this point. A presiding bishop cannot form plans with any expectation of himself helping to carry them into effect. He knows perfectly well that when he leaves the brethren before him it will probably be to return no more. He is the presiding officer of an ecclesiastical assembly; but he is not, and cannot be, the leader of a militant army. His duties are assigned to him in such a way as to give him a maximum of authority and a minimum of responsibility. He is rarely obliged to face the results of his own Conference administration. He acquires but little local knowledge and wields but little local influence. He deals with the most vital interests of a thousand of his brethren, without having a personal acquaintance with one in ten or, perhaps, one in twenty among them. He is a "general" superintendent, and yet will not dare to decide any pending question outside the ever-shifting boundaries of the Conferences allotted to him. To the mass of the people he is an invisible official, highly esteemed no doubt, but no longer filling the place in the public mind and heart which was held by Asbury and his earlier successors. In other words, our bishops are losing touch with the people. Large presiding elders' districts are pointed out within which no bishop has ever entered. Vast commonwealths there are within which no bishop ever goes except during the hurried session of an Annual Conference. The country circuits know the bishops only by name, and only the more important city churches can hope to receive their ministrations.

The attempt to maintain the present "systemless and outgrown" policy must soon be abandoned. To require sixteen men to interchange their fields of labor annually, to cut up these fields into detached and widely separated sections, to plan deliberately for useless travel, for a crossing and recrossing of one another's tracks, to waste time and strength and money for what most practical men will call naught, to attempt to extend this system to the ends of the earth, and calmly to propose to maintain it until the sixteen shall have become sixty or a hundred and sixty—all this seems so manifestly unwise and absurd that the mere statement of the case becomes its own condemnation. The late Bishop Kingsley,

speaking of this policy, once said to me in India, "It is the wildest scheme I have ever known good men to propose." The good sense of our people will demand, is now demanding, something more practical and more in keeping with the original spirit of our episcopal system.

The mere statement of this proposal will, no doubt, call forth an appeal to the third Restrictive Rule. For some reason, it seems always to be taken for granted that the word "plan" in that rule refers solely to the present absence of plan in the practical working of our itinerant general superintendency. To modify a plan, if this absence of plan can be called a plan at all, is not to destroy it. To develop and perfect a plan which exists only in imperfect outline is the farthest possible remove from destroying it. What was the original plan? It was "general," but not "diocesan." It was "itinerant," in the Methodist sense of that word. The preachers were itinerants, but were restricted to circuits, although constantly changed from one circuit to another. As time passed they became less and less itinerant, until at last the term became a purely ecclesiastical one, meaning only that the preacher was subject to more or less frequent changes of residence. His actual itinerating in many cases now consists in walking about fifty feet from his own door to the adjacent church. A somewhat similar, if less marked, change has come over the itinerant "plan" of the bishops. The Asburyan plan has long since broken down, and the bishops by mutual agreement now "district" their work. Every reader of our Church papers is familiar with the "Plan of Episcopal Visitation," which, being interpreted, means the formal districting of certain Conferences. This has been done so long and has been approved by so many General Conferences that it is too late to appeal to any restrictive rule against it.

If, now, the General Conference at Cleveland were to relieve the bishops of the responsibility of making out these plans and do it for them it is hardly conceivable that anyone would object to the action as unconstitutional. And if the General Conference made out the plan for two years, instead of one, the action would be equally legal. The next step is an easy one and in plain sight. Let the General Conference make out the plan for four years, instead of one, and the task is nearly com-

plete. It remains only to form the Conferences into groups or districts geographically, as well as ecclesiastically, and to make the bishop assigned to each district responsible for it for four years, in order to complete a development of a plan which would give new vigor to our Church. This change would not "destroy" the plan laid down in the Discipline; it would only reduce it to system. It would make it vastly more effective. It would eliminate the obsolete elements in the plan and make it more practical, as well as more sensible. Each bishop would be subject to a removal quadrennially, and hence would be still an itinerant, like other Methodist preachers. Each bishop would be subject to appointment to any part of the wide field of the Church, and hence his superintendency would be "general." If it be said that the bishops should travel at large through all the work the answer is obvious—no one does. For fifty years past no one has been able to perform this feat. Bishop Ames quietly refused to cross the ocean, and the General Conference approved his administration. Bishop Simpson never saw India or China. It is morally certain that even our youngest bishops will never complete the round of all the Conferences in the United States. What is the use, then, of trying to keep up an illogical make-believe about our "general" superintendency? No living man could discharge the duties which we try to make ourselves believe we are exacting from our bishops.

The relation of this proposed change to our missionary episcopacy is obvious. When it was first proposed to provide a resident bishop for Liberia the question was viewed from the narrowest possible standpoint. The policy had just been adopted of sending no more white missionaries to the African coast, and even the occasional visits of the bishops were considered too perilous to be kept up. But how should the Liberian ministers be ordained? It was chiefly to provide for this that the original plan of a missionary episcopacy was devised, and it is not strange that from the first it proved a failure. The election of Bishop Taylor precipitated a heated controversy concerning questions of "status" and administration; and, as might have been expected, our foreign missionaries lifted up their voices against an episcopacy which seemed so narrow and worked so unsatisfactorily. The action of the General Con-

ference in 1888, whatever else may be said for or against it, certainly put an immediate and complete end to the controversy then pending; and thus far the new plan has not given rise to any special complaints. Mere questions of ecclesiastical status have no value whatever so long as the interests of the Church are successfully administered and conserved. But if the policy indicated above had been adopted in the first place there need never have been a missionary episcopacy. It would only have been necessary to create an episcopal district in a given foreign land and assign a bishop to it, subject to the same restrictions as his brethren in the home land.

The present restrictions imposed on missionary bishops work no hardship of any kind and do no possible harm; but they are a trifle absurd. When one of the greatest and best of English prelates was on his way to Calcutta, many years ago, he made an agreement to join a nonconformist minister who was on board at daily prayer, and during the first half of the voyage the two brethren greatly enjoyed their little meeting. When, however, they passed the longitude of Cape Town the Anglican told his nonconformist brother that he could no longer meet him in prayer, since he was now within the borders of his own diocese. This seems absurd enough, no doubt; but is our own rule more logical which forbids a man who has authority to ordain in Lucknow and Bombay to perform the same duty after he passes Aden, at the mouth of the Red Sea, even though requested to do so by sixteen bishops?

The permanent policy of our Church with reference to the episcopal supervision of our foreign missions can hardly yet be regarded as definitely settled. The action of 1888 is not accepted by all parties as the final adjustment of this difficult question. By many it is still regarded as, at best, only a temporary measure; and some of our wisest leaders are strongly of the opinion that it would be better to adhere to the old policy of sending out bishops from home to inspect the work and to preside at the Conferences. For this policy it is claimed (1) that the work should be regularly inspected by parties acting on behalf of the Missionary Society; (2) that the General Committee needs the information which so many visiting bishops would be able to give; (3) that the bishops would be able to spread their observations before the Church in such a way as to

stimulate missionary interest; (4) that the unity of the Church would be thus conserved, and the workers abroad be kept in touch with their brethren in the home land.

These points may all be conceded; but the missionary abroad is quick to observe that they only indirectly touch the question of episcopal supervision. A Methodist bishop is certainly something more than an inspector general of missions. As before remarked, he must be a leader, must be able to plan campaigns and execute his own plans, must have administrative ability, and must in person attend to many matters which a visiting bishop would not think of attempting. It is a small matter to inspect a work, but a very weighty task to create a work to be inspected. If Mr. Wesley had instructed Francis Asbury to inspect the work in America and then return and report to him in person, what possible good would his visit have accomplished, and where would American Methodism have been to-day? As to the advice of the visiting bishops at the meetings of the General Committee, it cannot be denied that the presence of so many able men who have traveled widely over the world adds greatly to the interest of such meetings; but, as to the practical results, it may be said that in recent years it has more than once happened that all the advice tendered by visiting bishops did not affect the appropriations to the extent of five hundred dollars.

In the mission field, above all other places, the presence of a superintending leader is of the utmost importance. The isolation of the workers, the inexperience of most of the convert preachers, the pioneer character of the work, the necessity of devising new measures, the constant care to make organization keep pace with progress, the liability to dissension—these and a score of other reasons might be named as indicating the urgent need of a superintending leader on the field. The old plan has not worked successfully. Harmony among the workers has not been the rule in all our fields. The administration has not always been uniform. The policy pursued has not tended to produce leaders, but rather to repress them. If it is a mistake to give authority without responsibility, it is a much more serious error to give responsibility without authority. Slowly, but steadily, the missionaries in the field are yielding to the conviction that a series of annual visits from an ever-

changing number of bishops, however desirable in some respects, does not constitute episcopal supervision, in any proper sense of the word. If free to choose, they would not propose a missionary episcopacy; but they are rapidly reaching the conclusion that the name matters little, provided their practical wants are met. They are Methodists working under the Methodist Episcopal system, and very naturally they wish to have all the working machinery of their Church on the ground and in proper working order.

So far from reversing the policy adopted in 1888, it ought to be extended to all our larger mission fields. India urgently needs two, and should have three, episcopal superintendents. The enforced absence of the present superintendent for long periods is unfavorable to the work. In providing for the several fields a wide freedom of action should be exercised. The work is greater than the bishop. Exceptions should be made without hesitation when occasion demands them. If possible, each field should have its own bishop; but, if need be, two or more countries might be assigned to one person. If the word "missionary" is offensive to the Germans eliminate it; but let the bishop become one of the Germans and go to stay. If it is considered important to have certain of the home bishops go abroad to inspect our missions by all means send them; but do not let this in any way interfere with the normal administration of the work under a bishop on the ground. A bishop is a servant of the Church, and can serve in any capacity or perform any duty to which the voice of the Church calls him. Let this general rule be observed, and future changes can safely be left to those on whom responsibility shall rest when the necessity for change makes itself felt.

J. M. Thoburn

ART. VIII.—THE SONG OF SONGS—A STUDY OF ITS PLAN AND PURPORT.

OUR purpose is to set forth the structure of this most remarkable composition as we may trace it in the writing itself. If we are successful there results the surest basis for an interpretation which shall be void of vagaries and extravagances such as have been most common and most harmful in the past. It will be our aim to indicate some portions of Scripture that prepared the way for this Song of Songs, and other portions that followed its appearance and are the highest tribute to the influence which it exerted on the religious development of the Hebrews. Our attempt will be within the realm of reconstructive criticism. Herein each advance is attended with greatest difficulties.

We would do injustice to Methodist scholarship, and also to the generous encouragement of scholarship on the part of the Book Concern, if we were to fail to mention two recent translations of this Song of Songs—one made by the late Dr. James Strong, and the other by Professor Milton S. Terry. The Song is worked out, in each of these translations, into minute dramatic detail. Herein alone is there agreement; for the understanding of the Song is different with each author. Dr. Strong accepts the view that the poem is a celebration of Solomon's marriage with a daughter of Pharaoh. It is accordingly constructed to represent the seven days during which the marriage festivities were in process of completion. Perhaps no terser and more forcible judgment against this view can be found than that of Adam Clarke, who says: "For my part, I doubt the propriety of this technical arrangement, and do not think that anything of the kind was intended by the author. The division is not obvious and, therefore, in my apprehension, not natural." Dr. Terry sets forth the view he has adopted in these words: "The heroine of this poetic drama is to be understood as a fair young maiden of northern Palestine whom King Solomon is supposed to have sought in vain to win. She resists all his blandishments, rejects all his offers, and remains true to her shepherd lover, to whom she is at last restored." It must be said of the *dramatis personæ* and

the dramatic situations, as set forth in Dr. Terry's translation, that they are "not obvious" and, to my apprehension, "not natural."

It is not unforeseen that the interpretation we propose may be regarded as "not obvious" and, therefore, "not natural." Yet, as it is simple and is easily confirmed by the writing itself, it will certainly have the advantage of approximating quite closely to the obvious and the natural. There are but three parties in the poem. They are the Beloved, the loved one, and the daughters of Jerusalem. It is mainly in the vocative case that the daughters of Jerusalem are made to appear. They are regarded as interested in all that concerns the Beloved and the loved one; and in one case (vi, 1) they wish to seek the Beloved along with the loved one. They are appealed to again and again. Once they are called the daughters of Zion (iii, 11). With the exception of the portions addressed to the daughters of Jerusalem, the whole poem is made up of recitatives and dialogues by the Beloved and the loved one. All the interest, all the charm, all the exquisite beauty in this production center in these two.

To the Hebrew scholar the language of the Song presents an attractiveness unequaled by any other part of the Old Testament of equal length. The peculiar choiceness of the language, the unusualness of many words, the remarkable metaphors present a mine of wealth to every investigator. Much in the poem will be obscure until this field for research has been more thoroughly explored. Still, with all these obscurities, the two chief characters, bound together by a changeless love, draw us to them and win our interest and our admiration. Various relationships of these two parties are pointed out by striking Hebrew words, which each party employs when addressing the other. The most common of these is דּוֹד, *dôd*, and is translated "Beloved." It is the chief name applied to the lover. The loved one utters her deep and abiding love in language which constitutes no small part of the charm of the poem. This Hebrew word in Scripture is more often rendered "David" than "Beloved;" and there is but little doubt that those who first sung the Song kept constantly in mind the thought of David. The Beloved was the new David. Such suggestion meets the reader at almost every turn in the thought. A sec-

ond important name is שְׁלֹמֹה, *Sh'lōmóh*, and means "One giving peace." There is but one passage in the canticle where this word is the name of the far-famed king Solomon who astonished the Hebrews with his luxuriousness and splendor. Elsewhere it refers to the lover, whoever he may be. Much of the uncertainty in the interpretations of the Song may be traced to the failure to make this distinction in the use of שְׁלֹמֹה. The lover was the Peace-giver. His dwelling place was Jerusalem, where peace is taught. This new Solomon is the new David, the Beloved, and worthy of the soul's best love. There are two other names which are applied to the lover. They are common nouns and are words which have been employed as centers for the noblest thought of the Hebrew Bible. The first word is אָח, *'āch*. This word is the Hebrew for "brother." It might be urged that this term is not used definitely as descriptive of the Beloved. Our reply would be that the wish is expressed on the part of the loved one that the shepherd might be as a brother. It is, besides, indisputable that the Beloved calls the object of his love his sister. One last word, and it completes the list of names applied to the Beloved, is מֶלֶךְ, *mélĕkh*. The Beloved is, also, the king.

There are six terms employed to designate the loved one of the Song. She is first called יָפָה, *yâphéh*. She is the fairest among women. It would seem that the reason for this name, the ground of her beauty, is to be found in that passionate appeal which begins,

> O reveal to me,
> Thou whom my soul loveth.

Her love beautifies her and makes her the fairest. She is also called רַעְיָה, *ră'yāh*. In the translation we may render this word "shepherdess." Yet it does not indicate a woman who acts as a shepherd; rather, it means one who is under shepherding care. A third term is יוֹנָה, *yónāh*. This epithet is translated "dove." The word is a term of pure and affectionate greeting. The fourth term is כַּלָּה, *kăllāh*. This word is uniformly rendered "bride;" and much of the strength of the argument relied upon to prove the Song a bridal song is deduced from this word. Yet the word is just as easily and naturally rendered "perfect one;" and this change removes many difficulties. Another word is אֲחוֹת *'āchóth*. The one

loved is called "sister;" and this epithet leads her to wish that he might be called her own brother. The last word is שׁוּלַמִּית, *shûlămmîth*. This epithet means the "one who has peace," and answers to the word שְׁלֹמֹה, which means "He who gives peace."

These terms of endearment reciprocally employed by the two principals in the Song group themselves in four pairs and are suggestive of its purpose. The following observations may be made without fear of contradiction:

I. מֶלֶךְ, "king," and יְפִי, "beauty," are terms applied to Jehovah and to his chosen city of abode. Thus the author of the fiftieth psalm writes:

> Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty,
> God hath shown.

Also in the Lamentations we find these significant words:

> They hiss and wag their heads
> At the daughter of Jerusalem:
> "Is this the city that they called
> The perfection of beauty,
> The joy of the whole land?"—Lam. ii, 15.

The repeated and familiar references in the Psalms and elsewhere to Jehovah as king make it unnecessary to establish this fact by quotations.

II. דּוֹד, or "David," is used in later Hebrew of that unique Person who was to be Jehovah's Representative. Thus we read these remarkable utterances:

> And he shall feed them,
> My servant David;
> He shall feed them,
> And he shall be their shepherd.—Ezek. xxxiv, 23

Or, again, that other remarkable passage:

> And David my servant
> Shall be king over them;
> And they all shall have one shepherd.—Ezek. xxxvii, 24.

These passages also give warrant for the word רֵעָיָה, which is used of her who receives the shepherding care.

III. The third pair of terms are שְׁלֹמֹה and שׁוּלַמִּית. At heart, these words mean "giving peace," "having peace."

Passage after passage in the later literature of the Hebrews is rooted in this thought. Thus we read:

> I will make with them
> A covenant of peace.—Ezek. xxxvii, 26.

Or, again, we read:

> For ye shall go forth with joy,
> And be led forth with peace.—Isa. lv, 12.

Here are the new Solomon and the Shulammite.

IV. The last of the four pairs of terms are אָח and אָחוֹת. These are the Hebrew words for "brother" and "sister." The word "sister" was often used in later Hebrew as a designation of a people. Thus we read such utterances as "Thine elder sister is Samaria" (Ezek. xvi, 46), and "Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom" (Ezek. xvi, 49). These passages are warrant sufficient to prove that a people, in the time of Ezekiel, was rightly regarded in the light of a sister to other peoples. It is but a natural extension of this mode of expression to regard the protector as a brother. The terms "dove" and "perfect one" are terms of endearment used by the lover; and she who is loved offers in her speech no corresponding ones.

We conclude from the above statements that the Beloved is Jehovah or his Representative, and that the loved one is the chosen people or their city. The theme of the Song is the love between these two. It will now be our aim to set forth how this theme is carried out in the poem itself. We will be at great disadvantage in this endeavor, because we cannot, in the limits of this article, present the translation upon which rest some of the arguments for the view which we present. Yet we trust to avoid the charge of being obscure. The prologue and the epilogue are very easily separable. As they are quite brief and very important in the clews they furnish to the meaning of the beautiful Song we will give them in full.

PROLOGUE: I, 2–4.

> With his mouth he kissed me with kisses;
> O, thy caresses were better than wine.
> For fragrance thy ointments [are] best;
> Thy name was fresh ointment;
> Therefore maidens love thee.
> He drew me on;
> After thee we ran.

The king brought me to his courts.
We were glad, rejoiced in thee,
We remembered thy caresses above wine.
The upright love thee.

It is to be observed that in this prologue the one who is loved speaks. Her words are redolent with the sweet signs and influences of love. These are caresses and perfumes and a name better than perfumes. Such a fresh, unrestrained expression of love characterizes noblest natures when touched for the first time by love. And she gladly follows him whom she loves:

He drew me on;
After thee we ran.

The dominant thoughts in the prologue are of the king and his courts, of the joy and gladness to be found with him, and of the memory of all his endearments. Love of the king is only with the upright. These words briefly outline the first part of the poem. They celebrate a period of faithful devotion and the joy incident thereto.

The epilogue is spoken by the Beloved and evidences his unabating love for her whom he has chosen.

EPILOGUE: VIII, 5–7.

Beneath the fir tree I awakened thee.
There thy mother travailed with thee;
There she who travailed brought thee forth.
Set me as a seal upon thy heart,
As a seal upon thy arm.
O, strong as death is love,
Relentless as the grave is zeal;
Its flames are the flames of fire,
Which is the brightness of Jehovah.
Many waters are not able
To quench love;
Rivers cannot o'erwhelm it.
Though men should give
All the wealth of their house for love,
They would be despicable to him.

Here is the close of this beautiful canticle. What follows is but a later addition, weak and scarcely intelligible; for it was added by the Jews as a flattering compliment to a nation which they would unite to themselves by some outward bond. The epilogue is spoken by the Beloved. It is his closing message.

It declares the unwavering character of his love; nothing can quench it—not many waters, not rivers. Love such as this is immortal. It is love divine, which excels all love. And she who cherishes it is made thereby one with the Beloved. The last three lines are scarcely to be paralleled in all the Old Testament. The sentiment is such as can only be developed where God's love dominates. With God, it is true that nothing has value apart from love:

> Though men should give
> All the wealth of their house for love,
> They would be despicable to him.

It now is incumbent upon us to follow out the structure of the poem which has such a remarkable prologue and such a remarkable epilogue. It is divided into two parts, each of which closes with a question. The first part closes with these words (iii, 6):

> Who is this
> Coming up from the wilderness,
> Like pillars of smoke,
> Perfumed with myrrh and frankincense
> Above all the perfumes of the merchant?

The closing of the second part (viii, 5) bears a striking resemblance to that of part first:

> Who is this
> Coming up from the wilderness,
> Leaning upon her beloved?

This question, substantially closing both parts, remains unanswered. If it were ever answered the answer has not been recorded. There can scarcely be a mistake in this division, since the two portions are constructed alike, the second part only inverting the order of the first. Parallelism is at the basis of the plan of the poem.

There is a peculiar adjuration in the poem which appears four times. It is not throughout identical in the several appearances, except in the first two; but the first two lines are invariable:

> I adjure you,
> O daughters of Jerusalem.

The meaning of this adjuration, especially in its first two ap-

pearances, is a matter of great difference of opinion between scholars; yet it serves to give us the author's plan in his poem. It appears twice in the first part, and twice in the second. And it is a most remarkable and significant fact that the contexts in which it appears are essentially similar in the two parts. The order of the contexts in the first part, however, is inverted in the second. These facts we will now proceed to indicate. In chap. ii, 7, we read:

> I adjure you,
> O daughters of Jerusalem,
> By the roes and the hinds of the field,
> To awaken and to arouse
> Love until it delights.

If we inquire what purpose these four lines serve we find our clew in the three preceding lines, which are:

> Because I pined for love,
> His left hand was beneath my head,
> And his right hand embraced me.

These last two lines are found without change in chap. viii, 3, where they are followed by a variation of the adjuration, thus:

> I adjure you,
> O daughters of Jerusalem,
> To awaken and to arouse
> Love until it delights.

The peculiar and similar use of these verses in the two places can scarcely be accidental, even though no other confirmation of their serving the author's purpose were possible. In chap. iii, 5, we find the second appearance of the adjuration in the first part. The form is identical with its first appearance. These words are found immediately preceding:

> I sought him whom my soul loveth,
> I sought him and found him not.
> The watchmen found me,
> Those going about the city.

If, now, we turn to chap. v, 8, we will find the adjuration in the following form:

> I adjure you,
> O daughters of Jerusalem,
> If ye find my beloved,
> To show to him
> That I travail in love.

It is not in the scope of this article to discuss the significance of the variation in form of the adjuration as it appears here. We are concerned merely with the words which here precede it. These words are:

> I sought him, but found him not;
> I called him, but he answered not.
> The watchmen found me,
> Those who go about the city.

The likenesses, as well as differences, between this occurrence and that in chap. iii, 4, 5, will strike one immediately. The following inferences from these two may be fairly drawn: (1) that in both the author purposed to direct attention to a similar pursuit, the search after the Beloved; (2) that the watchmen were friendly in the one instance and hostile in the other; (3) that in the one case the Beloved was soon found, but that in the other the search was prolonged. Having indicated the essential likenesses in the circumstances introducing the occurrences of this adjuration in part first and part second respectively, we may reasonably conclude that, to the author's mind, there was a great similarity in the conditions existing and events celebrated in each part. But the order in the two parts is different.

We may now gather up into a compact statement the results obtained from a consideration of the various uses of this adjuration. In part first, she who loves and pines for love hears the voice of her Beloved. The adjuration is introduced first between the expression of consuming desire for the Beloved and the hearing of his voice, bidding her to "come away." She who loves obeys his voice and leaves and seeks and finds; and then is introduced the second adjuration. Turning now to part second, we find her who loves seeking her Beloved and finding him not, and the victim of cruel treatment while engaged in her search. At this point the adjuration is introduced for the first time in part second. At last he is found; and then, not the Beloved, but she who loves, gives the invitation and says, "Come, my Beloved, let us go forth." It is evident, therefore, that the author regards the contexts in which he places these adjurations as of vital importance, and that there is a sort of parallelism between the occurrences in part first and those in part second.

The author has employed a singular couplet twice, once in each part; and he indicates by the lines another feature in his Song which he desires especially to emphasize and to hold before our attention. This couplet is:

> While the day breathes,
> And the shadows flee away.

We find these two lines in chaps. ii, 17, and iv, 6. They are associated in the first part with a declaration of mutual and devoted love made by her who loves. She says:

> My Beloved is mine,
> And I am his;
> Who shepherds among the lilies,
> While the day breathes,
> And the shadows flee away.

In this way the author tells us, in the first part of his poem, of a time of completest devotion; but there follows a time when the Beloved departed. This is near the close of the first part. Almost at the opening of the second part we find the second appearance of the couplet:

> While the day breathes,
> And the shadows flee away,
> I will go to the mountain of myrrh
> And to the hill of frankincense.

But this is spoken by the Beloved himself; and after this assertion of union and communion there follows a departure, not of the lover, but of her who loves. It is evident that the author has in mind two periods, distinct, yet with many important resemblances.

We now present our analysis of the poem. As was stated earlier in this article, we regard the principals in the poem to be Jehovah and his chosen people. The analysis is as follows:

PART FIRST, CHAPS. I–III, 6. A POETIC REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE TO THEIR ESTABLISHMENT IN THE LAND OF PROMISE.

Prologue, chap. i, 2–4. A confession on the part of the people of Jehovah's call, guidance, and establishment of them.
First recitative, chap. i, 5–6.
First dialogue, chap. i, 7–11.
Second recitative, chap. i, 12–14.

Second dialogue, chaps. i, 15–ii, 3.
Third recitative, including the call of the Lover, chap. ii, 4–15.
Fourth recitative, including the obedience of the loved one, chaps. ii, 16–iii, 6.

PART SECOND, CHAPS. III, 7–VIII, 7. A POETIC REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE FROM THEIR ESTABLISHMENT TO THEIR CAPTIVITY AND RETURN.

First recitative, chaps. iii, 7–v, 1, including the joy of the Lover in his loved one.
First dialogue, chap. v, 2, 3.
Second recitative, including the inquiry after the Beloved, chap. v, 4–8.
Second dialogue, chaps. v, 9–vi, 13.
Third recitative, an utterance of the Beloved, chaps. vi, 13 (last two sentences) to vii, 9.
Fourth recitative, an utterance of the loved one, chaps. vii, 10–viii, 5 (first sentence).
Epilogue, confession by the Lover of attachment to the loved one, chap. viii, 5–7.

It is now incumbent upon us to indicate other writings in Scripture where there is a resemblance to this mode of portraying the peculiar bond of love which united Jehovah and his chosen people. There are two singular prophecies in Hosea which are examples of an earlier use of an imagery similar to that found in this poem. The first example to which we refer is in the third chapter of Hosea. Here the prophet marries a strange woman, and, after her faithlessness, accords to her a kind and unexpected treatment, restoring her at last to wifehood. She is made to represent the chosen people; and the prophet's course is representative of Jehovah's treatment of Israel in her backsliding and sin. This example is very brief. The other is found in the second chapter of Hosea. Here the chosen people is regarded as Jehovah's loved one; yet she leaves him and seeks other lovers. It is prophesied how Jehovah will discipline her, until she returns and says, "My Husband!" If part of the history of the peculiar people is presented under the imagery of conjugal affection, it cannot surprise us that, later, the whole of their history, until the return from exile, should be given under the imagery of a lover and his loved one. Such a presentation is made in the Song of Songs.

There are two examples in the later literature which we should keep in mind as we study this exquisite poem. The twenty-third psalm is one. Canticles is replete with the thought of the lover in the character of a shepherd. His shepherding care stands out most signally. The language is witness to a joy so fresh and ecstatic that one is carried away by its sweet ex-

travagance. On the contrary, there is a quiet calm in the twenty-third psalm, resulting partly from the occasion which gave it birth. But we see mirrored in briefest epitome the whole of Canticles in the words, "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want." The second example is found in the series of three psalms beginning with the one hundred and fourth. In them is a majestic review of Jehovah's dealing with the children of Israel from the beginning. It is reflective, rather than emotional, in its language; it is an argumentative, rather than an idyllic, expression of his care and love. Yet it confirms our statement that the history of this people in regard to their relations with Jehovah was a favorite theme with writers before and after the captivity and exile.

Our study has convinced us that the Song of Songs is a production of the exile. It is a joy-song, throbbing everywhere with enthusiastic love. It is a song of the Beloved and his love; and the Beloved is Jehovah, and his loved one his chosen people. Herein rests the poem's dignity and beauty and charm. Its every description glows with the choicest words of the Hebrew language. It is, besides, one of the most symmetrical and artistic pieces of writing in Scripture. Its characters do not constitute a complicated group of personages; there are no strained dramatic situations; it is recitative or dialogical throughout. Love is its theme, but it is a love divine. It may have suggested to Paul the phrase "in the Beloved" (Eph. i, 6), and to John the definition that God is love. And it will aid the inquiring heart to understand that great mystery—the love of God for us.

W. W. Martin

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

A NEAR relative of John G. Whittier wrote an article on future probation, which was in part as follows:

Neither the theory of probation after death, now prominently advocated, nor the final condemnation of honest and good heathen from whom the outward knowledge of Christ and his salvation has been withheld, appears to be supported by Scripture. Accepting the declaration of the apostle Paul, that "the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men," and that of Peter, when he said, "God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him," Friends do not consider the heathen as inevitably lost, but, rather that, in common with professing Christians, they are individually responsible for the right use of opportunities granted them, and not for those providentially denied; that they who, without the law, are a law unto themselves, showing the work of the law written in their hearts, will be judged as they are true to the measure of light bestowed; and that they who are faithful in the occupancy of their one talent or privilege, no less than they who have been favored with five talents, will hear at last the gracious words of their Lord, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

Holding these views, Friends have never felt in their mission work the embarrassment experienced by the missionary Robert Hume, who states that he found his service among the heathen in India seriously obstructed and his usefulness impaired while teaching in accordance with the doctrine that all their ancestors who had died in heathenism were subjects of everlasting punishment. From Friends' standpoint it is very easy to perceive that this difficulty in the heathen mind would be satisfactorily met by presenting to them the biblical revelation of the Father as a God of love, mercy, and justice, who deals with them as with us, rewarding their obedience and punishing their disobedience. This would furnish a strong incentive to their acceptance of the Gospel, and open to the blessings of Christianity the door of many hearts which might be closed against much of the present teaching. And this doctrine by no means operates to "cut the nerve of missionary effort" on the part of Christians.

The author of the above extract, who was as intimately conversant as anyone with Whittier's literary and religious thoughts, wrote in 1887 to Josiah W. Leeds: "As to the personal views of which thee speaks, Whittier read and approved my little article on 'Future Probation,' remarking that he was glad I felt like reviving what he conceived to be the view of Friends upon the subject. With his strong revulsion of feeling from the old, hard Calvin-

ism of New England, it is not much to be wondered at if his writings may almost seem tending to the opposite extreme; but I am confident he would advocate nothing which he regarded as conflicting with the belief of Friends and the teachings of the Scriptures."

LEADERS AND PROPHETS.

Some leaders are such by express selection, their own or that of their fellows; others are such without selection, and nobody seems to know, least of all themselves, that they are filling the office. Of the first class Mr. McAllister, in New York, and Mr. Worth, in Paris, have recently passed away. The worlds they led concern only small minorities of mankind and minor interests of life. A Worth costume or a McAllister social recognition could be dispensed with without detriment to character, opportunity, culture, or health; they concerned nothing essential. And yet what a real empire fashion and society may become! The leader is always present in them, though frequently unknown. Why, for example, are our hats of one shape this year and of another the next? The styles in women's gowns are not changed of themselves or by any conventions assembled to consider them. On the contrary, conventions break down in the struggle to modify the decrees of an invisible leadership.

It is easy to say there are no leaders, because we cannot name them. Easy it also is to conjecture that certain tendencies run of themselves a certain course. The gown sleeve grows to a certain size, and then declines to simplicity. But it is likelier that some skilled leaders preside invisibly over the development. For it is the nature of all successful leadership to lead where followers wish to go. The other kind of leader, who drives where men do not wish to go, is not a leader. He may be something vastly better—a prophet, for example. Wendell Phillips had prophetic fire, but he led nothing. And, since leaders merely head processions of men moving whither they wish, we are apt to say there are no leaders or that the leader is merely the first man in the line.

Were George Washington and Abraham Lincoln leaders? Surely they were. An easy proof is that the people followed Washington and Lincoln, and did not follow others. But neither professed that office, and each had a score or more of associates who were confident that they themselves were leading the people. Leading men against their wishes is impossible; and leading as they wish seems not to be a high office. But the

seeming is false. There is a higher office—that of illumination. But when leadership has come to be required the hour of illumination is finished. The people must act upon the light they have received and the purposes it has shaped. To lead now requires a large mind, capable of perceiving, in a mass of tendencies, the one which masters all the rest. It requires a tactful mind, because every man thinks well of his own choice of means; and the leader must select again the favorite or preferred method. This kind of selection goes on daily. New choices of means must be made at every turn of road; and the leader must select the one which will be accepted by all. If he once chooses wrongly he may have no chance to revise his record. Lincoln made many mistakes; but his bad choices were never his own—they were what people wanted at the moment. Each new choice of means provoked opposition, but was generally approved; so that the mistakes were not his. On the other hand, look at a long procession of leaders in New York politics. One might name a half dozen who have long held the office of leadership in Lincoln's way. But the great majority of these political leaders—and all the brilliant ones—have had a short tenure of office, and have ended by trying to lead where their followers refused to go. Say that they became prophets, rising to the higher office, and nothing is changed—they failed as leaders by refusing to go the people's way.

In politics every orator and every editor is certain that he knows just what the people want. In fact, they must be nearly all wrong, because they differ vociferously. Sometimes, we suspect, nobody knows what the people want; and at such times a great leader helps to formulate desires and combine tendencies. These are the greatest leaders, and examples need not be given. Doubtless prophet and leader were combined in Moses. Perhaps, though it is not certain, a few other men have combined the two offices. Mainly, the two are not in the same relations to their public. The prophet's theme is what we ought to do. The leader's theme is the best way to reach what we want. Prophets are leaders for a day. Elijah led the slaughter of the priests of Baal. But next day Jezebel was in full possession of a power before which Elijah fled. Savonarola led for a brief season; but a worse state came upon Florence afterward. Prophets are usually poor leaders, perhaps because mankind will not be led contrary to character, impulse, and tendencies longer than through some enthusiastic hour.

If we desire leadership for any purpose—and we are always wanting it for many purposes—we want a man capable of finding out what can be done here and now, the character, history, and affections of the people being such as they actually are. He must also be able to suggest a method which the people will accept. Above all, he must not be a "boss"—that is to say, a dictator. The road to extinction lies through bossism. If one reads that a leader has imposed his will upon a body of followers—required them to do what they wish not to do—it may be taken as a resignation of his office.

Trying to follow prophets may take us to Horeb. Some reforms are gaining but slowly, because prophets are leading. For example, might not an advance march in temperance be made if a good leader should arise to study out just what an effectual majority of the temperance people will ardently support? The notion that something less than a full round "ought" may be wisest, because that less will command majorities, was very distasteful to all the prophets of Lincoln's time. The prophets poured out their impatient wrath upon him. He was only a leader; but he brought us through our Red Sea. The prophets have long led the temperance columns; but to what great and abiding victories? We do not despair. We live in hope, we continue in prayer. The one thing lacking appears to be a leadership which can unify the forces and bring them solidly to battle. It will come.

HUMAN SOCIETY AS IT WAS, IS, AND SHALL BE.

HUMAN society, we are assured, began—in intimate fellowship with the Creator, and with a clear possibility of indefinite increase—in the persons of Adam and Eve, the created social dual-unit. In the development of its powers moral and physical evils have played a mischievous and malignant part, attempting to thwart the gracious purpose of that Power, "from which all things proceed and by which all things are upheld," in whose presence the last analysis of science leaves us. Good and evil, desperately contending, are apparent in the conditions and movements of human society under all its phases. Rapidly increasing in numbers, it rapidly differentiates in industrial pursuits. Agriculturists and shepherds exchange their respective products. Artisans and mechanics multiply. The symphonies of ideal association are rudely voiced by those who "handle the harp and organ." Naval architectural skill is evidenced by the building

of the ark, which bears the eight parents of all succeeding generations; and reason and capacity for concerted action are demonstrated in its construction. Worship, in conformity to the divinely revealed will, consists in bloody sacrifice. Therein the worshipers confess their consciousness of corruption, their desire for holiness, and their trust in God's mercy. The worship brings peace, purity, and moral power to every spiritual and truthful suppliant. It lays in families, clans, tribes, states, and nations of kaleidoscopic changefulness the foundations of permanent and advancing civilization.

Portions of society, as before, so since, the deluge, yield to inborn evil and become materialistic, sensual, and militant. Crime is socially centrifugal, segregative, and brutalizing. It forces into fierce and endless struggle with wild beasts and wilder men for the means of existence. It estops social progress. Not in these degraded and wretched beings—as prejudiced scientists rashly conclude—are the beginnings of modern society found. Not from the rude weapons and implements of savages have developed the marvelous machineries which convert the world into one vast workshop, wherein all the forces of nature submissively toil to supply social wants. Not from the grotesque ghost theories and ancestor worship described by Herbert Spencer have sprung the great religious faiths of the heathen, much more the system of biblical revealed religion, which is in essential concord with all the facts of the universe. In biblical light the historical connection of the whole with events in the forfeited paradise is clear. Selfishness has ever been in conflict with altruism; and in correspondence with its prevalence or decline has been the littleness or greatness, the woefulness or welfare of the people. Discontent, it is true, is the mother of improvement, rivalry the condition of progress, stress and strain the safeguard against degeneration. Perfect happiness is not of this life; but in the true striving for it is the potency of all that is best in life and the promise of that which is perfect in the future. The track of humanity in its march through time is checkered by cloud and fire and tempest. It is strewn with the wreck of peoples, races, and civilizations in which the truths of revelation had been willfully obscured, and living embodiment of them almost wholly absent. Where these are not communities perish; where they are is found the survival of the strongest and fittest.

How to hold fast that which is good and to augment the holding is the principal thought of all who wisely love themselves.

It is the spring of judicious exertion. It creates appetite that cannot be satisfied by worldly contents as they are, that longs for the heavenly bliss. It inspires and fixes the conviction that the interest of the self is the interest of the not-self, and that the well-being of all is the safety of each. Self-loving, not selfish, it is the chief factor in a socialism scriptural but not Saint Simonian, co-operative, and wholly beneficent. Churches, theologies, literature, receiving with intelligent obedience their religion and ethics from the God and Father of all, have found in them the practical solution of all social problems. Nor have these been ultrarational, much less irrational, in application of them. He who is immanent in all things while transcending all things, who guides the stars in their courses and qualifies microbes for their mission, may certainly be expected to guide beings created in his own likeness to their designed end.

Human society as it is now, in the family, Church, corporation, State, and in international relations, is as vast an improvement over what existed in the days of the Christ and his apostles as that was over the tribal groups, small or large, in which militancy was chronic, sensuality shameless, and good morals nearly extinct. Such communities are sadly numerous in many sections of the globe to-day. They need the light and power which raised Greece to the zenith of polite civilization, Rome to the mastership of the world, and Judea to supremacy in religion and morals. They need that glorious Gospel of the divine love, through Jesus of Nazareth, which has invested human life with priceless worth, inculcated reverence for the individual as the temple of the Holy Ghost, and taught the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and equality of rights under divine and human law; that Gospel which broke the shackles of slavery, mitigated the horrors of war, abolished the inhumanities of the arena, prohibited infanticide, disenthralled womanhood, and made the wife and mother the beloved companion of her husband and the guide of her children; that Gospel which has sapped the foundations of the feudal system, stricken caste with paralysis, incited to emigration, built up new nationalities in the world's waste places, and crowned the American republic with the glorious gift of government of, by, and for the people. Evangelical beliefs are the source and strength of all beneficent modifications.

Yet complaints are rife in best governed and most prosperous society that its arrangements and conditions are faulty, corrupt, narrow, illogical. And the truth in these complaints must be con-

ceded. Neither singly nor collectively is man perfect in character or adjustment to circumstance. If there were no hope of better things on this planet the late Professor Huxley said that he "should hail the advent of some kindly comet which would sweep the whole affair away as a desirable consummation." Yet some of the spokesmen of science would aggravate the miseries, real or alleged, of this sorrowful world by destroying its religious beliefs, without offering, or having to offer, any of their own. Macaulay's contrast between the England of 1685 and the England of 1853 reveals the indebtedness of his native land to the Protestant faith, and to that faith particularly as wrought into active energy by the apostolic ministry of the Wesleys and their Methodist itinerants. Since then applied science has revolutionized industry, yoked steam and electricity to improved machinery, developed commerce, drawn the race into closer touch by railways, telegraphs, and telephones, and supplied a larger measure of the value to mankind of the spirit and ethics of the Lord Jesus Christ. "The social question is at bottom a religious question." Christ is to be in reality more and more the light and life of the world. His rule is unalterably grounded in the reason of things. Who doubts that, if his two great commandments—the Golden Rule, and the new commandment—"As I have loved you, that ye also love one another"—entered into society as the soul enters into the body, society would enjoy peace and blessing of millennial quality? Stress and strain would still be in that life. Rivalry in all good words and works would be there—a rivalry in which would be utmost freedom and a sincere rejoicing when others exceed our noblest achievements, because of the glory that accrues to the Master and the good that comes upon men.

Human society as it shall be may, in some true measure, be conjectured from what of melioration has been already wrought out in its spirit, principles, and characteristics. With iridescent, oriental eloquence the prophets labored to portray what they foresaw. In statesmanly, philosophic, matchless style our Lord spoke of his kingdom—of its spirit, its truth, its power, its triumphs, its imperial consummation. Paul looked forward with faith unconquerable to the gathering together "in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth," of which he wrote to the Ephesian and other churches. And religious beliefs, harmonious with most reasonable and spiritual interpretations of "God's word written," recognizing the unity in diversity of all created things, appreciating the importance of the moral law, and

instinct with the Holy Spirit's energy, will continue to be the evolutionary forces of society. They ignore national and racial boundaries, bind differentiated units into one grand whole by means of deep and pure affection, and crown our Saviour Lord of all. They make loyal, loving, incorruptible patriots; effective philanthropists; altruists who sacrifice individual welfare in the present for the welfare of others, flood the depths of want with boundless charities, infuse sensitive sympathy with the sufferings of friends and strangers, proffer equal rights to those who need, hold surplus of wealth for those who lack, and raise self-loving, as well as altruistic, feeling to the highest degree of efficiency. The poor and the toilers are in vastly better state at the close than at the commencement of the century. And still they are not contented. Neither are the rich—the very rich, perhaps, least of all. Nor ought any to be content with earthly good and passing environment. The true conviction deepens that nothing but God and heaven can fill an immortal soul. Social evolution is distinctively religious in character. "The age must ever grow more and more religious," differentiating into more positive individualities, yet united into one composite Christian personality "distinct as the billows, but one as the sea," to be ideally perfected at the resurrection in the new heavens and earth in which dwelleth righteousness.

ABOUT READING.

WHILE reading is one of the oldest of the arts and, it may be thought, one of the simplest, it is, nevertheless, so closely intertwined with every part of present-day life, and contains such profound possibilities of good or ill, that no topic can at any time be more timely, none more worthy of careful consideration. It has been often treated; yet the last word has by no means been said, nor ever will be, since each revolving month brings some changed conditions, and each individual critic views the situation from a slightly different point of view. Only as all the conditions are grasped and all the view points combined can complete wisdom be gained.

If we were asked to state the most marked features of the years now passing, so far as concerns this theme, we should name the dominance of the newspaper and the novel, the cheapness of standard literature, and the growth of free public libraries. This last encouraging sign of the times is not yet by any

means so widely and strongly in evidence as might be wished; but in the more advanced sections of the country few towns are now without this means of diffusing culture, and handsome library buildings, either the gift of private munificence or provided by an enlightened public policy, appear on every hand. We are glad to note also the extending custom of connecting the public libraries in various ways with the public school system, so that these large collections of books, controlled by specially trained managers, may be made subsidiary to the instruction of the millions, very much in the same way as the libraries of universities are to the instruction of the few. Indeed, the public schools themselves in very many cases now have libraries under their own roofs, and the teachers make much of this additional means of wholesome training. All of which is very cheering, and bodes well for the growth of intelligence in the rising generation.

It is also an excellent thing that good books can be bought at such very low figures. No one who is raised at all above the lowest dregs of poverty need, in these days, be without a library of his own—a library which shall contain some of the choice treasures of literature and in whose presence he can "hold high converse with the mighty dead." For a dime, or even a nickel, he may absorb the thoughts of the greatest men that have blessed the ages. No one can now complain that the means of education are beyond his reach. He may be debarred from elegant bindings and from the ripest results of modern research; but a plentiful supply of healthful mental food is easily accessible, and he may revel in intellectual riches that once only wealth could procure.

Both these items are gratifying. But can we look with equal satisfaction on the enormous increase of influence which recent years have given to the novel and the newspaper? There are, to be sure, some very evident drawbacks. There is too much reading of newspapers. It may, indeed, be claimed that the masses who confine themselves to this daily diet have tastes for only this, and would not read at all were this denied them. Granting this, and granting also that many who begin thus at the bottom acquire a taste for something higher and are thus led on to literature, we are still disposed to think that there is far too much dependence on this diluted, if not tainted, food among great numbers who are really capable of better things. It is a temptation much too readily yielded to.

We the more deplore the marked ascendency of newspaper influence in the popular mind of to-day, because that influence, from a religious or even a moral standpoint, is very seriously polluted. To say nothing now of the mendacious and mischievous course pursued by partisan sheets in hotly contested political campaigns, whereby evil passions and narrow prejudices are sedulously fostered, two other even more damaging charges must be brought against the American press. Who does not know that, with rare exceptions, it is, on the one hand, utterly subservient to the liquor power and, on the other hand, positively antagonistic to the Lord's day. It cannot, we think, be doubted that the Sunday newspaper is one of the chief influences most actively at work in breaking down the barriers which separate the Lord's day from the secular days of the week, and so destroying an institution which is among those most essential to the best life of the nation. It will scarcely be questioned that, if the Sundays are turned into times for mere pleasure taking and money-making, our decadence as a people will be swift and terrible. But the Sunday newspaper is exactly in line with this decadence and is steadily producing it. Simply through greed of gain, and without the slightest basis of necessity, it is setting at defiance in this matter the laws of God and man. It is plainly allying itself with whatever tends to debase and destroy. For the character of the reading in the mammoth sheets (extending sometimes to forty, and even fifty, pages and containing nearly twice as much matter as the whole New Testament) is precisely such as might naturally be expected. Mr. Richard H. Dana, of Cambridge, after examining twenty-one of these papers, gathered from the ten leading cities of the Union for the purpose of reporting upon them to the Episcopal Church Congress in Boston a few months ago, expressed himself with great vigor as to the demoralizing nature of the contents. He says that after each sitting devoted to the irksome task of perusing the stuff he felt as though he needed to take a bath. Only two papers out of the twenty-one had anything like a serious bit of church reading, and this constituted only about one one-hundreth part of the paper. He bears plain testimony, as must every other candid man, to the fact that such reading as these Sunday papers supply destroys the appetite "for anything ennobling or elevating, whether in religion, in poetry, in philosophy, in biography, whether in church, or at home, or in the open air."

An even stronger indictment must be pressed against the daily

papers, because they not only fail to fight that sum of all villainies, the organized and legalized liquor power, but are, in fact, its chief bulwark, doing probably more than any other one thing to counteract the endeavors being made by godly men to rouse public sentiment against its gigantic iniquity. The press is very heavily subsidized in the interests of this irretrievably bad business. Not only are very large sums paid for advertisements, whereby the editorial pen is virtually paralyzed, but it has been substantiated by the best of evidence that, in every contest where the traffic feels itself at all imperiled, still more direct bribes are offered by it to all the leading journals, and under some form or another are generally taken. So the people are systematically hoodwinked, and the chains of the saloon are riveted afresh on the neck of a deceived public. When the newspapers of the land show such lamentable lack of principle as this, when they are willing thus to conspire with the worst of men against the true interests of the State, the real liberties of the republic, when they are ready to promote ignorance, vice, brutality, and crime merely to increase their profits, lovers of humanity and of Deity can scarcely rejoice at the power of the press. It is not a power that makes for righteousness. Newspapers should be read sparingly and skeptically, with many precautions against their mischievous tendency, and prompt, outspoken protests when they too glaringly violate good manners or good morals. They may very fairly represent a certain large section of public opinion—not the best section; but they are far from being fit to guide or mold opinion, and need constant correction by a higher standard than that which they follow.

What of the novel? No one with any brains would dream at the present day of indiscriminately denouncing all fiction. A great deal of the most beneficent literature—such as promotes appreciation of the true, the beautiful, and the good, inculcates devotion to lofty ideals, and even delineates religion in attractive guise—is thrown into story form. Very few preachers of the Gospel have accomplished as much in the pulpit as have some most earnest Christian men and woman—to name a few out of many, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mrs. Elizabeth Payson Prentiss, Miss Charlotte M. Yonge, Mrs. Mulock-Craik, Mrs. Alden, Dr. George Macdonald—through the instrumentality of what, in one sense, may be called novels or fictitious narratives, and yet in reality are but artistic presentations of certain carefully selected and arranged facts of human nature. Lessons of purity, self-

sacrifice, and heroism are most skillfully taught and indelibly impressed by their volumes. Certainly, imagination is a good gift of God; and that he intended it to be employed in the instruction of the race is sufficiently evident from the parables of Scripture, as well as from *Æsop's Fables*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and Shakespeare's immortal dramas.

Novels, then, are allowable, and not to be excluded from the best regulated families or the most rigidly pruned Sunday school libraries. They have an important place to fill in education, enlarging at small expense one's experience of life, widening the horizon, expanding the thought, cultivating the taste. But, in order that these excellent results shall follow, great care must be exercised to read only the best. This rule is imperative. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the evil effects of devoting one's days and nights to the perusal of the trash which so largely fills the news stands. That, of course, must be entirely eschewed. But the best fiction—unexceptionable in point of literary style, animated by a high moral or religious purpose, describing, perhaps, some important phase of social progress, delineating with bright, yet accurate, colors a particular chapter in national history, teaching political truth of highest consequence, revealing choice scenes of domestic life and happy household love—can no more be shut out from any general program of selected readings than can artificially consorted dishes be banished from our tables.

Books may be divided into three classes—books of thought, whose chief use is to discipline the mind; books of knowledge, which impart information; and books of entertainment, which refresh or relax the spirit when overcharged or wearied with too close attention to affairs. Sometimes a volume will combine two of these excellences. It may impart knowledge in so skillful and pleasing a manner that it at the same time diverts; or it may do so in such a way as to involve sustained application, and hence be of service for strengthening the intellect. Similarly, in pursuit of science one may quietly stroll on a summer's day through verdant meads and bosky dells, or he may climb a mountain in the teeth of wintry winds.

There are three chief rules about reading: 1. Read with *relish*. Curiosity is as clearly the parent of attention as attention is of memory. The awakening of interest is as necessary a preliminary to good teaching as plowing is to productive sowing. Scourging the mind to an irksome task may on rare occasions be necessary and profitable, but it is not good policy to repeat it often. What

is taken in when the mind is aglow, when it has by some means acquired an eager appetite, will make a much more permanent impression than that which is placed upon a dulled palate or received from a mere sense of duty. Hence reading by topics is generally better than by authors or centuries. Well-written biographies, entertaining travels, and truthful adventures should be freely supplied to the young until they are sufficiently mature for that which is more solid and difficult.

2. Read with *reflection*. This applies somewhat even to books of entertainment, and is absolutely essential where those of the two higher classes are concerned. The mere act of reading will not be followed by lasting good, any more than the mere act of eating. What is taken into the mind must be meditated on and talked about until it becomes completely assimilated with previous stores and made one's very own. The process of transformation may and must go on until the thoughts and facts received are no longer foreign substances, but have become thoroughly incorporated with the intellectual system. Various things will help this. Notes can be taken and abstracts made. This will greatly assist review, which is of primary importance. Friendly discussion about the things read is also of great value. Nothing clarifies one's ideas and gives point to one's opinions so quickly as an endeavor to make them plain to others or to uphold them in argument against an objector.

3. Read for *results*. Results will come very largely in proportion to the clearness of the purpose and the steadiness of the aim with which the undertaking is pursued. He who works up a subject with the design of presenting it in a systematic form in an essay, a lecture, an article, a pamphlet, a book, or a debate before some association will take hold of it with a zeal otherwise unattainable, and will feel little fatigue after great labor. He has before him a definite end; and in this there is much stimulus. Random reading, on the other hand, rarely yields results, and is in most cases little better than a waste of time. It should certainly not be made the staple of one's days.

Happy the man who has learned how to eat paper and drink ink. Most happy he who has fully grasped the thought that through books he can have the range of the best company in the world. There is no society so select but he may enter it with this magic lamp. It will bring him, even from other lands and ages, those that held themselves most carefully aloof from all familiar intercourse with the common throng. These intellectual aristocrats

may be made, for a few cents, to utter in our ears their most brilliant sayings. We can have them with us when we please and as long as we like, and when we get tired of them they can be dismissed without rudeness. We can summon Plato from Greece, Cicero from Rome, Bacon, Browning, Tennyson from England, and they will come. We can drink in their wisdom, delight ourselves with their pleasantry, and be filled with their society.

The lover of books has an unfailing resource. Rainy days do not grieve him. He finds solace amid the heat of summer and the cold of winter. The loss of friends does not leave him friendless. He can make new acquaintances even in old age, and he can at any time renew his intercourse with those that were dear to him long ago. Gibbon's declaration, "My early and invincible love of reading I would not exchange for the treasures of India," has found an echo in many a breast. A few well-selected books carefully read, thoroughly chewed and digested, go far to constitute a good education. Books are the tools of those who work in the realm of mind. He who has learned how to use them to the best advantage has multiplied his power a thousandfold. Good reading—by which we do not mean elocution, but the power to get out of a book all there is in it, if not more—is almost as rare as good writing.

The day of better Christian experience in our churches will dawn when church members in general find out what an invaluable help to growth in grace is contained in devotional books. When the holiest men and women have embalmed themselves in print so that their remains have come down even to distant generations, when the distilled and concentrated extract of their thinking and living for half a century has been poured into a small, convenient phial for our daily use, when what God has taught them, as they have lain prostrate before him for many a weary night or served him in the thick of combat for many a fateful day, has been put into type and passed on to us, we show little wisdom if we are unwilling to spend some portion of our time and funds in the acquisition and enjoyment of the rich legacy. Spiritual reading is the oil which feeds the lamp of prayer. It is the mother of devout meditation, without which no character can grow solid and strong. And the high place of reading in every true life is sufficiently vindicated once for all in the great fact that it is by the study of the book of books—not the mere formal perusal, not the careless conning of chapters, not the routine, regulation recital of verses—that we become wise unto salvation.

THE ARENA.

THE KINGDOM OF GOD.

PLEASE permit a layman to suggest a few thoughts on the doctrine of the kingdom of God, as defined and taught by "the people called Methodists," and also by the greater part of the Christian denominations. I am led up to this writing by certain frequent utterances in our assemblies by ministers and others, who seem to regard this kingdom as a condition of the heart, utterly ignoring its future territorial and glorious aspects. Cradled in Methodism, I, of course, know what Methodists think and teach on these lines; but after many years' prayerful study of God's word I am persuaded that we do not fully understand, if we do not wholly misunderstand, the glorious truth that the Saviour would have us learn through his use of the phrase "the kingdom of God."

According to the accepted view all Christians are now in the kingdom, or the kingdom is in Christians. May I ask, then, Why did our Saviour teach us to pray, saying, "Thy kingdom come?" Does Christ expect to make no better conquest of the world than what we now see in so-called Christian lands? Is not the wealth of the world in the hands of worldly men? Were the Armenian Christians, so recently assassinated, in the kingdom of God? Were the slaughtered apostles and holy martyrs in the kingdom of God? Is such a kingdom, exposed to the bloodthirsty violence of tyrants, "the hope of our calling?" Did Jesus have no better climax of joy to offer as an encouragement to his disciples when he informed them that many should come from the east and west and should sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven? Have we not missed the true definition of the kingdom in our anxiety to have men converted and to give importance to the Church? John the Baptist preached, saying, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand." He did not say it was here, but at hand. Jesus sent the twelve forth to preach the same Gospel. The twelve were not in the kingdom, neither was the kingdom in the twelve; it was a future event—"at hand." Jesus informed the apostles that they would be hated, scourged, imprisoned, and put to death. Does that look like being in the kingdom of heaven? It looks rather as if the apostles were in an enemy's land. But the Saviour promised that "he that endureth to the end shall be saved." They came out of great tribulation, not out of the kingdom of heaven—those who had on the white robes and palms in their hands, as seen by John in vision. Did not our Saviour instruct all his disciples to seek first the kingdom? But if Methodist doctrine is true the disciples had the kingdom already in their hearts. Then why seek it?

We are told that the Church, also, is the kingdom of God. This is often affirmed by scholarly writers and preachers; but the Bible nowhere calls the Church the kingdom. Two separate and distinct terms are al-

ways employed when Church and kingdom are mentioned. In the New Testament the Church is spoken of about one hundred times, but never as a kingdom. The word "kingdom" occurs about one hundred and five times, and never means the Church. The original terms are never used interchangeably. Why, then, do we presume to make them synonymous? The Church is a company of believers in the Lord Jesus Christ who are waiting for his appearing and kingdom. In the series of parables recorded in Matt. xiii concerning the kingdom all have their climax in the final result. It is a harvest, a grown tree, a leavened whole, the end of the world. All other steps were but preparatory, leading up to the grand *finale*—the kingdom of heaven. The mother of Zebedee's children had, in some respects, a proper conception of the nature of the coming kingdom when she requested of Christ that her two sons might sit, the one on his right hand and the other on his left in his kingdom. This is seen by the Saviour's reply: "To sit on my right hand, and on my left, is not mine to give, but it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared of my Father." The baptism of blood must first precede the reign of glory.

The kingdom of God was a literal kingdom on the earth during the Jewish dispensation. The Jewish kingdom was a type of a better kingdom under Christ. It is taken from the Jews and given to a nation—mark the term "nation"—bringing forth the fruits thereof. This nation is yet to be manifested. It will be made up of men of all ranks, colors, and ages, Jew and Gentile, bond and free, learned and illiterate, rich and poor. The kingdom of God is represented by the Saviour in Matt. xxv, in the parable of the ten talents, as being simultaneous with his second advent. His appearing and kingdom are chronologically simultaneous events. The servant is now increasing his talents, if he is faithful, while the employer is traveling in a far country. The reckoning day comes apace. The "well done" is pronounced, and the servant is made a ruler. This teaches the return of our Lord and his coming kingdom. "When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory. . . . Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." This text shows when the kingdom comes; it is at the judgment. How then can a Christian be in the kingdom now? Christ says in another place, "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom." This is another text showing that the kingdom is future, and is not the Church, and is not in the hearts of believers. The so-called spiritualizing tendency of our age ignores the literal meaning of these texts and simply regards them as various forms of the same thought—the kingdom of God in our hearts! The literal sense of the Scriptures must always be held, unless the language is manifestly figurative. Prophets, angels, the Lord himself, and his apostles all teach a future kingdom.

If the kingdom of God is in our hearts, why does the apostle James ex-

hort us to patience in the presence of oppression? Are our oppressors our slaves? Peter tells us that our inheritance is reserved in heaven, ready to be revealed in the last times. He does not teach that we have it now in our hearts. Christians are exhorted to diligence in order to secure an abundant entrance into the kingdom. The kingdom is promised to them that love God. James says God hath chosen "the poor of this world rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him." Daniel tells of terrible persecutions of the saints; but he adds, "The Ancient of Days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom."

"But," says one, "are we not told that the kingdom of God is righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost?" Yes; these are the characteristics of the kingdom. Napoleon said that the empire was peace, meaning its policy. "But," declares another, "Christ said, 'Is not the kingdom of God within you?'" If we believe that the Pharisees whom the Saviour denounced as hypocrites had the kingdom within them, then may we have it. The proper understanding of that expression is said to be that Jesus, the King, was in their midst. I simply desire to bring the matter to the notice of our denomination for the purpose of securing better instruction in this department of our faith and doctrine. J. DAVISON.

Chicago, Ill.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR IT?

IN some strong words by a writer in the *Literary World*, in which sincere regrets at the recent decease of certain wholesome authors are expressed, we find the following: "There is something very sad in these two, strong for righteousness in their different manners, leaving us now, when books which it is a sin and a shame to write, to publish, or to read are flooding the London book market. There have been some books published here in London this season fouler than any leprosy, and we are threatened with more of the same sort. Sin wrought in passion is evil enough, but at least it is human; but for those who in cold blood write books that will appeal to the basest part of human nature, that will corrupt innocence—for these books are published by reputable publishers and circulated by the libraries—woe to them! I would rather take for my friend a public sinner who had sinned through human frailty and passion than I would touch the hand of these purveyors of vice." These are pretty severe words of censure. Yet, in view of the obvious facts, who shall dare to extenuate the offense, which every book buyer knows, and every guardian of youth ought to know, is "rank and smells to heaven?" If the truth were spread out before us clearly it is to be greatly feared that the fortunes of some book publishers are the price of blood as really as that of any liquor dealer.

Where does the responsibility begin and end? At this rate, may not the time come when it will be safer not to know how to read? Accepting the relation of the book publisher to the book writer to be as that

of the gas company to the carboniferous deposit, is not darkness better than some gas? The tendency to monopoly and the formation of great corporations with many stockholders and subscribers results in a lessening of the sense of personal responsibility as to the methods and product of the book trade. What individual member of certain firms would like to stand at the bar of God and assume the sins of his business house? The statistics of newspaper and paper-covered literature are startling. Really, during the last thirty years the drinking habits of society seem to have improved more than the reading habits. It would be of very great interest to know where publishers draw the line as to the quality of the pabulum furnished to our youth. Have the great circulating libraries a standard of morals at all as to the books available to the public? Or do they throw the responsibility back on the author?

Here we would stop could we forget a recent case in point. In a certain large Sunday school library attention was called to an armful of accepted literature the character of which prohibited its being read in a teachers' meeting composed of both sexes. Can any higher work occupy the pastor's hands to-day than the correction of such evils?

Saratoga, N. Y. HENRY M. SIMPSON.

THE HUMANITY OF CHRIST.

THE following remarks are not intended as an answer to, or as an argument against, others in the same line in previous "Arenas," but are suggested by them. Jesus Christ was both God and man, or else Bible statements bearing upon this subject are a medley of contradictions. As physical man he was of the same material with ourselves—flesh and blood. The germinal seed of his physical and sentient manhood was, however, begotten of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin; and so he, the "second man," is the "Lord from heaven." This divinely begotten manhood partook in its nature of our humanity through the period of gestation in the mother's womb, and yet was so guarded and kept by the Holy Ghost as to be prevented from moral and physical contamination. Thus Jesus Christ was and is, in his humanity, divinely human. In other words, he was, in all the essentials of manhood, a man begotten of God. The first man, Adam, "of the earth earthy," was a man created of God; the second man, Jesus Christ, was a man begotten of God. Neither of these was under any law of necessity as to sin. Each could have successfully endured the test; but the first man failed, and through him came the woe of sin upon the world, while the second Man stood the test, and through him came redemption to the race unto physical and moral life, and salvation by faith unto eternal life. In this divinely human Man "dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily." Thus God, the infinite and eternal One, was in Christ the divinely human Son; and thus in him we see fulfilled "the mystery of godliness"—that God "was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, received up in glory."

But was this man Christ Jesus capable of sinning? In undertaking an answer to the question we must keep steadily in mind his twofold nature—the divinely human combined with the essential, indwelling Godhead. Certainly, the Godhead could not have sinned; "He cannot deny himself." If so, then creation would continue to groan and travail in pain and anguish for the eternal ages. But faith, conjoined with revelation, says that "he abideth faithful." And so we rest in the impeccability of the indwelling Godhead; while we are compelled to the conclusion that Jesus Christ, the divinely human Son of God and Son of man, in whom "dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily," must have wrestled with the powers of darkness, against the temptations that beset him to sin against God the Father and to leave undone all that he came to do in the way of a world's redemption and salvation, with a moral force and determination of purpose that had behind them the possibility of failure through a succumbing to the awful pressure that was brought to bear upon him. The soul recoils at the bare contemplation of the possibilities of the case, but finds its refuge and crown of rejoicing in the fact that he did not fail, but marched forward with the step of the mighty Conqueror that he was to the fulfillment of the work the Father gave him to do. In so doing he extorted, even from his enemies, the cry, "Truly this was the Son of God."

With the facts before us as they are, the ground of debate is transferred from that of possibility to that of probability. That he did not sin is clearly evident, that he might have sinned being possible. Still, it was in no sense probable that God the Father could make a mistake in the choice of an agent for the accomplishment of a work of such tremendous moment as the salvation of a ruined world. From God the Father's foreknowledge he knew that Jesus would not fail; but he must have known at the same time that, Jesus being man and thus a moral agent in a state of probation, although for a specific purpose, the possibilities of sinning were with him, as with all moral agents. If the conclusions reached are not correct, where, then, the merit of Christ's atonement? The lambs slain on Jewish altars had no merit, however free from spot or blemish. These were but types. Types of what? Of the Lamb "slain from the foundation of the world." Was that Lamb destitute of intellectual and moral faculties? Was he a mere machine? A moral machine, if there can be such, differs only in kind from other machines. Each does what it has to do perforce—no more, no less. Not so our Christ. As the consciousness of his mission "to seek and to save that which was lost" dawned upon him he set his mind and heart with determined purpose against all the blandishments and enticements of the world, and, treading the wine press alone, accomplished the supreme moral triumph of the ages. Thus through his merits and his atonement he made it possible for men redeemed by his own blood to enter, through faith in him, upon a career of spiritual, moral, and intellectual progress that will end only with eternity's years.

De Land, Fla. J. T. Lewton.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

A NEGLECTED FACTOR IN CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE.

THE age in which we live is critical. It is so hesitant to acknowledge any principles or facts as settled that it might be fitly characterized as a great interrogation point. Its constant question is not, How shall we make use of what we have? but, How shall we best prove that we are absolutely in the dark and possess no truths upon which we can safely rely? This eagerness to disprove what is generally acknowledged has with many persons become almost a passion. The success of many scholars is supposed to consist in the measure in which they have demonstrated how very uncritical our fathers were and how little their arguments and decisions can be justified to modern thought. This results from an unsettled state of thinking on religious truth in general, and has led to a rejection of all religion as too uncertain in its foundations to enter as a forceful element into the life of man. If criticism has not proceeded so far as to reject all possibility of certitude on the most important problems of life and duty and destiny it has, at least, produced an indifference which is widespread and alarming. Dr. Sanday, of Oxford University, England, under the head of "The Present Disquietude," says: "It cannot be denied that there is not a little disquietude and anxiety in the air, and that especially amongst good people. . . . They have recently become aware—more fully aware than they were before—of a considerable change of front among scholars and thoughtful men in regard, primarily, to the Old Testament, but, we might add, also to the New. And the form which this has taken is such as to excite uneasiness and apprehension."

If the effect of this were merely to produce disquietude and nothing more, if it left the "good people" with no loss of their old-time faith in the eternal verities, no loss in spiritual experience and in Christian activity, we might pause before deprecating the attitude of viewing God's word to which allusion has been made. It is apparent, however, that it means more than mere intellectual inquiry and uncertainty. It means a loss of spiritual enjoyment, and raises the question whether there is any religious experience, since there seem to be so few certitudes on which it can rest. This intellectual attitude ignores, too, the primary consciousness which grows out of faith, and counts it as of no value in estimating the historic facts out of which it springs.

The Christian experience is peculiar. There is nothing like it in the world. It has no real parallel among false religions. It is, at first view from an outside standpoint, an emotion produced by certain conditions and environments; but those who possess it know better. They realize a divine impulse, something entirely different from that which comes to them in connection with any other facts. Take, for example, the emotion which springs out of the consideration of the sacrificial death of Christ,

that which in theological language we call the atonement. A critical examination of gatherings of Christians will show that when this doctrine is presented by those whose souls are aglow there is a uniformity of results, inexplicable on any other theory than that this special truth has relation to experiences which are peculiar to itself. The mere view of Christ as a martyr does not produce the same spiritual effect. Nor does the portrayal of the sufferings of those who, in all ages, have given themselves for others produce the kind of experience now under consideration. The emotion thus excited is so unique and universal as to rule it out from the sphere of ordinary phenomena growing out of the consideration of human suffering or human sacrifice. The lives of good men, even that of the Saviour himself when considered by itself, do not produce this spiritual emotion. The conclusion, then, must be that the unique relation of Christ to humanity as the divine Sufferer, as a sacrifice for human guilt, is the source of this experience, and that the scriptural fact and statement on which it rests are thus verified as truth. The constant production of a Christian experience, growing out of the scriptural presentation of the great facts of our religion, is a proof that the statement of facts is correct. We thus arrive at the proposition that the spiritual use of God's word is of importance in ascertaining its certitude and, properly applied, will remove much of the present disquietude among Christians.

The external criticism has been carried to such lengths that the soul life which the word, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, has wrought and the evidence that grows out of it have been overlooked. The old writers on Christian evidences were accustomed to divide them into two classes, the external and the internal. The modern method ignores the latter almost entirely. Is it not time that the pulpit should recall the thoughts of our people from their constant devotion to external evidences to those deep spiritual verities which are the life and power of the Church? What the faith of the Gospel has wrought in the hearts and lives of sinful men is the final argument, from which there can be no appeal; for it is founded on the profoundest principles of our being, it rests on Him whose words are spirit and life.

DEVELOPMENT IN SERMONIC COMPOSITION.

(*Continued.*)

THE subject of development as applied to style, which we have already attempted to illustrate from the sermons of the late Dean Stanley, is enforced by the reflection that the wide diffusion of general information in the Church makes this the field best adapted for the expression of the preacher's originality. He may find it his duty to discuss facts or principles which have become commonplaces among the people; but his masterly and, perhaps, unique development of them may invest them with fresh interest. He is like the painter employing familiar objects and, by the lights and shades of his art, giving to that which he portrays a reality which the ordinary observer has never seen in them, although he has

looked upon them a thousand times. It is not expected of a preacher that he shall constantly present to his hearers novel themes. The Gospel is old and familiar, and its heart truths have been known to the people from their childhood. To neglect the eternal verities which are the life of the Church and the homely duties of life which must always be the true life of the Church would be an abandonment of some of the noblest themes of the preacher. Here, again, comes in the value of development. The ordinary duties of life may, when unfolded by a master's hand, become as fresh as if they were a new revelation.

The portrayal of human character, too, gives opportunity for skill in this direction. Much of the preacher's work is the delineation of character. The great names in the early Church are still the most interesting pulpit themes when fully appreciated and portrayed. One needs only to study the sermons of great preachers to observe how much their power for good has been increased by their ability to delineate human character. The power of some men is almost entirely the outgrowth of their skill in this particular.

I select another illustration of Dean Stanley's method of rich and unique development from his sermon on Charles Kingsley, on the text, "Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong" (1 Cor. xvi, 13). "Watch—that is, 'be awake, be wakeful,' have your eyes open, the eyes of your senses, the eyes of your mind, the eyes of your conscience. Such was the wakefulness, such the vigilance, such the devouring curiosity of him whose life and conversation, as he walked among ordinary men, was often as of a walker among drowsy sleepers, as a watchful sentinel in advance of a slumbering host. The diversity of human character, the tragedies of human life were always as to him an ever-opening, unfolding book. But, perhaps, even more than to the glories and the wonders of man he was, far beyond what falls to the lot of most, alive and awake in every pore to the beauty, the marvels of nature. That contrast in the old story of 'Eyes' and 'No Eyes' was the contrast between him and common men. That eagle eye seemed to discern every shade and form of animal and vegetable life. That listening ear, like that of the hero in the fairy tale, seemed almost to catch the growing of the grass and the opening of the shell. Nature to him was a companion, speaking with a thousand voices. And nature was to him also the voice of God, the face of the Eternal and Invisible, as it can only be to those who study and love and know it." Anyone familiar with the writings of Charles Kingsley will at once recognize two things in this extract—the fitness of the text to the man and the keen portrayal of his character.

CONFERENCE EXAMINATIONS.

EDITOR ITINERANTS' CLUB: At its last session the New York East Conference appointed a committee of five of its members to prepare a plan for conducting Conference examinations and to report at the next session. The present writer had the honor to be made chairman of this

committee, and the Rev. Herbert Welch, of 455 Washington Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., was made secretary. All the members of the committee, and the chairman and secretary in particular, will be glad to receive hints and suggestions upon this matter from their brethren in any Conference, especially those Conferences which are using any advanced and progressive methods of examination. I desire to note certain defects in the system at present in use in our own and many other Conferences.

1. *Incompetent examiners.* Oftentimes men wish to be put upon examining committees for no other reason than the honor implied in such an appointment. In consequence of this, it is common to find examiners who are incompetent. It is obvious that the examiners ought in every way to command the respect of the candidates, both in regard to general scholarly attainments and to their familiarity with, and taste for, the special topics under their charge.

2. *Utter absence of proper instructions.* Under the present system a student buys or borrows his books, reads and studies them alone as best he can, and comes up to Conference without the remotest idea of the method his examiners will pursue. Only too often he finds that the examiner has an entirely different idea of a book from his own, and he makes a poor showing or an utter failure on a topic he has tried faithfully to master. Frequently the candidates would even be glad to know whether they are to have an oral or written examination.

3. *Haste in conducting examinations.* A committee has been known to examine a class on a whole year's studies in a session of about three hours. Sometimes only one question is asked each student out of a large and important book. This makes the examination something like a lottery, as an admirable student might easily fail on one question, and a very poor student might get the one thing he happened to know in all the book. But an examiner who likes to make thorough work of his subject is often urged to hurry by his fellow-examiners, who are impatiently waiting for their turn. This trouble is made worse by the nervous condition in which most candidates come to Conference. Another difficulty comes from the growing tendency to double up examinations. This occurs in the securing of earlier ordination as local preachers, and in the cases of those who avail themselves of the recent permission to theological graduates to double up their examinations.

The favorite remedy for the second and third of these defects is found in the device of the Itinerants' Club. The only objection to this is the difficulty of working it. If the examiners and candidates can be brought together in midyear and go through a part of their work, if the candidates can receive instruction in regard to the remainder, much will be gained. But the difficulties in doing this are very great. It is hard for busy men to find the time. In these days, when even Conferences are beginning to pay the board of their members, it is hard to find a place for the gathering. Perhaps it is the hardest of all for the young men, most of whom are on small salaries, to find money for the expenses of the trip.

In a general way this article represents our committee; but for any

specific thing in it, especially anything which may cause adverse criticism, only the present writer is responsible. I also wish, as not even indirectly representing any person except myself, to offer for the consideration of my brethren the following plan, hoping that its defects may be remedied and its merits brought out more clearly by their criticisms.

PLAN FOR CONDUCTING CONFERENCE EXAMINATIONS.

I. 1. There shall be a general examining board, consisting of twenty-four members of the Conference and elected by it. After the first election these examiners shall be divided into four classes, to serve respectively for one, two, three, and four years. As the term of each class expires the Conference shall elect six members to serve for four years, and shall fill vacancies reported at any session of the Conference. The board itself shall have power to fill any vacancy in the membership when necessary to arrange for examinations held before the Conference meets. This board shall have charge of the examinations of all candidates for membership or orders, both traveling and local, except that examinations not in the English language shall be assigned to special committees. If a candidate has passed satisfactorily in any study he shall be excused from examination in that study if it occurs again in another course which he also pursues.

2. The board shall choose a president and secretary from its members, and shall divide all its examinations into departments, assigning enough members to each department to properly care for its work. In making such assignments they shall consider taste and abilities for special work.

3. When an examiner knows the candidates for examination in his department it shall be his duty, during the year, to give them some information in regard to his views of any books in the department and the way in which they should be studied in preparing for the examination.

4. The president of the board shall generally superintend the work of dividing the board into departments and the method of conducting the examinations. The secretary shall keep an accurate record of the examinations and the standing of candidates. The president and secretary are, however, to be examiners in at least one study.

II. 1. The regular examinations shall be held at the session of the Conference, and every candidate shall at that time be examined in at least one half the studies of his year.

2. When any candidate wishes to be examined in a study during the year he may arrange for a meeting with the examiner in such study, and the examiner shall report such examination to the secretary of the board for record and presentation to the Conference.

3. In case the examiner and candidate cannot arrange for a meeting the examiner may send an examination paper to some member of the Conference residing near the candidate, and the candidate may read such paper and write his answers to it in the presence of the member of the Conference, who shall then send the papers to the examiner; and he shall report the result to the secretary as before.

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ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

DAVID AS A PSALMIST.

Of late years unusual attention has been given to a minute study of the Psalter. Destructive criticism, having spent its force on the historical and prophetical books, has taken in hand to depress the date of this venerable collection by several centuries, so as to make every psalm, not simply post-Davidic, but post-exilic as well. Professor Robertson Smith, though, perhaps, holding that some of the psalms were written by the poet-king, yet informs us, notwithstanding the fact that tradition declares David to be closely connected with the early psalmody of Israel, that "there is little direct evidence to support this conviction." The reason for depressing the date of the Psalms is not far to seek. It is the natural outgrowth of the Pentateuchal or Hexateuchal discussion. If it can be proved that the first six books of the Old Testament were written several centuries after the Exodus, and that the advanced legislation, the complete code of morals, and the lofty tone of religious feeling pervading these books were impossible in the age of Moses or till after the time of David, it will aid materially in demonstrating that the ascription of the grandest and sublimest lyrics of the ages to David and his contemporaries is an unmistakable anachronism. "Church hymns," says Cheyne, "like our Psalms cannot be imagined even in the age of Deuteronomy"—that is, in the seventeenth century before Christ. This learned author assures us, with oracular certainty, that there are only two indubitably Davidic compositions in the entire Old Testament, namely, 2 Sam. i, 19–27; iii, 33–34. Thus, with one stroke of his mighty pen the sweet singer of Israel is unceremoniously pushed aside from Hebrew psalmody. "Putting aside," says he, "Psalm xviii and possibly lines imbedded here and there in the later psalms, the Psalter, as a whole, is post-exilic."

Cheyne, in common with many rationalistic writers, reduces the poet-king to a "man of war" occupying a low spiritual level. He was not "a Church leader, like Zoroaster;" though gifted in music, he was not a psalm writer, for David's fame, we are assured, "rested chiefly upon his secular poetry." He further assures us that neither David nor even Isaiah could have dreamed of Church hymns such as those contained in the Psalter. Then follows the modest admission that he "cannot divide sharply between the age of David and, say, of Isaiah." But, nothing daunted, he adds, "The latter is no Christian, nor is the former a heathen." Kuenen, as might be expected, also maintains that the Psalms, with their sublime teachings so full of the ethical and religious, must be post-Davidic; "for the religion of David was far below the level of the Psalter." Even Driver, perhaps the most conservative of this school, finds it difficult not to feel that many of the psalms ascribed to David "ex-

press an intensity of religious devotion, a depth of spiritual insight, and a maturity of theological reflection beyond what we expect from David or David's age." The burden of the above words is to show that whoever wrote the Psalms must have lived centuries later than David. Why? Because the Psalter presupposes the law. The Pentateuch having been already depressed until at least the time of Ezra, it is necessary to assign an equally late, if not much later, date to the Psalms. Else much of the argument relied upon to prove the late origin of the Pentateuch would be sadly weakened, if not wholly invalidated. This must not be, for it would require a reconsideration of the Pentateuchal question. The Psalter, this oldest of all hymnals, is "the response of the worshiping congregation to the demands made upon men in the law." It is the same old story. The development of literature, no less than of religion, demands a late origin for the Psalms. This radical criticism starts from false premises. Therefore, its conclusions are naturally untrustworthy. It assumes that Israel was not capable of deep communion with God till about the Babylonian captivity, or, indeed, according to the more radical, ages later. Hence the effort of Cheyne and others to assign late dates to every book in the Old Testament.

These same critics likewise unite in insisting that only a very small number of the psalms are the expression of the thoughts and prayers, the hopes and faith, the sorrows and anxieties of the individual soul. They must be regarded, rather, as the experiences of "many men and of many ages of the national life." They are the experiences, not of a separate soul here and there, but of the united Jewish Church. The individual, even though he may speak in the first person, as the "I" or "me," does so as representing or personifying the entire community of pious worshipers. Now, what is gained by this view? Our critics insist that, if it can be shown that the individual element is crowded out, then the Psalms become "national, rather than individual, and must, therefore, belong to an age in which the nation had been welded closely together, an age in which there was unity of thought and unity of aspiration. That this age did not precede the captivity is clear." Granting that the psalmist generally spoke as a representative of the community, we are utterly unable to see why this should prove the post-exilic origin of the Psalms, or how it could overthrow the Davidic origin of every psalm in the collection. It is folly to argue that David's experience was not such as to call forth the outbursts of anguish and despair, of praise and prayer, of joy and exaltation in all and every psalm bearing his name. It is equally groundless to contend that his age could not have produced such gems as the Eighth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-third Psalms. The age of David, with its struggles and trials, with its revival influences under Samuel and his colaborers, and with its glorious triumph, was as well calculated as any period in Jewish history to call forth the highest type of religious truth, all aglow with pious fervor and religious enthusiasm. We need, therefore, not depress the date of the Psalms to the less spiritual times of Persian rule or Maccabean revolution.

Again, is it not a fact that all great writers reflect, more or less, the spirit of their times? Thus, while breathing out their loftiest sentiments, they are merely the spokesmen of the entire people. The individual is swallowed up in the nation. This is true of all literature. The beautiful hymns of Luther and Gerhardt, of Wesley and Watts, though at first the expression of the innermost thoughts and desires of these holy men, have nevertheless something in them that is exceedingly appropriate for believing souls everywhere. So of the matchless songs of David. Though written nearly three thousand years ago on the hills of Judea, they still find a ready response in the heart and innermost soul of the pious, whether on the banks of the Thames or the Congo, whether on the slopes of the Himalayas or on the steppes of Russia. This is because the wants of the human soul thirsting for communion with its Maker are the same everywhere and in all ages. Trials and privations, difficulties and persecutions, aspiration for higher life and communion with God were certainly as common in the age of David as in any age before the advent of our Saviour.

The fatal mistake of this radical school of Old Testament critics is to premise that the sentiments contained in what are generally called the Davidic psalms are of too lofty a nature for the age of David. They are unwilling to open their eyes to the recent discoveries in archæology, which prove most conclusively the advanced stage of civilization at a time long anterior to the reign of David. The monuments of Egypt prove clearly that the world in the times of Moses, yea, long before his time, enjoyed a very high degree of culture, much higher than our radical friends are willing to admit. Late discoveries have agreed in a wonderful manner with the history as given in the Old Testament. Away, then, with the idea that the Hebrew Scriptures are made up of fanciful legends, to be believed or rejected as it suits our purposes. The Old Testament takes it for granted that the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Hittite empires were very powerful in the distant past. The settlement of Egypt is lost in hoary antiquity; but, go back far as we may, we find traces and evidence of much culture among this ancient people. Says Professor Wiedemann, of the University of Bonn, in his recent treatise, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul:* "As far back as Egyptian history has been traced the people appear to have been in possession, not only of written characters, national art and institutions, but also of a complete system of religion. As in all other departments of Egyptian life and thought, so with Egyptian religion—we cannot trace its beginnings. What greatly intensifies the deep interest of Egyptian eschatology is that it testifies to the fact that a whole nation believed in the immortality of the soul four thousand years before the birth of Christ." And if the Egyptians were thus early advanced in their religious ideas, why not the Israelites?

These dwellers of the Nile valley were not a hermit nation, shut up by themselves, for it has been clearly established that there was intercourse between the valleys of the Nile and Euphrates centuries before Abraham—

and that by land and by water. And now comes freshand additional evidence that at least three thousand years ago Egypt and India were connected, not only by an overland route, but also by sea. That trade and literature and diplomacy were in a flourishing state in many countries ages before Moses is a recognized fact. Recent discoveries prove, also, that the Egyptians especially possessed much lyric poetry used for devotion, such as litanies and praises to their gods. Some of these ancient hymns to the sun and the Nile are really excellent. Why, then, should it be thought remarkable, not to say impossible, that David, centuries later, might have written the finest and loftiest of the psalms? Are we to utterly disregard the universal tradition which makes David the father of Hebrew psalmody? How could the ancient Hebrew Church have fallen into error on such a point? Though we may grant that some psalms ascribed to David were not written by him, but belong to a later age, it does not follow that the inscriptions of the entire collection must therefore be rejected, or that David is not the author of a single psalm. That many of these inscriptions are as old as the text itself cannot be doubted. Their great antiquity is attested by the fact that they were unintelligible when the Septuagint translation was made.

It is far too common nowadays, in the discussion of biblical questions, to lose sight entirely of the doctrine of inspiration. It is a cardinal mistake to try to account for the superiority of the Bible to the sacred writings of other nations without seeing the guiding hand of Jehovah in its production. If we view the writings of Moses and David in this light, if we grasp the idea that they are the inspired word of God, we shall then have no trouble in comprehending their advanced teachings and ethical superiority. Our fathers regarded the Scriptures in a more sacred way than we do. It may be they went too far; but are not we in danger of taking too low an estimate of their worth? The unrest along the line of biblical criticism arises largely from the effort of our rationalistic writers to eliminate the supernatural and prophetical from the book. They insist, and there is a fascination about it, that the Bible should be treated exactly like other sacred books. It would be unjust to claim that all who say that David did not write any of the psalms utterly disregard the supernatural in the Bible. It is, however, a fact that the majority of these minimize the supernatural element as much as possible. And, if they do at all believe in the inspiration of the word, they do so in a very limited degree.

But why make all the psalms post-exilic? Why deny the Davidic authorship of the majority of psalms in the first book on purely subjective grounds? What reason have we for ascribing such spirituality to writers of the Maccabean age? Why transfer the golden age of Hebrew psalmody from the age of David to that of Judas the Maccabee? These are some of the questions that every young man should answer fully before abandoning the view still held by most of the evangelical theologians and devout biblical scholars of England and America, and before accepting the theories of radical critics.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

RIGHTS OF FOREIGN RESIDENCE AND TITLES IN CHINA.

A PETITION is in circulation, addressed to the President and Senate of the United States, relative to the ill-defined and unsatisfactory status of the civil rights of missionaries in China under existing treaties. There are many citizens of the United States in China, holding property to the value of many hundreds of thousands of dollars, who reside in the interior of the empire; but their residence and their title to property are not guaranteed by any explicit technical phrase in the treaties, though it is believed that the constructive right to both has been established. This constructive right is maintained under a clause in the French treaty, inserted in the French text, but not found in the Chinese text. By an understanding between the two powers, however, the French has been declared to be the official text. Under the "most favored nation" clause of other treaties this has been asserted to apply to the missionaries of other nationalities and to their property, as well as to the French; but the Chinese government has claimed the right to interpret it for itself. The government has just sanctioned the right of native churches or native Christian societies to hold property, after having pigeonholed the matter for thirty years. But property which belongs to a native church is no longer owned by the foreigners who furnished the money to the native church. The Chinese government has thus interpreted through local officials. If the property be confiscated there is no means of redress. Public sentiment is readily inflamed against Christians in China, thus preventing the operation of ordinary Chinese justice. The Chinese government has interpreted the right of property as subject to *feng-shui*, a species of necromancy about which the people are fanatical and whimsical. It has, besides, interpreted this property right as subject to the pleasure and approval of local Chinese officials, without which the legal title cannot be consummated. This is obstructive and prohibitory, practically forbidding landlords and middlemen to sell property to missionaries.

The petitioners pray for such modifications of existing treaties as will render unquestionable the rights of missionaries to reside in the interior, and for the removal of unjust conditions and restrictions imposed by the Chinese government which practically destroy already conceded rights of property and acknowledged privileges of residence. Another distinct subject named in this petition is that of inflammatory publications against Christianity and Christians. These are widely circulated books and placards, which are not regularly authorized by the government, but are published by high officials connected with it, and in the eyes of the people have all the weight and authority of government publications. They contain foul calumnies against Christianity and against foreigners, charging them with such practices as the tearing out of human eyes in order to

manufacture specific medicines, the kidnapping and mutilation of children, the dishonoring of women, as well as other practices too obscene or too revolting to describe in print. The riots which have endangered the lives and property of American citizens have been traced to these inflammatory publications, which have been scattered over the whole empire, especially throughout the Yang-tse valley. These publications are sold at government bookstores. It seems a delicate task to interfere with a free press in another country or to dictate the suppression of literature current in the land, even if semiofficially issued by the government; yet the political bearings of this, as affecting international peace, justify the demand. The missionaries say that a policy like that outlined in this petition would mean an immense gain for the cause of Christ in China, would be a decided blow at the murderous riots of the past few years, would advance friendly relations with the people and open doors to a multitude of places, even to whole provinces, now sealed against missionary effort.

THE ISSUE IN JAPAN.

THE issue in Japan between Christianity and the other religious systems may be said to be fairly joined. It is true that the opposition to Christianity assumes the form of nationalism; but this nationalism includes the defense of existing institutions, such as idol worship and concubinage, which find their base in the native religious systems. Yet it must be remembered that this contention does not involve more than one in seven of the total population of the empire. Outside of this fraction the people are either totally uninformed of the new conditions or wholly indifferent to them. This one seventh, however, constitutes a molding and energetic leadership, though they are not yet sufficiently advanced to know the impracticability of the task they have set themselves—that of placing Japan in the front rank of civilized peoples and, at the same time, prescribing as a test of loyalty to the emperor the duty of preserving religious institutions.

The nation as a whole has thrown religion overboard as a State institution; but the upper one seventh are more or less dominated by priests who are never neglectful of their own interests. The Buddhist priests during two years past have exhibited an increasing bitterness to all progress which in its roots involves a modification of Buddhism. Though the progressive and the nonprogressive wings of Buddhists are at outs with each other, they are at one in their organized antagonism to Christianity, and are influencing Shintoists to cooperate with them in a national resistance of it. This they seek to accomplish through political channels. The Buddhist priests number nearly one to every four hundred and twenty of the population, and those of the Shintoists about as many more. Hence there is an ever-present and highly organized force, in the ratio of nearly one to every two hundred men, women, and children in the empire, officially interested in influencing the rest to conserve the existing centuries-old religions. This force includes many of the most popular orators and

most powerful writers of the nation. It is become the order of the day to promote "revivals" of the old faiths as against "Western creeds." Funeral rites fallen into disuse are restored and temples repaired. The loyalty of native Christians is challenged by a professor in an imperial university, and thousands of tracts are circulated against Christians, stigmatizing them as unpatriotic. This has driven the Christians into an effort to produce an indigenous formula of Christianity which has created distrust in Christian Churches at home. This attempt at a "Japanned" Christianity has weakened support from abroad. The Japanese Christians seem to be desirous to expel the foreign missionary as the only alternative to the expulsion of Christianity itself. The methods of the Christian mission are imitated by the priests at the same time that they are feared, and because they are feared. One Buddhist school says in its circular that the girls' schools of the missions are established for the purpose of spreading Christianity, that they are, therefore, unsuitable to the country, and that schools for the education of women should be established on Buddhist principles. These Buddhist schools have a five years' course, in which English is taught if desired; but particular attention is given to knitting, sewing, ceremonies and amenities of social life, domestic arts, and Buddhist ethics.

Thus not only may religion in Japan be said to be in a transition daze, but national peculiarities must be reckoned with in all attempted reformations, revivals, or substitutions which look to religious progress. There can be but two alternatives, so far as the native religions are concerned. Either national progress must be checked or Buddhism and Shintoism must be left to their natural fate. Patience will be demanded on the part of both Japanese and Western Christians in this transition. Each must make the effort to put themselves in the place of the other. Mutual respect, thoughtful consideration, and possibly concessions on both sides will be demanded. Haste is to be deplored. The Christianity of Japan is being cradled in the bosom of a revolution, which will never go backward. The American Board has sent a strong commission to represent it at the council board of its affiliated churches in Japan and to consider the present exigency with, if we are correctly informed, power to materially modify its direct administration. The Methodist Episcopal Church annually sends what in other organizations would be named an official "deputation" to study and help to guide in this crisis. God has a mission for this island empire, which is now a factor in the future development of Asia.

THE WORK OF GOD IN EAST CENTRAL AFRICA.

THE missionaries of Great Britain in east Central Africa are making history with phenomenal rapidity. The Church of England missionaries in Uganda, over a year ago, received an enlargement of spiritual perception and what they esteemed as a baptism of the Holy Ghost for service, as never before. This was extended to the native Church in a series of

special services, organized in the hope that it also might be indued with power from on high. The effect was surprisingly immediate and decisive. It was an out-and-out revival of religion, as the vernacular of our home Churches would phrase it, in its best sense; a phenomenon for which the secular world has no nomenclature; a sort of religious cyclone which distinctly supernatural influences are recognized as alone competent to produce. Secular historians pass these by, as though they were not at all factors in the development of society; yet they are radical elements, as formative and masterful as any forces besides.

The immediate result of this special outpouring of the Holy Ghost on foreign and native workers was a thousand baptisms within the year following. The expansion was, within the year, from twenty country churches to two hundred, with an average seating capacity of a hundred and fifty persons, while the ten largest combined would hold forty-five hundred. In these churches on Sunday there now assemble twenty thousand souls to hear the Gospel; and on week days the attendance is not less than four thousand. These figures are not inclusive of the capital, being only for the country districts. And this is only the beginning of an enormous extension in the country. The churches are themselves, in eighty-five stations, supporting one hundred and thirty-one teachers. Of these stations twenty are outside of Uganda proper in adjacent districts; and the native missionaries supplying these twenty stations are thus "foreign" missionaries sent by the Uganda Christians to the regions beyond. At Bu'si, an island near Jungo, fifteen miles south of Mengo, two thousand people are under instruction.

All attribute this movement to a Bible foundation. The Scriptures have been distributed broadcast over all this territory, and the people not only read them with avidity, having paid for them that they might own them, but devoutly study them. It is the assertion of Archdeacon Walker himself that it is no uncommon thing for a man mending a fence or a woman hoeing a field to ask if the Herod mentioned in a certain passage was Antipas or Agrippa. One missionary asks the Church at home what they are to do if a hundred thousand copies of the New Testament shall be required in the course of the next two or three years, and a million reading sheets besides. That would require fifteen hundred manloads to be brought from the coast, and it would be well-nigh impossible to obtain so large a force when other traffic is steadily demanding more carriers. These people will do days' work to purchase the Scriptures. One missionary says he has fifteen men "working for books," and adds, "To see the rush when the sale of the New Testaments we brought up began was a sight not to be forgotten." The "change of heart," of character, and of life wrought by the Holy Ghost in these natives of Uganda can only be accounted for by the heathen around them by supposing that at baptism an incision is made in the head and a powerful medicine rubbed in which kills the old heart, and that there then comes in its place a "new religious heart which does not lust for anything." The apologetic element of such a movement must not be overlooked.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Professor Dr. Adolph Julicher. In New Testament criticism he holds a middle position between those who adhere to tradition, in spite of critical evidence, and those extreme critics who venture to penetrate into the innermost secrets of ancient literary production. He is an exponent of that growing class of German critics who see plainly that the attempt to explain every least point leads to the wildest confusion, and who are anxious to see criticism follow more sober methods hereafter. This is not because he or they whom he represents are afraid of any truth which may be discovered. They merely recognize the fact that there are limits to the knowable in the origin of documents—that, while conjecture may be admissible, conjecture cannot, in most cases, be lifted to the dignity of fact. Among the opinions which he holds relative to New Testament problems may be mentioned the following: Even as early as Justin Martyr, the term "Scripture" was consciously employed to include the gospels and the Apocalypse. The only Pauline epistles which he confidently denies to Paul are the pastoral epistles. These he places about the year 125 A. D. He regards the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians and the Epistle to the Colossians as probably genuine. Even the Epistle to the Ephesians may possibly be genuine. He decidedly opposes the hypothesis of the composite character of Second Corinthians and Philippians. In his treatment of the Apocalypse he is very cautious. He holds it to be a book by a Christian of about 95 A. D., but thinks that in several parts older apocalyptical elements were embodied. Whether these are from one or from several apocalypses, or whether they are of Christian or of Jewish origin, he cannot decide, and thinks the question may possibly never be decided. In the criticism of the gospels he holds to the hypothesis of a double source; but, instead of the usual theory of a primitive Mark, he regards our canonical Mark as the source of our canonical Matthew and Luke. As to the Acts of the Apostles, he makes the "we" source very extensive, declaring that the author of the Acts probably derived all that is valuable concerning Paul from that source. He is inclined to attribute the first half of the Acts to oral, rather than to written, sources. But the speeches of the first half are thought to be inventions of the author.

Professor Dr. Hermann Schultz. In these days when our ideas of apologetics are undergoing so radical a change, it may be well to hear what so great a dogmatician has to say. He firmly believes that, although faith is a personal and practical religious conviction, and although we cannot spread religious truths in the same way as those of logic and mathematics, yet there is a possibility of a true science of apologetics. It can be shown that true science does not compel the abandonment of the religious view of the world, and that a harmonious understanding of the

world, including man as a moral and reasonable being, is impossible without this religious conception, but is furnished by it. The task of apologetics is to understand the nature and justification of religion, to comprehend the historical manifestations of religion, and to show the nature and perfection of Christianity. This latter, he thinks, can be sufficiently demonstrated. Whoever accepts the Christian faith does so because his soul, unsatisfied with itself and the world, experiences in the person of Christ the reality of the good and the consciousness of peace. But it is necessary to the thinking Christian to give himself a reason for claiming that the Christian religion is not only the best among many religions, but the best possible religion. For this purpose it is necessary to appeal to the decisive principle of religion. The proof of the perfection of Christianity is found, first, in the character of the benefits derived from the person of Christ, and, secondly, in the manner in which God reveals himself to man. Both of these are such as to preclude the possibility of anything higher. He is of the opinion that the materialistic and the pessimistic view of the world will alike forever fail to satisfy the demands of the human heart, and hence that they can never replace the religious faith. He believes that the task of defending the reasonableness of the Christian view must fall more and more to public address. If this be correct it is time that the preachers should study with more care the true line for apologetics to pursue and prepare themselves to present it to the people.

Paul Natorp. The question of the relation of religion to human progress, while settled for the vast majority, is an open one for a sufficiently large portion of mankind to give it profound importance. There are those who give due credit to religion as a factor in the early development of the race, and yet believe that after a given stage has been reached progress can only be made by the complete abolition of religion. Others there are who think that the race will only reach its highest goal in the full realization of the religious ideal. To say nothing of the opinions of the masses, even among thinkers the latter view has by far the majority in its favor. According to the judgment of Natorp religion is an essential element of human nature, and there can be no true world-wide human society and no common universal progress without it. He avoids the extreme, on the one hand, of those who regard religion, both as to its source and purpose, far above all questions of human interest and, on the other, of those who regard humanity as so elevated that it is impossible to connect with it so intangible, uncertain, and subjective a thing as religion, concerning which they hesitate whether to call it an innocent or a consciously guilty self-deception. Natorp thinks that humanity can be and ought to be, not divided, but united, by means of religion. He is a believer in the doctrine of original righteousness, according to which the most decided characteristic of a human being is his need of fellowship with God, without which he can never reach his highest development or happiness. He opposes decidedly the attempt to produce or teach a

system of morals disconnected with religion. On the other hand, he demands the giving up of the universal requirement of belief in specific dogmas as inconsistent with Christian freedom. This leads directly to the idea of religious instruction, which is to be based upon broad Christian, as distinct from denominational, interpretation. Whether this can be practically wrought out remains to be seen. It can certainly be done as soon as Christians are predominantly Christian, rather than sectarian.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Die Beziehungen des Papstthums zum Frankischen Staats- und Kirchenrecht unter den Karolingern (The Relations of the Papacy to Frankish Civil and Canon Law under the Carolingians). By Dr. Richard Weyl. As never before, the history of the development of the papacy is being studied, greatly to the detriment of its pretensions. We can do nothing here but give some of the principal results of Weyl's most carefully conducted investigations. The close relationship which sprang up after a long period between the papacy and the Frankish kingdom, and which was brought about by the missionary activity of Bonifacius, was in consequence of prudential considerations on both sides. But the popes were not able to secure any decided influence upon the civil law. Especially were the popes not allowed to exercise any authority in the enthronement of kings or emperors. More influential, however, were the popes in respect of ecclesiastical law. The pope was universally regarded as the highest authority in dogmatic questions. He was regarded as the chief defender of the faith and first preacher of Christian doctrine, and as such had a number of rights, none of which, however, gave him any power over the civil authorities. The pope had no participation in the establishment of bishoprics or in the filling of the sees, although in the matter of archbishoprics he was granted a certain right of participation. When Italy became a part of the Frankish empire the pope was reduced to the position of a mere bishop, coordinate with the other bishops of the empire and, like them, subject to the supervision of the State and the limitations placed upon the episcopate by the civil authority. Even in matters of faith the authority of the pope suffered a diminution, the king and the clergy repeatedly taking a position in opposition to him. The general conclusion from all this is that under the Carolingians, as under the Merovingians, the pope was never recognized as having a primacy—that is, as a hierarchical power ruling the clergy; while the rights granted to the pope were neither numerous nor especially important. These are weighty, but they are wholly justified, conclusions. The next struggle with the papacy will be along the lines of its history, and it will be well for our people to know the facts in the case.

Die Publizistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII (Publication in Age of Gregory VII). By Professor Dr. Carl Mirbt. Sometimes a work should

be noticed merely because it is a sort of cyclopedia on the subject of which it treats, altogether apart from any views to which it may give expression. Of this sort is the work now mentioned. For one who would understand the literature of the years 1031–1112 A. D. it will henceforth be indispensable. An idea of the comprehensiveness of the material included may be had by the following list of topics of the eight sections: the controversial documents, their date, occasion, authorship, etc.; the measures of Gregory VII against Henry IV; the celibacy of the priests, and simony; the sacraments of the simonistic and married clergy; lay investiture; the relation of the State and the Church; Pope Gregory VII; character and significance of the entire literature. The particularity of the study may be seen by a brief statement of some of the results of the first section: The whole number of documents is one hundred and fifteen, the number of authors sixty-five. Italy produced forty-eight documents and twenty-seven authors; Germany, fifty-five and twenty-seven, respectively; France, eleven and ten; while only one other country was represented, namely, Spain, with one. Many of the documents were anonymous or pseudonymous. The authors and those to whom the documents were addressed were clergy and monks, with two exceptions. Fully half of the documents were written by bishops, of whom two thirds belonged to Italy. Only about a dozen monks are among the authors, but they furnish some of the most important writings. The Gregorians produced sixty-five pieces, their opponents fifty. It is impossible to go further into details. But no one can read this work without obtaining a clear idea of the questions at issue, the arguments by which each side supported its positions, the aggressions of the papacy, the growth of public opinion, the literary power, the general condition of the Church, and the state of civilization. The period covered is one of the most interesting in history, and here we have material for its detailed study. We again express the wish that such investigations might be more frequent in English.

Individual- und Gemeindepsalmen—Ein Beitrag zur Erklarung des Psalters (Personal and General Psalms—Contributions to the Expositions of the Psalter). By Dr. Georg Beer. The first part demonstrates, from the superscriptions and other indications, that in its general character the Psalter was a collection of songs for public worship. Nevertheless it is pointed out that the Psalter became a book which was employed by individual Israelites for purposes of private worship, and that, although a great number of the psalms were evidently written for public use, yet there are others which argue against the idea of a liturgical use and which were unquestionably written for private worship, being later adjusted to the congregation. Beer accounts for the origin of the Psalter as follows: First there was a David-psalter, comprising Psalms iii–xli; this was followed by a later David-psalter, comprising Psalms li–lxxii, subsequently enlarged by a Qorah-psalter of Psalms xlii–xlix, and an Asaph-psalter of Psalms l, lxxiii–lxxxiii, and a still later appendix of Psalms lxxxiv–lxxxix. To these two were added a collection, mostly anonymous, of Psalms xc–cl. As an in-

troduction to the whole collection Psalms i and ii were prefixed. The whole collection was completed about 140 B. C. In examining the time of the composition of the particular psalms he begins with books iv and v, which, he thinks, reveal the warlike period of the Maccabees and the end of the Greek period, with the certainty that none of the psalms of these books originated earlier than the end of the Persian period. Especially, the Qorah and Asaph psalms, of the second and third books, exhibit a period of misfortune for Israel. Some of these songs point plainly to the end of the Persian period; others fall in the period subsequent to Alexander the Great. The songs of the first book belong for the most part to the Persian and Greek periods. The only psalms which, according to Beer, belong to an earlier period are iii, iv, xi, xviii, and the indications of their earlier date are not thoroughly convincing. This shuts David out altogether from the composition of the Psalms. Beer thinks, however, that David was a religious poet, basing his opinion upon Amos vi, 5. Some critics have trained their faculties so perfectly that they can, apparently, hear the grass grow.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The Growing Estrangement of the Masses from the Protestant Church in Germany. It is a fact which cannot be gotten rid of by mere denial that such an estrangement is taking place, or, one might almost say, has taken place. It would be matter for rejoicing if one could put it wholly in the past. But unfortunately it is still in progress, partly because the minority who have remained more or less faithful to the Church are losing one by one their sense of loyalty, partly because those who have long been estranged are being confirmed in their indifference. One of the first things to do, ordinarily, is to lay all the blame for such a state of affairs on the Church—to say that if the Church had done its duty, or had been what it ought to have been, the masses would have been true to it, and only occasionally would one have turned away. Doubtless the German Church has its share of blame. It has based its work upon a doctrinal, rather than upon a practical, foundation. This has caused it to spend its strength in the definition of the truth instead of upon its practice. Only the few, even among the clergy, have been able to participate with vigor in the one absorbing object which the Church should keep in view. The masses of the people have passively received what the few offered them of an intellectual kind. There was nothing for the laity in general to do except to join in the ritual observances of the Sunday services according to the prescribed forms. Being based upon doctrine, the Church has contented itself with catechetical instruction followed by confirmation, and has trusted to the sound reason of those thus received into the Church to keep them true to the teachings thus provided. That the opposition of the natural heart to the requirements of the Gospel could be overcome in the way adopted by the Church was not doubted. The enthusiasm of personal experience has been quenched by the same cause. If the principal thing

is sound doctrine, then no provision need be made for the production or maintenance of experience. Prayer meetings are almost unknown. To speak of one's experience is regarded as fanatical. The same theory it was which permitted the parishes to become so large. Small parishes, with a pastor to look after each member personally, are not needed where the basis of Church membership is doctrinal. This also it was which led to the neglect of the practical duties of the Christian life, which, however, are rapidly coming to the front in the ideals of the Church. Besides this doctrinal cause another has worked powerfully to the same end; it is the German national trait of abhorrence of innovations. It prevented Pietism from doing what it might otherwise have done for the German Church, and it has made progress among the "sects" very slow, much to the detriment of the cause of God among the Germans. For had the sects become a greater power than they are they would have reacted favorably on the Established Church, both by liberalizing it and provoking it to good works. But, admitting the validity of all this, it still remains true that the Church is not chiefly to blame for the present state of affairs. None of the preachers of the world have ever been able to win the masses and hold them permanently. None of the apostles, nor even Jesus, could do it. Nor has the Church in any age been able to accomplish this work. Humanity at large is too fickle to be constant in its loyalty to Christ. The demands of the Church, even when they are at the minimum, are higher than men generally are willing to submit themselves to for any considerable length of time. But the principal cause outside of the Church, which, in addition to the constant factors working in opposition to its success, now hinders the people from firm adherence to the cause of Christ, is the growing sense of the temporal claims of men. In other words, the political and economical situation is such as to emphasize the earthly to the exclusion of the heavenly, the material to the subversion of the spiritual. We have science instead of philosophy, skill instead of culture—everything pointing to the betterment of human temporalities. These things by themselves would not have produced the effect. But, combined with the fact that the Church must of necessity look toward spiritualities and has by oversight failed to give due attention to the temporal welfare of the people, it has contributed more than anything else to the results so much to be deplored.

Religious Freedom in Russia. Upon the ascension of Nicholas II to the throne of Russia a new and more liberal era for that country was prophesied. All appearances did, indeed, seem to indicate that the long-wished-for time was about to dawn when perfect religious freedom should be secured for the hitherto oppressed Jews and other religionists. But these hopes were doomed to bitter disappointment. The Jewish persecutions continue, and there is to-day less prospect that they will cease than ever. The latest form of oppression is one of incredible cruelty. The Russian health resorts are crowded, especially in the summer months, with people of all classes, who desire the benefits which the health-giving

waters confer. It is now ordered that in the southern part of Russia, in the Ciscaucasian province, all Jews shall be forbidden to summer at these resorts, whether they be there in search of health or of pleasure. That such a thing should be possible in a Christian country in this age of the world should elicit a storm of indignation sufficient to awaken the Russian authorities to a sense of their crime.

The International Union of Friends of Young Girls. This excellent organization has not received the attention it deserves. It is but seventeen years since this form of benevolent work was first agitated. To Frau Aine Humbert, of Neuchâtel, Switzerland, belongs the honor of beginning the work. The members of the order pledge themselves to assist unprotected young girls who are obliged to go out into the world, and to protect them from the dangers which beset them in the larger and smaller cities. In Neuchâtel there is a bureau whose function it is to assist these girls in finding work and homes, and which places about one hundred annually. Similar bureaus in Lausanne and Vevay find places each for from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty annually, so that in the past ten years about three thousand girls have been provided with homes or work in French Switzerland alone. About ten thousand girls in various lands have been cared for during a longer or shorter period of time. The union numbers many thousand members in Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, and North America. A number of periodicals keep the members in touch with each other. The official organ of the International Union is published in Neuchâtel, under the name *Le Journal des Bien Public*, on the 15th of each month, and gives information of the work everywhere.

The Berlin Depot Mission. Of the same kind as the above is this work. It has been proved that, of the 34,587 young girls who during the last year entered Berlin for the purpose of finding employment, a large number fell into bad hands before they left the depots. The Association for the Protection of Female Youth, therefore, provided for the prevention of this state of things in the future. Volunteers from among the women of the association serve in turn at the various depots. They wear a badge on the arm by which any young girl entering the city can recognize them. By word and deed they assist all girls who apply to them. The Minister of Public Works has arranged that suitable space be given for the accommodation of the agents of the association, and the police president has ordered the depot police to give them every possible assistance. The association has made arrangements by which the six provinces especially contributing young girls to the servant class of Berlin shall be made acquainted with the provision for girls arriving in Berlin.

A Protestant Episcopal Bishop for Spain. Archbishop Plunket, of Dublin, together with the Bishop of Clogher and Down, recently ordained

a Protestant bishop of Spain, the ordination taking place in Madrid. This act has called forth much comment in English High Church circles and aroused much opposition. The principal reason for the opposition is that the existence of a Protestant bishop in Spain is an attack on the rights of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in that country. Such consideration for Roman Catholicism, founded upon such a reason, is the clearest possible proof of the essential harmony between High Church Episcopalianism and Roman Catholicism. It means that if the episcopacy be of the same type all other differences sink out of sight. The High Church Englishman sees no use for a reformation in Spain, because Spain, as well as England, has the "historic episcopate." Nevertheless, the Protestants of Spain received this token of favor from Protestant England with great satisfaction.

The German Huguenot Association. This historically interesting organization held its latest meeting in Maulbronn, which is the center of the Würtemberg Waldensian colony. Members were present from all parts of Germany, Holland, Italy, and Spain. The meeting was more truly international than any previously held. At Maulbronn is an old Cistercian cloister, where, in the Summer Church, the opening festival was held consisting of sermons by Drs. Klotz, Braun, Correvon, and Burk. The president of the association read his report on the second day, showing that there was growth in every department of their work—ecclesiastical, literary, and benevolent. Addresses were delivered on topics relating to the workers, the work, and the history of the Waldenses.

Postal Savings Banks in England. According to the last annual report of the postmaster-general of England, 983,189 persons paid into postal savings banks during the past fiscal year the sum of $123,245,120, or an average of about $125 each. The total sum held on deposit by the postal department is $407,938,205. Of the interest on these deposits $8,300,520 were not drawn, but left to be added to the deposits already made. The number of depositors in all Great Britain is 5,748,239, of whom 220,117 are Scotch, 235,944 Irish, and the remaining 5,292,178 English, every sixth Englishman being a depositor. Great efforts are being made to encourage children in the public schools to save and deposit their money, even in the smallest amounts, and apparently with good effect.

Female Inspectors for German Factory Girls. The League of German Women's Clubs, which met in March of last year, recently handed a petition to the ministers of commerce in the individual states composing the empire, looking toward the installment of female inspectors in factories where large numbers of females are employed. According to the report of the inspectors for 1892 there were in that year 223,538 female laborers ranging in age from sixteen to twenty-one years, and 337,499 over twenty-one years of age, not to mention 72,692 girls less than eighteen years old. These figures reveal the demand for such a measure as that proposed.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

RUGGED and toilsome is the author's path to fame. Whoever cherishes the delusion that it is a smooth journey will be undeceived by such an article as "A Reply to My Critics," which Dr. Max Nordau writes in the August *Century*. Says this author of *Degeneration:* "Since my book left the press it is literally true that not a day has passed without bringing down upon me a shower of printed calumnies." Some of his critics, he says, have called him "a lunatic;" some have asserted that he himself does not believe a single word of what he has written; some have insinuated that he possesses no qualifications for writing such a book as *Degeneration;* some have found "the most flagrant evidences of idiocy" in his works. But "the most astounding performance," says Nordau, "is that of a Berlin physician who has devoted an entire book" to him and who regales him in the first half of it with "the whole vocabulary of opprobrious epithets which is to be found in the German language." These critics, however, Nordau brushes aside with the caustic rejoinder that some "are incompetent, some dishonest, and some both." He then seriously devotes his attention to "the few objections which have been advanced in good faith by competent judges against the fundamental principles" of his book. To the claim that history shows there have been frequent epochs when "a kind of epidemic insanity" has taken possession of the race, he shows the distinction between the "spiritual epidemics" of the past and that of the present; and asserts that the existing hysteria and degeneration are on the point of dominating art and literature. To another criticism, that an author's characters do not necessarily represent his own opinions and purposes, Nordau answers at length that it is not "illegitimate to draw conclusions from an author's work to the author himself." And the third objection, that all genius is a form of degeneration, he declares erroneous. The reader will enjoy the vigor of Nordau's rejoinder. He fights like a gladiator.

Christian Literature for July opens with a discriminating article by Leonard Woolsey Bacon, which he entitles "Concerning the Use of Fagots at Geneva." It was nearly three hundred and fifty years ago, he reminds us, that Servetus, "one of the first physicians of that time and one of the greatest scholars of an age of great scholars, was brought out from the prison in which he had been shivering with cold and devoured by vermin, and led into the presence of the magistrates of Geneva" to receive his sentence of death at the stake. But Dr. Bacon has no new word to speak for John Calvin, in his relation to the martyrdom of Servetus. To defend him, he writes, "for his course towards Servetus is no longer possible, in the light of the full array of evidence now accessible to every scholar," which position he fortifies by quotations from

Roget, the syndic Calandrini, and others.——In the August number of the same periodical is a translation of four interesting letters from John Huss to his church in Prague, and a letter from fifty-seven lords and gentlemen to the Council at Constance. These five famous letters are found in the complete edition of Luther's works. The translator is Dr. M. J. Cramer.

THE opening article in the *North American* for August is by W. J. H. Traynor, President of the American Protective Association. He writes on "The Menace of Romanism" in vigorous phrase. The papacy, he asserts, "seeks to renew in the New World the power of which she has been denuded in the Old," and his organization "will continue its work until popes have learned that under the American Constitution, as it now stands, they have no right that is not possessed by the most insignificant member of the nonpapal clergy or laity." The next article, on "Female Criminals," by Major Arthur Griffiths, her majesty's inspector of prisons, catalogues the evil deeds of various woman murderers and poisoners. Andrew Lang writes entertainingly on "Tendencies in Fiction." The Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes follows with an article on "The Solution of War." Arbitration in his estimate being the best method for abolishing strife, and an arbitrative power being necessary which is above suspicion, Palestine must be restored to the Hebrew nation and there be instituted "a world's court of arbitration." "Its environment will be the temple, dedicated to the Father of all; and over its members will be the halo of religion." In "The Yacht as a Naval Auxiliary" the Hon. William McAdoo, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, shows the value of this vessel, and holds that the "eager and enthusiastic yachting spirit now abroad in our land bodes well, not only for the navy, but for the merchant marine." Sir Benjamin Ward Richardson gives some wholesome advice in "What to Avoid in Cycling." The transition "from depression toward prosperity," as seen in the comparison of 1894 with 1895, is the gist of "The Turning of the Tide," by Worthington C. Ford, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics at Washington. The Right Honorable Sir Charles W. Dilke writes briefly on "The New Administration in England." In an article entitled "Leo XIII and the Social Question," the Rev. J. A. Zahm concludes that the present pontiff, "because he was obedient to the laws of history and because he understood the social needs of his time," deserves to be forever known as "the pope of the workingmen and the great high priest of our century." A continuation of the interesting historical reminiscences of Albert D. Vandam is found in his "Personal History of the Second Empire—VIII. Prosperity and Social Splendor." Professor Goldwin closes the list of contributions with a suggestive article on "Guesses at the Riddle of Existence," which is really a critique on the recent works of Kidd, Drummond, and Balfour.

THE *Presbyterian Quarterly* for July contains, as its contributed articles: 1. "Primeval Man," by F. R. Beattie, D.D.; 2. "Ratramn and

the Transubstantiation Controversy," by Dunlop Moore, D.D.; 3. "Anselm," by L. G. Barbour, D.D.; 4. "Young People's Societies and our Church," by E. Brantly; 5. "Kidd's Social Evolution," by G. S. Patton, A.M. The conclusion of Dr. Beattie in the first article is that the candid reader will give a verdict against "primeval savagism." It will be found that "man was not a rude savage or a wild barbarian, but that his genealogy is correctly given in the Scriptures, which assert that Seth was the son of Adam, and that Adam was the son of God." The fourth article vigorously protests against young people's societies as now existing in the Presbyterian Church. The objections are that the movement is subversive of the parental rights and destroys the family unit; that the movement is congregational and episcopal, such organizations being "not safe, at least, for the Presbyterian Church;" and that doctrinally there is danger in the Christian Endeavor Society's teachings. The strong intrenchment of the writer in his theological stronghold is shown by his warning that "all this machinery is merely the methods suited to the Armenian system of theology, woven together in one new and imposing piece of mechanism, which cannot but be hurtful to a pure Calvinism."

In the *Edinburgh Review* for July the first article, discussing the "Royal Commission on Trade Depression," specifies the qualities of industry and thrift as a mitigation for the evils of bad times. The third article reviews the life of Sir William Petty, who is known in England as "a founder of the Royal Society, as the father of statistical research, as one of those adventurers in the domain of experimental science who made the close of the seventeenth century famous." "Many of his qualities," says the reviewer, "have been inherited by the house of Lansdowne, especially his sound judgment and political insight." In the fourth article, on "Materials for the Study of Variation," the views of William Bateson are discussed, whose position is that natural selection "can never be the cause of the origin of species, which must rather be due to spontaneous variations upon which it may act." In "The Collected Works of Robert Louis Stevenson," the writer sums up his judgment of the late novelist in the following characterization: "Deliberate analysis confirms us in the belief that Stevenson owed much of his fame to the personal liking of his contemporaries; nor can we discover either novelty or profundity in his social philosophy."

In the *Lutheran Quarterly* for July an historical article on "A Proposal to Have the Lutheran Bishops of Denmark Consecrate Bishops for the Episcopal Churches in America" opens an interesting chapter in the ecclesiastical history of 1785 and thereabouts. The Rev. J. K. Hilty writes in this number on "Proportionate and Systematic Giving;" Dr. J. W. Schwartz on "Does Natural Religion Reveal Only One God?" and the Rev. G. C. Henry, in the novel form of a letter read before the Des Moines Ministerial Association, on "A Better Minister."

THE *Nineteenth Century* for July has: 1. "Cromwell's Statue," by Algernon Charles Swinburne; 2. "The Conservative Programme of Social Reform," by Sir John Gorst, M. P.; 3. "The Irish Fiasco," by Henry Jephson; 4. "An Object Lesson in 'Payment of Members,'" by Major General Tulloch; 5. "Intellectual Detachment," by Sir Herbert Maxwell; 6. "Dr. Pusey and Bishop Wilberforce," by R. G. Wilberforce; 7. "My Native Salmon River," by Archibald Forbes; 8. "Recent Science," by Prince Kropotkin; 9. "How to Obtain a School of English Opera," by J. F. Rowbotham; 10. "The Church in Wales," by the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph; 11. "Color—Music," by William Schooling; 12. "Religion in Elementary Schools—Proposals for Peace," by G. A. Spottiswoode; 13. "The Society of Comparative Legislation," by Sir Courtenay Ilbert; 14. "A Moslem View of Abdul Hamid and the Powers," by Rafiuddin Ahmad; 15. "Some Lessons from Kiel," by W. Laird Clowes.

Our Day for August has a portrait and a character sketch of Tolstoi. H. S. McCowan writes on "The School of the Kingdom," and Harris Weinstock asks, "Are We Becoming Socialists?"—— The *Canadian Methodist Review* for July–August has articles by Dr. W. Jackson, on "The Nature of Christ's Atonement;" by W. J. Hunter, D.D., on "Body and Soul—a Theory;" by Rev. W. M. Patton, on "Progressive Revelation —a Review;" and by Rev. John Reynolds, on "The Teaching of Christ," etc. The Rev. John Maclean contributes a sermon on "The Ministry of Pain."——The opening article in the August number of the *Chautauquan* is on "Santa Barbara Floral Festivals," by Miss S. A. Higgins. It is illustrated.——In the *Missionary Review* for August Dr. A. T. Pierson writes of "An Apocalyptic Crisis in Papal History." An illustrated article by J. H. Laurie, D.D., on "Missionary Work in the New Hebrides," will also be found especially attractive.——The *Catholic World* for August has a most seasonable article on "Better than a Trip to Europe." It is written by H. H. Neville, is attractively illustrated, and describes in an entertaining way the enjoyment of travel through the great West.——The *Methodist Magazine* for August opens with an illustrated article by Dr. W. H. Withrow, entitled "In the Levant." Professor A. P. Coleman writes on "Canoeing on the Columbia," and Lucy W. Brooking tells "The Story of Ashanti." Both of these articles are plentifully illustrated. Mark Guy Pearse writes on "Christianity and the Poor," and Hugh Price Hughes on "Christianity and Women."——The *Quarterly Review of the United Brethren* for July has articles by Bishop J. W. Hott, on "A Free and Liberal Church;" by President C. M. Brooke, on "Our Educational System;" by the Rev. F. P. Rosselot, on "Orthodoxy;" by Mary L. Marot, B.S., on "The Religious Conceptions of the Author of Isaiah xl–lxvi;" by Dr. J. G. Johnston, on "Harmony of Science and the Bible;" and by Rev. E. H. Caylor, on "Spiritualism—Its Fact and Fraud." Dr. H. A. Thompson also contributes a memorial article on "John Wesley Etter, D.D.," which is accompanied by a portrait.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The Foundations of Belief. Being Notes Introductory to the Study of Theology. By the Right Hon. ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR, Author of *A Defense of Philosophic Doubt*, etc. 12mo, pp. 366. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

A year ago Kidd's *Social Evolution* was the new book most talked about, one authority declaring it the most important since Darwin's *Origin of Species*, issued in 1869. Now, and for six months past, Balfour's *Foundations of Belief* fills the immediate foreground of serious literature, being called by some the most remarkable religious book since Professor Seeley's *Ecce Homo*. Such estimates are sometimes not careful and exact, but merely flags and signals of individual opinion flung to the wind in the excitement of first impressions and while under the immediate spell of the book in hand. Few, if any, can stand close under the shadow of one book and make a fair and just comparison offhand between it and other books. To get the true perspective and be able rightly to compare proportions and values the mind must stand off from them all, doing some walking back and forth, approaching and receding along a line equidistant from the things to be compared. Few human utterances are so little certain of being in the form of sound words as are the impulsive opinions ejaculated over a new book. Have we not all suffered in our feelings, and also in our finances, because of this? Do we not owe amiable grudges to various well-meaning persons whom it was our misfortune to meet at the fateful moment when they were full to bursting with some new book and bubbling over with enthusiasm about it, and who so imposed their fine frenzy on our ignorance, thirsting for knowledge, that we went in haste to buy the book as if it were a passport to Paradise? We vaguely expected it to reconstruct us, solve our problems, show us how to reform the world, and lead us and our fellows into new hemispheres and larger horizons. To obtain it we parted with our precious ducats, dear to us almost as are the ruddy drops that visit our now sad, because experienced, hearts. And every time we see or think of that volume we feel, however it was bound, as if we ourselves were naturally bound in sheepskin or had been "lambs" in Wall Street. If we were capable of learning from experience most of us have had enough to prevent us from believing from year to year that the latest book out is the greatest ever written. It must be a poor book that the author or the publishers cannot induce somebody to praise beyond its merits. What we here write is largely self-admonishment, and in no degree indicative of a disposition to disparage Mr. Balfour's book, which we now hasten to say possesses unusual power, significance, and momentum. Of this a considerably impressive proof is seen in the fact that it has immediately evoked a discussion quite extraordinary in volume, in quality, and in the caliber and standing of the

participants. The chief thinkers on all sides of theological belief have been unable to let this book alone. In *The Nineteenth Century* Dr. James Martineau has reviewed and commended it for its keen ability, while criticising mildly some of its forms and methods; and in the same magazine Professor Huxley attempted to repel Balfour's vigorous assault upon agnosticism. In *The Contemporary Review* Principal Fairbairn, of Oxford, discusses the book, and in part dissents from it; says that, while brilliant and fascinating, it is disappointing, and that its underlying philosophy is weak. In *The Fortnightly Review* Professor W. Wallace, of the department of moral philosophy in Oxford, makes a labored attempt to vindicate rationalism, naturalism, and transcendental idealism against Balfour's sharp criticism. One excellent saying of Professor Wallace is: "If God is hard for the modern world to see, it is neither science nor metaphysics which provides the veil or the fog. Other 'causes' generate practical atheism, and we have no need to seek for 'reasons.' The cares of worldliness and the race for riches are what make the heavens brass and iron. It is they that benumb the will to believe." In *The British Weekly* Dr. James Denney makes an admirably discriminating analysis of Balfour as a theologian and a Christian. He finds in this book a striking affinity to Mr. Illingworth's Bampton Lectures. He thinks Mr. Balfour especially felicitous in his argument for the rational credibility of the doctrine of the incarnation. He is the more grateful for the book because "Mr. Balfour may command a hearing where preachers might knock in vain; and preachers themselves, though they must feel that the power of Christianity to command belief rests in the whole thing taken together, and is lost when an attempt is made to plead for this or that aspect of it in isolation from the rest, will yet find much in it to repay their study and to contribute to their work." One critic says: "What is fresh in the book is, first, its perfectly frank avowal that beliefs do not rest upon reason only or chiefly, and that rationalism is as hopeless a failure in science and politics as in religion; and, secondly, its method of working out this philosophic truth, and its success in showing that the same methods which give us scientific certainty, if consistently pursued, will give us equal certainty in the sphere of religion, and that the realm of mystery in religion is paralleled by the realm of mystery in natural science." One of Balfour's conclusions is that "if the certitudes of science lose themselves in depths of unfathomable mystery it may well be that out of those same depths should emerge the certitudes of religion, and that if the dependence of the 'knowable' upon the 'unknowable' embarrasses us not in the one case no reason can be assigned why it should embarrass us in the other." His method of attack is to doubt the doubts of scientific skepticism and invalidate them; and he does cut the ground from under them, although by reasoning which some insist is capable of being turned against himself, while the broader opinion is expressed that his argument is like a Maxim gun upon the back of a revolving mule—shooting in all directions. This strong and brilliant book on a theme of transcendent dignity and import gives new justification to those who have called Balfour the Tory Gladstone;

and the epithet is likely to be further vindicated when, as is probable, the whirligig of British politics shall make this young leader of the Conservative party prime minister. The envious wish arises in us that American public life could show some men of the intellectual type of Balfour, Salisbury, Gladstone, and Argyll for leadership in the parties and in the nation. *The Bookman*, of London, thinks that *Studies in Theism*, by Professor Bowne, of Boston University, is the only book in recent years which can be profitably compared with Balfour's. This is an ignorant and inane collocation. In no respect is Balfour any mate for Bowne in realms of philosophy and theology, nor does his book belong in the same rank with the writings of the Boston professor. Balfour is only a brilliant amateur who has made a dashing excursion; Bowne is the keenest and most masterful philosophic thinker alive. *The Foundations of Belief* is the stirring sensation of the passing year; *Studies in Theism* is one volume in a systematic statement of philosophic theology which in its completeness will be the unsurpassed possession of centuries.

The Higher Criticism. An Outline of Modern Biblical Study. By Rev. C. W. RISHELL, Ph.D. 12mo, pp. 214. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

This book is not just issued, but has been some time before the public, and has received extensive and varied commendation as well suited to the use, and successfully accomplishing the end, for which it was intended. The author is not unknown to the reading public or the general Church. He is a writer of books, booklets, and other contributions to serious and scholarly literature. The readers of this *Review* are profitably and delightfully acquainted with him. After years of cumulative success in the pastorate, crowned last winter by a great revival in Springfield, O., he now goes to the chair of historical theology in Boston University, succeeding Professor H. C. Sheldon, who is transferred to the department of systematic theology. Professor Rishell has also been engaged to write the volume on "Evidences of Christianity" in the Crooks and Hurst Theological Library. As to the importance of the subject of which the book now before us treats none of the readers of the *Review* in Dr. Mendenhall's quadrennium can need to be enlightened. The higher criticism is nothing new. At the oldest it is very ancient; and in its present form, for the most part, our fathers were dealing with it thirty, forty, fifty years ago, perceiving what portion of its suggestions might possibly be true for aught anybody knew, refuting its evident mistakes, and in general resisting its disposition to palm off on us mere hypotheses for proved propositions. Mr. Gladstone, having through a long life included under the powerful scrutiny of his wide-ranging mind the tactics and antics of unevangelical critics, writes recently, "I view with especial satisfaction every effort to abate the pride and rashness of the 'higher criticism,' which, I think, should learn to be more temperate and less dictatorial before it can expect us to welcome its inroads upon the books of the Old Testament." That experienced and

expert biblicist, Professor Henry M. Harman, writes a wise and suggestive Introduction to Dr. Rishell's book; and another eminent scholar and qualified judge, Dr. Milton S. Terry, of Evanston, has this opinion: "I am acquainted with no other work which furnishes in so brief a space a more complete and satisfactory account of the methods and results of higher criticism. It is adapted to acquaint the common reader with the facts, and avoids prolix discussions." From time to time requests have come to this editorial office for information about the higher critics and their work. Almost every one of those inquiries could find in Dr. Rishell's book, in compact and readily intelligible form, the information sought for. Part I presents the aims, methods, principles, and assumptions of the higher critics. Part II deals with the general history of Old Testament criticism, present-day criticism of the Pentateuch, the age of the sources, criticism of the prophetical books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, Jonah, Daniel, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Lamentations, Ruth, Esther, Chronicles. Part III treats of New Testament criticism, its general history and present phases, the synoptic question, the gospels, epistles, and other books. Part IV offers an estimate of results, saying that, while criticism is not to be roundly condemned, the traditional view is not to be summarily pronounced unscholarly. Part V asks, "If the critics are right, what?" and makes some judicious and enlightening remarks on the doctrine of inerrancy, inspiration, and the date and authorship of the books of the Bible. A thousand pages of vituperation would not give the reader so clear, correct, and complete an understanding of the higher criticism as Dr. Rishell's calm, comprehensive, scholarly, and well-balanced account. Wherefore he is entitled to the thanks of many.

Mary of Nazareth and her Family. A Scripture Study. By S. M. MERRILL, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 16mo, pp. 192. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 85 cents.

In this volume Bishop Merrill leads an excursion into the debatable ground of Gospel history. His high authority as a guide would in any case give him followers; while the unending fascination which surrounds the person of Mary of Nazareth is an additional reason why many reverent readers will keep him company. Yet he does not write as a cowled ecclesiastic, attaching a superstitious sacredness to the musty legends of the mother Church. Rejecting those traditions which attribute to Mary "qualities unknown to herself and to the times in which she lived" as having their origin "in the midst of the grossest darkness that ever settled on the Church," he claims that the Gospel is the only authoritative record, and searches for the truth in a comparison of scripture with scripture. Discussing first the visit of the magi to the infant Jesus, he reaches a conclusion as to the place of that event which is out of the usual. This visit the bishop holds did not take place at Bethlehem, but at Nazareth, after the return of Joseph and Mary to the latter place, as told by St. Luke. Jesus himself was at least six months old, if not older; and

from Nazareth the holy family took their flight into Egypt to escape the wrath of Herod. We probably venture little in saying that this view is not the ordinary understanding of the Church, but that the consensus of the rank and file of believers establishes the epiphany at Bethlehem, within the first forty days of Christ's life. Yet the putting of Bishop Merrill is strong and engaging. While some of his claims are not beyond controversy, there is a strength in his position which is surprising. Whoever follows the argument carefully will be inclined to recast his views of the whole occurrence. As to the family life of Mary, which the bishop sets out primarily to discuss, he is no less positive and engaging. Our Lord, he claims, had other "brothers" and "sisters" in the flesh, the terms not being used in the accommodated meaning that some have ascribed to them, but in the strictest significance of those words. These sons of Joseph and Mary were James, Joses, Simon, and Judas; the daughters are unknown by name. The discussion of the constitution of the Nazarene family is too full for reproduction here; but the argument sweeps the ground from underneath the feet of the Romish Church in its antiquated claim for the perpetual virginity of Mary, and stamps its persistent Mariolatry as an unwarranted and pagan proceeding. With the outcome of the volume as a whole the reader will find himself in fullest sympathy. The book is not an apotheosis. The limitations of the inquiry are set in the brief records of the evangelists. Protestantism must recognize these limitations and make the best of the silence of the Scriptures. It goes without the saying that in style the book is logical, vigorous, attractive. No better discussion of this great subject has lately been put into such compact form.

History of Christian Doctrine. By H. C. SHELDON, Professor in Boston University. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 896. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $3.50 per set.

In this work the obvious aim is to give an unprejudiced statement of facts. In order to compass this the author endeavors to get as near as possible to original sources—the genuine and trustworthy documents of each successive age. Much use is made, it is true, of secondary sources, but these are not made a substitute for the original, except when the latter are inaccessible. The conciseness of Professor Sheldon's history indicates that he has sought to practice a strict economy of words. He keeps down the bulk of the work as far as is consistent with perfect clearness and a fair degree of fluency in style. The course of events in the different epochs is so mapped out and the subject-matter so arranged as to facilitate clear and easy comprehension on the part of student or reader. The aim of the work is evidently not dogmatic, apologetic, or polemic, but historic. The author's standpoint, which is, of course, that of evangelical Arminianism, is not concealed, but it is not obtrusively paraded in season and out of season. A Lutheran professor reports that he has used the work as a text-book with satisfaction and excellent results. Not to undertake an analysis of the book or a comparison of its various parts, we may remark that the materials of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (the fourth period in the

history) are handled with remarkable thoroughness and success. The scope of and reasons for this revised edition are indicated in the Preface. Considerable additions have been made in the interests of up-to-date accuracy and completeness. An alphabetical index of the main themes is added to the complete analysis of the work contained in the previous editions. Particularly worthy of note are the additions on "Attrition," "Boehme and Baader," and "The Theology of Ritschl." Clearness, simplicity, and fairness, with broad and industrious scholarship, characterize the volumes. They seem equally valuable for private reading and for the recitation room.

The Greek Tenses in the New Testament. Their Bearing on its Accurate Interpretation. With a Rendering of the Gospels and Notes. By the Rev. P. THOMSON, B.D., Minister of Dunning. 12mo, pp. 317. Edinburgh: J. Gardner Hitt. Price, cloth, $1.50.

A very praiseworthy and, in the main, successful attempt to convey to the English reader the fine shades of meaning locked up in the Greek tenses as employed by the gospel writers. The position of the author is that, on the whole and in the main, the writers of the New Testament used correct Greek, observing the distinctions of the classical authorities, and, hence, that these distinctions must be given due weight in our reading. The Revised Version wonderfully improved the rendering of the tenses; but the revisers appear to have overlooked some points, and others they could not adequately treat under the limitations placed upon them by the nature of their task. Mr. Thomson is able to deal with the matter more freely; and his translation is marked by admirable judgment and abundant scholarship. The changes made from the Authorized Version in the tense renderings are marked by a bold, black-faced type, so as to be very easily seized by the eye; and they are so frequent that one gets a great freshening and brightening of the narrative. We fear to begin to quote, lest our space be much exceeded; and, indeed, no single phrases would give an adequate idea of the benefit to be derived from a continuous reading of the evangelists in this most recent of the versions, which puts the ripest results of close study at the command of the unlearned. We can certainly commend the book very heartily, and hope its sale may be such as to warrant the issuing of the rest of the New Testament in the same style.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Evolution of Industry. By HENRY DYER, C.E., M.A., D.Sc. 12mo, pp. 307. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This book adds something to the thinking record upon our social questions. The author defines his position in a quotation from an English socialist, that "the issue is between socialism and unsocialism," and that "the socialization of the individual" is the goal of our "evolution" in industry. The tone of the work is ethical rather than economic. Having persuaded himself that society ought to evolve a modified communism,

the author proceeds to show that society is approaching certain communistic methods. He has an Englishman's horror of "carrying it too far," and makes an arbitrary arrest of it when he thinks it ought to stop. He perceives that the individual is to be the beneficiary of socialism, and that the individual is the efficient cause of the wealth which is the bone of contention; and he wants things so arranged that the individual shall be free to do everything except to sin or to starve. All good people share this desire. The socialization of the individual is a good motto; it is merely the Christianization of him. If this process goes on at its present rate for a century or so the better men will surely make a happier industrial world. That they will make it by nationalizing what is now individual is a teaching distinctly prophetic, and probably not inspired. Uninspired prophets about our human future have never been of much value. The ethical spirit of our author is of more service. His "oughts" in the region of education, training, cooperation, and social service are helpful and, sometimes, inspiring. That in all possible ways we shall make a nobler manhood and develop individual capacity and enthusiasm for social service, and that the greatest shall be the servant of all—this is good doctrine, even though it be impaired by yoking it up with a theory of industrial evolution. On what is the main issue in the book a few more words are in place. The author believes that the industrial development of the civilized world has evolved close up to the point where large industries, controlled and managed by large companies, must pass under the control and management of the municipality and the State. The proof that nationalization of land and of industries is the next stage of the "evolution" is incomplete; indeed, it is rather assumed than proved. And there is a broad line between management and control. If the former include State ownership the line becomes broader still. We have, in fact, advanced—if we ever had to advance that way—to control of industry by the State. And as conditions change this control changes form. Let us assume that the authority of the State over corporations becomes thorough and minute. Then, presumably, the chief end of "reform" or "evolution" will be attained. As to State ownership, to many minds it looks like a backward movement rather than a forward one, since less advanced communities have "owned" in common the land, and even the workshops. Given a perfect control of large industries, the problem will be how railroads and mills shall be managed. If the State manages it must do so by agents. How shall it select its agents? It may appoint and pay every person employed, or it may employ companies to manage all details. This last is practically the system by which governments transport the mails and construct public buildings. This method is believed to be more economical and better adapted to the development of the ability and enterprise which produce industrial progress. Our author does not seem to have observed that for a long time now the two methods —by contract and by day's work—have been followed by governments, the two systems moving side by side, and the choice of either depending upon differences in the work or upon accidental or personal influences in

politics. To describe the one as a coming, and the other as a passing, system is to ignore the history of these methods.

Selected Essays of James Darmesteter. Translated from the French by HELEN B. JASTROW. Edited, with an introductory memoir, by MORRIS JASTROW, Jr., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. Crown 8vo, pp. 310. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This is a book to be read eclectically, and by those intelligent enough to discriminate. In its forest are toadstools and mushrooms; some berries sweet and wholesome, others bright and poisonous. It is no place for children. The author, who died in Paris last October, aged forty-five, was a distinguished scholar, a kind of prodigy in learning, a man of frail body and great brain. The son of a poor Jewish bookbinder, he was familiar from boyhood with Jewish lore, with Hebrew and Talmudic literature. He became a master of oriental philology and the foremost specialist in Zoroastrianism, translating into French the *Zend-Avesta*, which, with his comments, made three large quarto volumes. For this triumph of erudition the French Academy bestowed its prize of 20,000 francs, conferred biennially for the most noteworthy achievement of French scholarship. His Persian studies led him to Sanskrit. He was a master of Aryan languages and Semitic tongues; made contributions to Latin philology, published a volume of essays on English literature, edited several English classics, and wrote a volume of poems in which he unfolded his conception of Christ. The essays in this volume are seven in number: "The Religions of the Future," "The Prophets of Israel," "Afghan Life in Afghan Songs," "Race and Tradition," "Ernest Renan," "An Essay on the History of the Jews," and "The Supreme God in the Indo-European Mythology." The best thing in the book is his exaltation of the Hebrew prophets, chiefly in one essay, which fills eighty-eight pages. In another essay he says: "The spirit of the prophets is in the modern soul. . . . They loved everything that we love, and neither reason nor conscience has lost anything through their ideal. . . . Righteousness was to them an active force; the idea was converted into a fact before which all other facts pale. By virtue of believing in justice, they advanced it to the rank of a factor in history. They had a cry of pity for the unhappy, of vengeance for the oppressor, of peace and union for all mankind. They did not say to man, 'This world is worthless.' They said to him, 'This world is good, and thou, too, be good, be just, be pure.' They said to the wealthy, 'Thou shalt not withhold the laborer's hire;' to the judge, 'Thou shalt strike without humiliating;' to the wise man, 'Thou art responsible for the soul of the people.' And they taught many to live and to die for the right, without the hope of elysian fields. They taught the people that without ideals 'the future hangs before them in tatters;' that the ideal alone is the aim of life, and that it consists, not in the glory of the conqueror, nor in riches, nor in power, but in holding up as a torch to the nations the example of better laws and of a higher soul. And, lastly, they spread over the future, above the storms of the present, the rainbow of a vast hope—a radiant vision of a better humanity, more

exempt from evil and death, which shall no longer know war nor unrighteous judges." The essay on "The Prophets of Israel" closes thus: "Nineteen centuries have passed since the noblest spirit of Rome, in the presence of the vileness of the gods and of the priests, uttered a cry of outraged intelligence, 'Nor does piety consist in showing oneself constantly, with veiled face, before a stone, and approaching all the altars, nor in prostrating oneself on the ground and stretching out open hands toward the sanctuaries, nor in sprinkling the altars with the blood of beasts, but in contemplating the universe with a calm mind.' And eight centuries before Lucretius the God of the shepherd Amos exclaims, 'I hate your feast days, your holocausts I despise; from your offerings of fat beasts I turn away my eyes. Away from me with the noise of your songs, that I may not hear the sound of your lyres! But let righteousness gush forth as water, and justice as a never-failing spring.' The religion of the twentieth century is to be found in these two cries; it will arise out of the fusion of prophecy with science." The essay on "The History of the Jews" ends with this sentence: "Humanity, as it is fashioned in the dreams of those who desire to be called freethinkers, may with the lips deny the Bible and its work; but humanity can never deny it in its heart without the sacrifice of the best that it contains—faith in unity and hope for justice, and without a relapse into the mythology and the 'might makes right' of thirty centuries ago." Darmesteter, Renan's greatest pupil, was less Frenchy and frivolous, more serious minded, devout, cleanly, and conscientious than his master.

Adoption and Amendment of Constitutions in Europe and America. By CHARLES D. BORGEAUD. Translated by CHARLES D. HAZEN, of Smith College. With an Introduction by JOHN M. VINCENT, of Johns Hopkins University. Crown 8vo, pp. 352. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

This work was awarded the Rossi prize by the law faculty of Paris in 1893. The Swiss author has distinguished himself by other careful and fertile studies in modern democracy, in which he displays both learning and sound judgment. The subject of the present volume is historically treated, and the comparison which so wide a theme permits enables the author to combine the historical and comparative methods to great advantage. In three parts the work discusses (1) "The Origin and Growth of Written Constitutions;" (2) "Royal Charters and Constitutional Compacts;" and (3) "Democratic Constitutions." The first part is properly introductory; the second is a review of an important period of progress toward constitutions, properly so called; the third contains the most interesting and valuable portions of the work. In a history of democratic written constitutions the United States constitutions take the first place. French constitutions follow, and the constitutions of Switzerland take the third and last place. The constitutions of Latin America are considered in an appendix to the book, devoted to our fundamental law. The constitution as a law over lawmaking is an American invention; and the first growths were the Plantation Covenants, the first of which was entered into by the Pilgrims in 1620. The author has

seized upon the importance of the fact that these political covenants were imitated from the Church covenants which united the Pilgrims. The theory of all our constitutions lies in the thesis of a sermon preached by Thomas Hooker in Connecticut in 1638. He affirmed, first, that the people have the right to choose their public magistrates and, also, the right "to set the bounds and limitations" of the power of these magistrates; and he employs language now become familiar, declaring that "the foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people." The work of Mr. Borgeaud is a valuable addition to the political literature of the United States. Like Professor Bryce, he naturalizes his work among us by making it a necessary part of our political education. Looking at us through Swiss eyes, he sees much that had escaped American eyes; and his high estimate of our constitutional record is inspiring and will serve the cause of good citizenship among us. It is one of those books which every student of our institutions will have to read if he would be perfect in his reading. But this is not all; to the general reader the book will furnish easy reading upon one of the profoundest themes.

Songs of the Soil. By FRANK L. STANTON. 12mo, pp. 217. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

Emerson once wrote: "What we call obscure condition or vulgar society is that condition and society whose poetry is not yet written, but which you shall presently make as enviable and renowned as any." At the present rate it will not be long before no condition or society will remain the poetry of which has not been written. What with Bret Harte, and John Hay, and Joel Chandler Harris, and George W. Cable, and Miss Wilkins, and Ruth McEnery Stuart, and James Whitcomb Riley, and Eugene Field, and S. W. Foss, and various others, the local vernaculars of all parts of our country and the dialects and experiences of all sorts and conditions of men seem likely to get recorded in print. By an increasing class of writers in prose and verse it has been resolved, in the spirit of Robert Burns, that the humblest and homeliest things in the world shall be taken up and written about. They are word painters who, like Millet with his brush, find and depict the meaning and the pathos of common life. Some of them are singers, and all sorts of little everyday things are caught up and knitted on the needles of their versifying, with a result in which our native human instincts have a warm, old-fashioned comfort, as hands and feet have in home-knit woolen stockings and mittens. Up from Georgia now in a volume of verse comes the happy, hopeful, ringing voice of a newspaper man, Frank L. Stanton, a staff writer on *The Atlanta Constitution*, who does but sing because he must, being so full of bubbling boyish life and merry music that no drudgery can repress it. Joel Chandler Harris (Uncle Remus) writes a warm, admiring Preface, in which are these words: "In a period that fairly reeks with the results of a sham culture that is profoundly ignorant of the verities of life, and a sham philosophy that worships mere theories, it is surely something to find a singer breathing unceremoniously into Pan's pipes and waking

again the woodland echoes with snatches of song that ring true to the ear because they come straight from the heart. . . . Here is one with the dew of morning in his hair, who looks on life and the promise thereof and finds the prospect joyous. Whereupon he lifts up his voice and speaks to the heart; and lo, here is Love, with nimble feet and sparkling eyes; and here is Hope, fresh risen as from sleep; and here is Life, made beautiful again." Artless simplicity, homely humor, common sense, touches of tenderness, pure mirth, flashes of fancy, and some imagination rollic and frolic and tumble together in these verses in a way to tickle grown men till they laugh and cry like boys. Of course the critics scowl and say this is not art; but what a dreadful world this would be if there were nothing in it but art! Some one defines eloquence as "making the primitive chords to vibrate." Frank Stanton and Whitcomb Riley, the Georgian and the Hoosier, do undeniably touch those chords; and when you are half ashamed of reading their foolish lines, all at once your inmost heart is stirred, there is a dewfall in your eyes, and a smell of sweetbrier, or honeysuckle, or hay fields, or ripe buckwheat is in the air. An old California miner described a shiftless acquaintance in the patois of the camp, "I've panned him out over and over again, but can't find any color." Stanton's *Songs of the Soil* are sprinkled with some bright grains that give a golden color and value. For a sample of his spirit and style these two verses, taken haphazard, in which he contradicts the saying of William Cullen Bryant that autumn days are "melancholy"—"the saddest of the year:"

> These ain't the "melancholy days"—there's lots o' fun in sight;
> The cool and bracing morniu's, an' the big oak fires at night;
> The hounds upon the rabbit's trail, the wild doves on the wing,
> The maiden with the red lips, and the lover with the ring!
>
> These ain't the "melancholy days"—not much! they're full o' life,
> An' you're thankful fer your sweetheart, an' you praise God fer your wife!
> An' then on general principles—in view of what he's givin'—
> You shout a hallelujah fer the privilege o' livin'.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The American Commonwealth. In two volumes. Volume I: The National Government—The State Government. Volume II: The Party System—Public Opinion—Illustrations and Reflections—Social Institutions. Third edition; completely revised throughout, with additional chapters. By JAMES BRYCE, Author of *The Holy Roman Empire*, M. P. for Aberdeen. 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 724; vol. II, pp. 904. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. Price per volume, cloth, $4.

Some seven years ago an eminent English scholar undertook the great, and it would seem the almost impossible, task of portraying the complex political and social institutions of the United States. In its method of treatment his publication radically differed from that once famous work, De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. Avoiding the "temptations of the

deductive method," it merely classified the striking features of our national practice and allowed these facts to "speak for themselves;" while De Tocqueville's volume was rather a treatise upon the principle of democracy, "full of fine observation and elevated thinking," and only appealing for its illustrations to American life. The English work, however, like the French, was the result of the author's personal observations in the United States, and these observations were supplemented, as far as his conclusions were defective, by the suggestions of various prominent American authorities whose names are a guarantee for accuracy. With such a genesis, Bryce's work on American institutions has attracted wide notice in the thinking world and has now, within less than a decade, reached its third edition. To review it is to repeat the commendations and the criticisms which have before this been written, since it is virtually a reissue of the first edition, with statistical revisions and other necessary alterations and enlargements. The first volume is an able study of the nature of our national and State governments, involving an amount of research which the most industrious investigator might dread, and a nice discrimination from whose exercise even one "to the manner born" might shrink. We may only quote the titles of some of the chapters of this volume to show the wide field which Mr. Bryce traverses, among them being the following: "The Origin of the Constitution," "Nature of the Federal Government," "Presidential Powers and Duties," "The Relations of the Two Houses," "The Courts and the Constitution," "Working Relations of the National and the State Governments," "Growth and Development of the Constitution," "Nature of the American State," "The Development of State Constitutions," "State Legislatures," "The Territories," and "Local Government." Prominent among the author's conclusions in this connection is his recognition of the merits of the American federal system. The problem with all federalized nations, he declares, is to "secure an efficient central government and preserve national unity, while allowing free scope for the diversities, and free play to the authorities, of the members of the federation." In the solution of this problem lies the "characteristic merit of the American Constitution." It "has given the national government a direct authority over all citizens, irrespective of the State governments, and has, therefore, been able safely to leave wide powers in the hands of those governments. . . . The application of these two principles, unknown to, or at any rate little used by, any previous federation, has contributed more than anything else to the stability of the American system and to the reverence which its citizens feel for it—a reverence which is the best security for its permanence." The second volume of Mr. Bryce is more miscellaneous. With lynx-eyed scrutiny he looks over the whole range of our political practices, municipal doings, and social workings, and with a skill that is refreshing he disillusionizes the complacent American who dreams that only perfection inheres in his system. All that the author writes, for instance, of "The Machine," "Rings and Bosses," and "Spoils" is true to the life, notwithstanding the recent effective attempts at purgation. With

a master hand he sketches that unctuous and illusive personage, the boss, which every American municipality knows. "An army led by a council seldom conquers; it must have a commander in chief, who settles disputes, decides in emergencies, inspires fear or attachment. The head of the ring is such a commander. He dispenses places, rewards the loyal, punishes the mutinous, concocts schemes, negotiates treaties. He generally avoids publicity, preferring the substance to the pomp of power, and is all the more dangerous because he sits, like a spider, hidden in the midst of his web. He is a boss." The chapter on "The Tammany Ring in New York City" is a stirring portrayal of what has been, but, let it be hoped, is never again to be. Incidentally, the following record of the early Tammany is refreshing: "Already in 1812 it was a force in the city, having become a rallying center for what was then called the Republican, and afterward the Democratic, party; but the element of moral aspiration does not seem to have become extinct, for in 1817 it issued an address deploring the spread of the foreign game of billiards among young men of the upper classes. At one time, too, it possessed a sort of natural history museum, which was ultimately purchased by the well-known showman, P. T. Barnum." As to woman suffrage, Mr. Bryce instances some of the reasons which lead an impartial observer to doubt "whether full political suffrage, as distinguished from school or municipal suffrage, is likely to be granted to women in many of the States of the Union within the next thirty years." Of the bar Mr. Bryce's generalization is the following: "In what may be called habits of legal thought, their way of regarding legal questions, their attitude toward changes in the form or substance of the law, American practitioners, while closely resembling their English brethren, seem on the whole more conservative." Coeducation in the Eastern States is generally held as undesirable, and American colleges and universities are in "a state of transition." Of the domestic exaltation of woman the author pleasantly speaks in a footnote: "I have heard American ladies say, for instance, that an Englishman who has forgotten his keys sends his wife to the top of the house to fetch them; whereas an American would do the like errand for his wife and never suffer her to do it for him." A tribute to American manhood it is, as truthful, let us hope, as it is complimentary! Of American oratory the writer does not speak in words altogether complimentary. In public speaking, he holds, our delivery is "deliberate and even slow." The most common American defect "is a turgid and inflated style. The rhetoric is Rhodian rather than Attic, overloaded with tropes and figures, apt to aim at concealing poverty or triteness in thought by exaggeration of statement, by a profusion of ornament, by appeals to sentiments too lofty for the subject or the occasion. The florid diction of the debating club or the solemn pomp of the funeral oration is frequently invoked when nothing but clearness of exposition or cogency of argument is needed." Finally, the author's chapter on "The Churches and the Clergy" calls for adverse notice, in the facts that the figures of the Roman Catholic membership are incorrectly given, that the ranking of Methodism in educa-

tional matters is hardly complimentary, and that the restriction of a clergyman from speaking on secular subjects *ex cathedra* is not in harmony with the new order. But the larger criticism on the chapter, made in our previous review of Mr. Bryce in 1889, still holds—that altogether too little space is devoted to the work of the Christian Church in America. To compass all its majestic influence on national life in a single chapter of nineteen pages—though the defense might urge that another chapter follows on "The Influence of Religion"—is like the measurement of the great Atlantic in a thimble! But the reader must supplement this cursory notice of a few points in Mr. Bryce's great work by his own careful study. The treatise deserves the best attention he can give it, since it is the work of a philosopher, and not of a mere compiler. And, however distasteful the experience may be, it is always wholesome to see ourselves as others see us.

Russian Rambles. By ISABEL F. HAPGOOD, Author of *The Epic Songs of Russia.* 12mo, pp. 369. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The ideas now current about Russia are in this book denominated "absurd." Notwithstanding all that has been written of Russian customs, and that by visitors whose intelligence and judgment we have no reason to question, "the common incidents of everyday life," if we are to accept the verdict of the present author, "are not known, or are known so imperfectly that any statement of them is a travesty." Of such an existing necessity for reconstructing present views of Russian life only the specialist is qualified to judge. But, if there be such a need, let us believe that the present author, out of her varied experiences in the land of the czars, is able to lead the reader into the truth. Her volume, at least, has all the clearness of delineation that indicates the trained and accurate observer. "We imported into Russia," she says, in her opening words, "untaxed, undiscovered by the customhouse officials, a goodly stock of misadvice, misinformation, apprehensions, and prejudices, like most foreigners, albeit we were unusually well informed and confident that we were correctly posted on the grand outlines of Russian life at least." With these words as a starting point the author proceeds to describe the real Russia in successive chapters, which are in turn humorous, instructive, and charmingly reminiscent. Among the erroneous beliefs concerning Russia is the idea that, as to passports, police, and post office affairs, the official espionage is phenomenally strict. Regarding the censorship exercised over foreign literature, the writer shows that even this supervision has its flexibility. "I once asked," says she, "a member of the censorship committee on foreign books on what principle of selection he proceeded. He said that disrespect to the emperor and the Greek Church was officially prohibited; that he admitted everything which did not err too grossly in that direction, and, in fact, everything except French novels of the modern realistic school." The haggling customs of Russian trade are described in vivid coloring, as well as the strange features of Russian summer resorts, the charming home life of Count Tolstoi, interesting peasant

customs, journeying on the Volga, the methods of the Kumys cure, and the quaintness of the Nizhni Novgorod Fair. Of all these matters, however, space forbids a detailed mention. No one, however ignorant of Russia, can read and not receive new light on its national and social life; no one, however indifferent, can fail to feel the spell of the author's enthusiasm.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Religion of the Republic, and Laws of Religious Corporations. A Treatise on the American Social Structure, Civil and Religious. Being a Concise Statement of the Relations of the States of the Union to the Federal Government Constituting the United States of America, and of the Relations of the Christian Religion to Each and All; Together with the Laws of the Several States concerning Religious Societies, Corporations, Title Deeds, Wills, etc., and Forms in Harmony with the Laws. By ALPHA J. KYNETT, D.D., LL.D., Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Assisted by Eminent Legal Counsel. 8vo, pp. 852. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, $3.50.

Upon three fundamental conclusions Dr. Kynett has built the superstructure of his worthy volume. These conclusions are that Christianity, "not of sects, or of councils, or of human decrees, but of the Bible," is the supreme law of the land; that "all ecclesiastical bodies, churches, and religious societies are, and of right ought to be, subject to the civil authority in all matters involving the legal protection of human rights;" and, lastly, that "the highest duty of American citizenship is to preserve and maintain" the social structure, civil and religious, which has been received from the fathers of the republic. In the maintenance of these all-important propositions Dr. Kynett has written extendedly and well, and has furnished an elaborate introduction to the legal compilations which make up the body proper of his work. So far as the laws of legal corporations themselves are concerned, there are, perhaps, in the Methodist Episcopal Church few authorities superior to himself. His lengthy service as Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Church Extension has brought about his accurate acquaintance with the regulations of the different States of the Union as to religious societies, corporations, title deeds, and kindred subjects, so that this volume is, in a sense, the fruit of thirty years of burden-bearing for Methodism. As to the details of State laws, there is so much included in this compilation that it is reasonably certain no inquirer who seeks for light will be disappointed. The fact that Dr. Kynett has been assisted by "eminent legal counsel" gives an additional value to his book, and the further fact that it is a second edition, in enlarged form, of a former issue speaks well for the possibilities of usefulness for his new volume.

The Jungle Book. By RUDYARD KIPLING. 12mo, pp. 303. New York: The Century Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

A venture in a new line by a brilliant, powerful, and versatile story-teller. "Mr. Kipling's best bid for immortality;" "a book that speaks of original genius, one that is above the fashion of the hour;" "a book for

youngsters of all ages, from nine to ninety;" "it is as good as the best of Grimm and Hans Andersen;" "nothing about animals since Æsop's fables can compare with it"—such are the verdicts of capable authorities. The book shoots far ahead of the scientists, and tells many things about the denizens of the jungle—the "monkey people," the "snake people," and the rest—that natural history has never reported. The story of "The White Seal" reminds one faintly of Charles Kingsley's *Water Babies*. The author, who is the confidant of all the beasts, obtained part of his jungle knowledge from "the scholarly and accomplished Bahadur Shah, baggage elephant number 174 on the Indian register." These stories appeared in *St. Nicholas* in 1894, and similar contributions from Kipling will be continued during 1895. This volume has reached its fifteenth thousand. Rudyard Kipling knows India, and that this means knowing something of wild beasts and serpents may be judged from the following recent statement: "The number of deaths caused by wild animals is increasing greatly in India, snake bites heading the list last year with 21,000 victims. Of 2,800 persons who were killed by animals, tigers killed nearly a thousand, leopards 291, wolves 175, bears 121, and elephants 68. Ninety thousand head of cattle were destroyed, an increase of 9,000 over the year before. On the other hand, 15,000 wild beasts were killed, including nearly 1,300 tigers and over 4,000 leopards, besides almost 120,000 deadly snakes."

John March, Southerner. By GEORGE W. CABLE. 12mo, pp. 513. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The author of *Old Creole Days*, *Dr. Sevier*, *The Grandissimes*, and *The Silent South* is easily the chief of Southern writers to-day. His creole stories and prose pastorals of Arcadian Louisiana are rich with true human feeling, exquisite in description, expert in analysis, sunny and tender with humor which is a surface gleam on depths of pathos, and bear the unmistakable tokens of genius. This genius was in time to preempt an unworked vein, a field untilled and unoccupied; has mined that vein to his own enrichment and the world's delight; went into the untouched wilderness of creole life, felled trees, made a large clearing, and built the house of his fame. There he now has a fertile and spacious estate, the result of his own ingenuity, enterprise, and toil. At the start he had the advantage of knowing that rank and tangled Southern wilderness and its possibilities of development. *John March* is a story of the New South, beginning with two Confederate soldiers, plodding homeward at the close of the war, "brooding on the impoverishment of eleven States, and on the hundreds of thousands of men and women sitting in the ashes of their desolated hopes and the lingering fear of unspeakable humiliations." The boy John March is eight years old, astride the horse, with headquarters behind the saddle, his little fists clutching his father's coat, when we first meet him. At the end of his day's ride the tired, comfortable, happy boy no sooner touches the bed than "his spirit circles softly down into the fathomless under-heaven of dreamless sleep." "A child can afford to sleep without

dreaming; he has plenty of dreams without sleeping." One character in the book "wins success by show rather than by merit," carries the day by an audacity little short of fantastical; while of another it is said, "His failures make a finer show than most men's successes; he'd rather shine without succeeding than succeed without shining." It is not always the superior man who succeeds, or the inferior man that fails. A Southern general, being sharply criticised by his neighbors shortly after the war for being too quick to "accept the situation," for harmonizing too much with the federal authorities at New Orleans, and for acting generally as if the war was over, came out in an open letter, in substance to the following effect: "The king never dies; citizenship never ceases; a bereaved citizenship has no right to put on expensive mourning and linger through a dressy widowhood before it marries again. There are men who, when their tree has been cut down even with the ground, will try to sit in the shade of the stump. Such men are those who, now that slavery is gone, still cling to a civil order based on the old plantation system. They are like a wood sawyer robbed of his sawhorse and trying to saw wood in his lap." Whoso desires a glimpse of what went on in the seething South in the *post bellum* years, when society was all a ferment and a foam with the disruption and weltering upheaval of old conditions, social, civil, and economic, and the crystallization of ancient elements into a new and modern state, let him follow the growth and fortunes of John March, Southerner, boy and man, through these five hundred living pages.

Pushing to the Front; or, Success Under Difficulties. A Book of Inspiration and Encouragement to all who are Struggling for Self-elevation along the Paths of Knowledge and of Duty. Illustrated with Twenty-four Fine Portraits of Eminent Persons. By ORISON SWETT MARDEN. Crown 8vo, pp. 416. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

When asked to mention a book teaching the way to success and suitable as a gift to a young man in business we recommended the present volume. Further examination of the work has only increased our first estimate of its worth. In compact form it discusses the qualities of will power, cheerfulness, enthusiasm, tact, accuracy, pluck, persistence, and more that contribute to worldly prosperity. Yet it is far more than a series of abstract essays on welldoing. On the other hand, it is chiefly a grouping, from the lives of great men, of striking incidents which enforce the theoretical lessons taught. Many of the modern leaders of the world, in the various departments of human action, pass in review before the reader and give inspiration to noble endeavor. The portraits of Lincoln, Bismarck, Holmes, Peabody, Morse, Darwin, Webster, and more, over whose lives the passing years have already thrown a glamour, enrich the volume. In its general scope it ranks with the works of Samuel Smiles and Dr. John Todd, while it is more recent and new in its illustration than they. We commend it for its high purpose to help young manhood; for its Christian interpretation of life; for the absence of the homiletic and patronizing spirit; and for a common sense method of treatment that strikes straight to the mark.

Nobiscum Deus, the Gospel of the Incarnation. By WILLIAM FREDERIC FABER, Author of *The Church of the Times.* 12mo, pp. 187. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

Here are a dozen very neat sermons in a very neat dress. There is one each for Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost, together with four on the kingdom of God, and three on other topics. Though evidently by a Churchman, they can be read with pleasure and profit by Christians of all denominations. "The kingdom of God," says the author, "is the enthronement of righteousness and truth and love." All the topics are treated in this broad, beautiful spirit. And, though the reader will not find the poetical diction of a Frederic William Faber or the vigorous originality of a Frederic William Robertson, he will not regret having become familiar with these discourses.

Literary and Social Essays. By GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS. Crown 8vo, pp. 293. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, gilt top, $2.50.

"Gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost," is what all men feel like saying concerning the utterances of Curtis, who was one of the most ideal and elegant specimens of American manhood. The subjects of these essays are "Emerson," "Hawthorne," "The Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne," "Rachel," "Thackeray in America," "Longfellow," "Oliver Wendell Holmes," "Washington Irving." In addition, here is that noble and exquisite lecture, written in 1857, and not hitherto published, on "Sir Philip Sidney," which was delivered from many a platform, East and West, through twenty or thirty years, and which seemed to all who were so happy as to hear it the unconscious exposition and definition of the very essence of Curtis's own high-souled, immaculate, chivalric manhood.

The Book of Numbers. By the REV. ROBERT A. WATSON, M.A., D.D. Author of *Gospels of Yesterday*, etc. Crown 8vo, pp. 414.
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Each of the above eight books in "The Expositor's Bible" series illustrates a high ideal of Scripture interpretation. All that we have said of previous numbers of this series, through the interval of several years, may be repeated in the case of the present volumes. Their textual treatment is general rather than specific; their scholarship is of a superior order, as the names of Farrar, Maclaren, and others show; their vigor, vividness, and practical character make them valuable for the pastor's study. The publishers are A. C. Armstrong & Son, New York.

METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1895.

ART. I.—THE NEED FOR AN EVANGELISTIC MINISTRY.

To evangelize is "to instruct in the Gospel; to preach the Gospel; to convert to a belief in the Gospel." All this may be done by pen, or word of mouth, or by a holy life. In La Rochelle, which for many years was a stronghold of the Huguenots, there is an ancient cathedral whose aisles were once trodden by the bravest men and saintliest women. As one enters he may see at the right a magnificent window, in which are the figures of an apostle, life-size, and an angel. The angel has in his left hand a long trumpet, and in his right hand an open book. On the left-hand page is written, "*Tuba mirum spargens sonum;*" and on the opposite page is written, "*Liber scriptus proferetur.*" The interpretation is manifest. The written book, the Bible, which reveals the will of God and makes known the plan of redemption and salvation, shall be published; but it is the Gospel trumpet that scatters the joyful news, the wonderful news, the glad sound, far and wide over all the earth. The evangelist must be more than a writer, more than a teacher, more than a book; he must be the living incarnation of Gospel truth, and he must translate his life into words aflame with love and compel the attention of toiling, suffering, dying, despairing men and women, until they shall come out of the regions of the shadow of death into the light and liberty of the sons and daughters of God.

Every minister of the Lord Jesus Christ in spirit and purpose should be an evangelist. The Master was an evangelist.

The supreme evidence of his divinity was, not that he gave sight to the blind, strength and soundness to the lame, cleansing to the lepers, hearing to the deaf, and life to the dead, but that he preached the Gospel to the poor—that he evangelized. In truth, he was a restless, itinerant evangelist; for he went about all Galilee, "teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the kingdom," and, incidentally, "healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people." Almost at the instant when he was taken up from earth and a cloud received him out of the sight of his astonished followers, he said, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations; "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature;" "And ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." These words of the risen Christ ought to inspire every loyal heart with an all-consuming desire to spread abroad the knowledge of the truth and win this world back to its rightful allegiance. When these words take possession of the soul then we know what Paul, the great evangelist to the nations, meant when he said, "Yea doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: . . . . that I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death." Hence, if we study the example and commands of the Lord Jesus, if we study the thought and spirit of Paul, we must be impressed with the idea that, so long as there are careless souls to be aroused, penitents to be comforted, and saints to be instructed and encouraged, there will be needed a ministry that is thoroughly evangelistic.

The conditions of every age are peculiar. The first century of the Christian era had scarcely anything in common with the last decade of the nineteenth century. Then there was but one nation. Rome was everything. Rome claimed dominion from the Hebrides to the Sahara, from the pillars of Hercules to the banks of the Indus. The empire was magnificent, irresistible, and supposed to be eternal. Christians were few in numbers, humble in rank, powerless in politics, despised by the learned, persecuted by tyrants, and scattered here and there uncertain of the future. To-day the nominal Christians of the world number half a billion—a third of its entire population.

Christian nations control all things by sea and land. There is no *terra incognita.* Even Africa has been explored and is being rapidly apportioned among the Christian nations of Europe. Men fly from country to country as on the wings of the wind, and they send their thoughts around the world with a speed that well-nigh outstrips the light. Everybody in Christendom may know every morning at the breakfast table, or every evening at the supper table, most of the principal events that have taken place in the preceding twenty-four hours in all the lands between the frozen circles of the North and the South. We are neighbors by propinquity to everybody. There are no hermit nations; there are no somnolent peoples. The rush of events has awakened the whole mass of humanity. If there are comparatively few great and all-embracing scholars there are uncounted millions who know more or less about men and things, about the past and present, about matters with which they ought to be familiar, and equally about those they would do well to ignore and forget forever. Nor can there be any doubt in regard to the perils surrounding the Christian faith. There is no longer persecution that involves the loss of liberty, possessions, or life. We have freedom almost everywhere to worship God according to the dictates of our own consciences. But none the less are there manifest efforts to undermine the foundations upon which Christianity has been built; a persistent, malicious determination in every way to set aside the authority of the Bible; a specious or virulent antagonism to the claims of the Lord Jesus; a calm, quiet, invulnerable indifference; and an intense devotion and slavery to fame, fashion, wealth, pleasure, and all worldliness and sin. To compare the conditions of 1895 and those of the year 95, in not a few respects it will appear that the opposing forces, the enemies of Christianity, are as formidable now as then.

There is one fundamental fact we must always remember. Humanity itself, in all essentials, is always the same. This is true of all the races now living. It always has been true, and always will be true. The ideas of ought not and ought, of sin and penalty, of God and responsibility are thoroughly ingrained in the nature of man. They are found in all lands; they cannot be obliterated. It is equally true that souls everywhere desire and long to be delivered from the burden—may we not say

from the guilt, the pollution, and the power?—of sin. Human souls are not orphaned, they are not outcast, they are not forgotten. God has them in mind, and his love flows out to all, and he will happily be found by those who feel after him. Human hearts are hungry for pity, compassion, sympathy, love. This hunger is just as natural and just as universal as the hunger of the body; and is it not reasonable to suppose that some provision should be made to satisfy this heart-hunger? The very existence of hunger proves that somewhere there must be an adequate supply of what is needed to appease the inevitable longings of the deathless spirit. The one sufficient, supreme, divine remedy for all ills, whether of individuals and of humanity, is the Gospel of the Son of God; for it is the infinite, omnipotent, all-efficient power of God, the eternal and ever-blessed heavenly Father whose name is Love, unto salvation—salvation of soul and body, for time and eternity—to everyone, of every race and nation, that believeth. The remedy is brought within the reach of everyone, and it may be obtained upon conditions that may easily be complied with by all.

We need to remember always that the Gospel is complex and comprehensive. There is much more to it than is embraced in that puerile proverb, "Be good and you will be happy." When it is assumed that such a proverb covers the case we relegate the Gospel to the low standard of Confucius and Mencius. There must be the foundation of good conduct in the intelligent apprehension of truth; and so the Gospel implies the search for truth. The Gospel has its greatest triumphs in such intellects as those of Paul and Newton and Wesley. The Lord recognized the use of the intellect when he said, "Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me." And the use of the intellect in the consideration of the Gospel is commended in that memorable passage where it is said, "These were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so." But the Gospel requires faith and belief, because there are depths and heights of divine wisdom that can never be fully grasped by the human understanding, and because human reason may not be able to perfectly adjust all the relations of revealed truth. "For we walk by faith, not by sight."

In these days in which we find ourselves living much is said in regard to creeds, as though they were of the least possible importance. There are some so-called Christian ministers who evidently think, with the unbelieving poet, that a man's creed must be right who lives a respectable and decent life, forgetting the restraining power that men of right creeds have on all about them. The Gospel is a creed—an imperative, intolerant, God-ordained creed. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." These are the words of Jesus, and they imply the existence of a creed—of something to be believed. Men with no moral convictions are the men without creeds. Men who excuse sin and make it a trivial thing in the moral universe are the men without creeds. Men who think God is careless, indifferent, oblivious in regard to the violations of the divine law are the men without creeds. Men who make myths of heaven and hell, of the resurrection and the judgment, are the men without creeds. The men who, while they maintain the appearance of respectability and good conduct, are yet worldly, self-indulgent, pleasure-seeking, and selfish are the men without creeds. Genuine Christian character independent of the Christian creed is well-nigh impossible. Jesus was a creed-maker. Hear him: "Ye believe in God"—the God of the Scriptures, the omniscient, omnipresent, omnipotent, the eternally self-existing God. "Ye believe in God"—the law-maker and administrator of the material and moral realms, the watchful, faithful, loving friend of all men. This faith in God is the first article of this creed. And the second is like unto it: "Believe also in me." Believe in me as the Messiah, whose coming has been foretold from Genesis to Malachi; in me, of whom Moses and the Psalms and the prophets all testify; in me, the only begotten Son of God, the I Am of the Old Testament, equal with the Father, self-existent from all eternity, the Redeemer and Saviour of mankind. The Lord Jesus had no idea of character without creed, and it would seem that there must be something wrong with a man's head or heart who inveighs against creeds.

What this present hour needs is that God's people "should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints. For there are certain men crept in unawares, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation, ungodly

men, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord Jesus Christ." Furthermore, as John Wesley says, "we are to contend earnestly, yet humbly, meekly, and lovingly, for the faith, for all fundamental truths, once delivered by God, to remain unvaried forever." This is no time for laxity and latitudinarianism. The imperative duty of this eventful hour is to refuse to waver "like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed." "For we are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence steadfast unto the end," "till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ: that we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive." These, and such as these, are men with creeds, and they are the men to stand up against the tide of irreligion, unbelief, and carelessness of God and his truth that wrathfully or insidiously would undermine the bulwarks of our faith and hope. A ministry that is really and truly evangelistic will stand upon this ground, and under all circumstances will proclaim the truth as it is in Jesus. Such a ministry will not spend its time in apologizing for the truth or in simply defending the truth; but, rather, it will stand out boldly, take the aggressive, and be ready always "with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word." There can be no possible substitutes for such methods and for such a ministry. The more pronounced, definite, and biblical are the views of the minister, the more evangelistic will he be and the better adapted to all the exigencies of these extraordinary times.

We must not lose sight of the great truth that the Gospel, while it involves the use of the intellect, even the highest powers of the greatest intellect, and while it requires a definite creed based on the word of God, also takes cognizance of the affectional nature of man. "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." The ideal of some people with superficial culture and timid natures is that a Christian should be a bit of ice—clear ice, it may be, but devoid of emotion. They have not the

remotest appreciation of the experiences of Jesus and John and Paul, or of the unnumbered millions of holy souls that have ached and throbbed and agonized for sinners in danger of eternal doom, and have exulted and sung and shouted over victories won. To live without emotion, to suppress all manifestations of love and joy, to be good without a creed, to be a proper, impassible thing instead of a sympathetic soul, to be a polished marble statue instead of a living man, seems to be the height of possible attainment. These are the people who would have driven the Syrophenician woman away from Christ; who would have sent the man home from his neighbor's house without bread; who would have stood by the grave of Lazarus with never a sigh heaving the breast, or a quiver on the lip, or a tear brimming the eyes. These are the people who would not have rejoiced with the woman who found her lost money, or with the man who found his wandering sheep, or with the father of the prodigal when his poor, wayward, sinning boy came home. Thank God, the Gospel is complex and comprehensive, meets the wants of all men, and appeals to all the powers, capabilities, and faculties of our natures. It is not a poor, one-sided, unsymmetrical, deformed thing, like a post in the ground to which young twigs are tied to keep them straight; it is an inspiration, an influence, an energy, an attraction, a divine manifestation of truth, pity, compassion, love, combined with omniscient power for the uplift of the soul and the salvation of the race.

The fact that the Gospel is such as has now been indicated does not imply that all clergymen are evangelistic, or that all the clergymen of any one denomination are evangelistic. We need not search closely in order to find those who are ranked as Christian ministers who have very little sympathy with the evangelistic spirit. There are quite a few, taking all clergymen into account, who make but little use of the Gospel in their ministrations. They know Shakespeare better than they know the Bible; they are more familiar with the heathen poets than with the Psalms; they are more earnest readers of the novels of the day than of the epistles of Paul. They pride themselves on their scholarly attainments, and are never so well pleased as when they are recognized as belonging to the literary class. Their sermons are essays; their themes are poetical,

fanciful, impractical. The people listen, and if they receive any impression it will be expressed by "How beautiful! how soothing!" These preachers have little use for the Commandments or the Lord's Sermon on the Mount; and the ethics of the Bible is too exacting and severe to command their attention or challenge an honest effort to fulfill its requirements. Such preachers are blind leaders of the blind, if, indeed, they have enough of plan or purpose to lead anybody. Duty, conscience, retribution, eternity, cross-bearing, Christ-following are all ignored. If the intellect is gently agitated, if the æsthetic nature is slightly stimulated, if an indefinite hope of future good and eternal well-being is faintly produced, it is about all that is anticipated or expected. It would be well for the Church and the world if such preachers, when they pass off the stage of action or inaction, might leave no successors. They are cumberers of the ground—barren fig trees. They are not evangelistic, and they have no desire to be. If Christianity had to depend upon them for continuance and vitality it would practically die out in the course of two or three generations. We need a ministry of the heart, as well as of the head, a ministry that will appeal to all the God-given faculties of the emotional nature, and so win men to that service which is perfect freedom and to that joy which is unspeakable and full of glory. The human heart is a harp of a thousand strings, and we need a ministry that can sweep with loving touch all chords and stir the whole being. An evangelistic ministry, warm-hearted, full-souled, loving, brotherly, can do this; and no other can. Such a ministry was never more needed than now.

Then we have a class of ministers who never forget the mint, anise, and cummin. They are careful about the traditions, like those of whom we read in the New Testament who, laying aside the commandments of God, gave themselves with all diligence to the frequent washing of their hands and of pots and cups and tables and brazen vessels. They are taken up with rites and ceremonies, and think more of posture and dress, of bookstands and altars, of robes and mantles, of candles and crucifixes, of censers and incense, of ordinations and historic fables, of rituals and church authority, than they do of the great and eternal truths of God's word and a holy life. The letter that killeth is everything to them, while the spirit that giveth life is well-

nigh forgotten or buried without the hope of resurrection. It is sad but true, as the history of the ages proves, that a ritualistic ministry is not qualified to represent a living Christ or to do the work which a waiting world so sadly needs. There is absolutely no force, no power for good, in such as these; they cannot reclaim this world and bring it back to God. Under their leadership the Church will drift away from Christ and will become frivolous, worldly, formal, dead, until at last Christ will say: "I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent."

Besides these two classes of ministers just mentioned we have a third. They are not found in large numbers in the evangelical Churches, though here and there one may be found; they abound in the so-called liberal Churches; they are in this country and England and on the Continent. It would be somewhat difficult to mention a name that would exactly describe them. They commonly assume to be "advanced thinkers," "progressive theologians," "higher critics," "profound scholars," "abreast-of-the age, up-to-date investigators of all knowledge." They are really flavored with Renan, Strauss, Baur, Wellhausen, with a lingering trace of Astruc, Voltaire, Paine, and Spinoza. They know better than all the Jews, and all the evangelical historical students of all ages, who wrote the Pentateuch and Joshua and the Psalms and Isaiah and Daniel. They are very largely given to evolving their knowledge from their own inner consciousness. They seem to lack sincerity, modesty, honesty, and candor. When they finish their work on the Holy Scriptures there is little left but a wreck. They eliminate prophecies, especially those concerning Christ; they throw out everything that is supernatural; they make the authors of some of the most wonderful and magnificent portions of the Old Testament to be unknown, unnamed, and unheard-of men, who lived a thousand years after Moses and are supposed to have been among the exiles of Babylon. The work done by these destructive, rationalistic, arrogant critics would be bad enough if confined to the Old Testament; but, if possible, the destruction they make with

the New is still worse. They degrade Christ; they will not tolerate the idea of miracles; they seem to have a virulent hatred of what is spiritual and supernatural. Whatever these people may call themselves, whatever in their pride of scholarship and opinion they may assume to be, there is one name they ought to be compelled to wear. They are destructive rationalists. They exalt human reason to a dizzy height, and then bow before its dictates. Unbroken, unimpeached history, that goes back for thousands of years, has no weight with them. They make a Babel of their discussions, for no two of them agree; they have added but little, if any, additional light of research and scholarship to that already in possession of evangelical, historical, theological students. They are destructive to the last degree, for the natural and logical outcome of their teachings must be the loss of all faith in the Bible as the word of God. Good men may be deluded by these destructives and still hold on to their goodness; converted men to some extent may be drawn away by the babblings of these destructives and yet hold on to their hope in Christ; but the inevitable tendency of this destructive rationalism is toward deism and atheism. It is a cause of unspeakable regret that any man holding these views should be tolerated in any evangelical pulpit or school of theology, for the ultimate outcome will be as baleful as the exhalations of the deadly upas tree.

In contrast to these three classes of so-called clergymen, or ministers, it affords supreme satisfaction to know that we have an evangelical and evangelistic ministry. They are not all found in any one Church. They are in every Church where the name of Jesus is held in reverence as that of the second person in the adorable Trinity, where he is loved and worshiped, where he is known as the all-atoning Lamb of God. This evangelistic ministry does not despise, much less ignore, sound learning or the thorough cultivation of the intellect; for it believes that, other things being equal, the man with the best brain and most carefully and wisely trained is the best evangelist. Nor does it undervalue, much less pour contempt on, creeds. It holds to the Bible, first, last, and always, as the source of all truth essential to salvation; but at the same time it claims a part in the heritage of the ages and takes the Apostles' Creed as a wise and helpful formulation of doctrine. It has

a hope, and is ready and able to declare the reason for it. It believes, and therefore it speaks. Its faith is "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." It believes the whole eleventh chapter of Hebrews. It believes in the inspiration and authority of all the Scriptures. It believes in the supernatural, in miracles, in the absolute divinity of Jesus, in his atonement, resurrection, and ascension to the right hand of God. It believes in the resurrection, in the judgment, in immortality, in heaven and hell. It believes that every penitent soul may come to God in the name of Jesus Christ and find pardon, life, and salvation. It believes that the time is coming when "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea;" and in this faith it expects the Gospel to spread abroad, until the last son of Adam shall hear the joyful sound.

If ever there was a time when such a ministry, with such a faith, was needed it is now. Christ has told us that the time is coming when "there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth." No mightier problems ever confronted Christianity than at this hour. What are we to do with labor and capital? What with the corruptions of society? What with the venality of statesmen and legislators? What with worship of wealth and power? What with the wronged and oppressed in this land and all lands? What with the vast masses of the illiterate of Christendom? What with the hordes of tramps and the vile and dangerous classes? What with the poor of the great cities? What with the waste of naval and military armament? What with the awful drink habit and the fearfully malignant and curseful drink traffic? What with the unconverted, unenlightened, unevangelized thousand millions of heathenism.

Surely such a condition of affairs as is revealed by these questions may well appall the stoutest heart and try the stanchest faith. The supreme hope of the world is in a genuine, cultured, believing, rejoicing, evangelistic ministry. Such a ministry can answer questions and resolve doubts; can state, explain, defend the truths of the Gospel when formulated into creeds;

can exemplify the blessed, joyous, conscious experience of a personal salvation. This world is not to be won to Christ *en masse*. From this time on it is to be hand-to-hand work. The ministry is the divinely appointed leadership of the people. If the ministry is evangelistic the people will be the same. And when the Church and ministry are both evangelistic all barriers to the progress of the cause of Christ will be removed, the great and pressing questions that demand attention will be solved, the Gospel message will be carried to all lands, and the morning of the millennium will be hastened in its coming. Why may it not become the all-absorbing desire of every minister to enter with all his soul upon evangelistic work, which includes the enlightenment and conversion of sinners and the building up of all converts in the truth of the Gospel? In order to this there must be entire consecration of all that is ever called "my" or "mine;" a devotement of all powers to the service of the Master; a seeking for the baptism of the Holy Ghost, for purity, inspiration, and service, until the gift is bestowed; a holy, blameless life; and ceaseless toil for the salvation of the souls of men. That God may give the Churches and the world an evangelistic ministry ought to be the ceaseless prayer of every loyal Christian heart.

W. F. Mallalieu.

ART. II.—A STUDY IN SOCIOLOGY.

SOCIOLOGY is as yet a study, rather than a science. The term itself is of recent origin. It was coined or invented by Auguste Comte, and was used by him in his *Cours de Philosophie Positive* to designate that department of his philosophy which treats of social phenomena, the laws that govern them, and their relation to each other. His was the first attempt to segregate the isolated phenomena of human society from their physical environments and, by combining them into related groups, to explain and account for them in a scientific manner. He thus paved the way for the creation and construction of a new science—the science of society—to which he gave the name of "sociology."

Mr. Herbert Spencer adopted the term invented by Comte, and incorporated the newborn science, remolded somewhat in order to make it harmonize with his evolutionary doctrines, into his "synthetic philosophy," thus giving it vogue among English-speaking people. He also greatly broadened its scope, since under it, as a convenient and elastic cognomen, he ranges a vast amount of heterogeneous matter pertaining to almost every conceivable phase of human relations, thought, and activity. He assigns to sociology the consideration of all physical, emotional, intellectual, political, ethnic, moral, and religious phenomena arising from or connected with the life and history of mankind. He holds that it is its province to give an account of the origin and development of all domestic, ceremonial, industrial, economic, civil, political, commercial, ecclesiastical, and religious institutions and customs existent among men, and that it must point out and describe their mutual relationships and interdependencies and their effect on each other and on society at large.

Constituted on the Spencerian basis sociology must become generic and all-inclusive, rather than a science with well-defined lines of demarcation from other sciences, and must embrace in its wide sweep everything that pertains to social phenomena of all kinds and grades—in fact, everything that pertains to human life and nature, viewed from a social standpoint. With such a scope, sociological science becomes but a

synonym for a vague generalization, covering a field of thought and investigation so vast and various that no single mind can thoroughly traverse, much less master, it, and requiring a scientific preparation such as no one is capable of obtaining, since all of the organized sciences have grown to such magnitude that the best-equipped student can hardly hope to master thoroughly and completely any one of them in a single lifetime, much less such a congeries of sciences as must necessarily be included in a sociological system like that devised and outlined by Mr. Spencer and his followers. Besides this, the relationships existing between such various and widely divergent subjects are not infrequently so slight and inconsequential as to render it almost, if not, indeed, quite, impossible to combine them into one harmonious whole and thus bring them into scientific unity.

As a result of the attempt to extend the sway of the sociological scepter over so wide a domain, there is at present no general agreement as to what shall constitute a distinctive course of sociological study and training. The courses prescribed in the leading educational institutions, both of Europe and this country, are about as various as the institutions that prescribe them or the men that formulate and teach them, thus furnishing a new and marked fulfillment of the old Latin proverb, "*tot homines, quot sententiæ.*" This statement is fully corroborated by the following brief extract from a lecture delivered before the American Academy of Political and Social Science by Professor Giddings, who occupies the chair of sociology in Columbia College:

> Several universities in Europe and America have introduced courses in sociology; yet there is no definite agreement among scientific men as to what the word shall be understood to mean. In some of the university courses it stands for a philosophy of society; in others it denominates a study of the institutions of tribal communities; in yet others it is applied to highly special studies of pauperism, crime, and philanthropy. In the literature of sociology, also, an equally varied usage may be found. Special investigators employ the word in senses that are unrecognized by the systematic writers.

These facts, however, in no wise invalidate the claim put forth for sociology as a possible science of great importance and value. They only go to prove that as yet it is in a forma-

tive state, that its scope is not clearly defined, that its province is not fully determined, and serve to substantiate the truthfulness of the statement made in the opening sentence of this article—that sociology is as yet a study, rather than a science.

This statement, however, in no wise militates against the possibility of differentiating and establishing in the near future a complete and well-defined science of society, since it is a well-known fact of history that no science has ever sprung into existence suddenly and fully equipped, as Minerva is fabled to have sprung from the cloven skull of Jove. All of the sciences in their incipiency existed in a nebulous condition, with a modicum of truth as a nucleus. Gradually sloughing off all extraneous matter and divesting themselves of all excrescences, they have slowly and steadily developed into their present condition of comparative perfection. The noble science of astronomy was for long centuries enshrouded in the nebulous haze of astrology, before it attained to its present magnificent development and gave to the world its luminous revelation of the vastness of the universe and the everlasting, harmonious march of the glittering hosts of heaven. The wizard spell, the weird enchantment, and the wild vagaries of alchemy were the ignoble precursors of modern chemistry. For more than a century geology has been striving to reveal the meaning of the mysterious, hieroglyphic records stored away in the lithographic volumes of the strata of the earth, but has not yet become a perfect interpreter of their hidden meaning. Sociology is the youngest of the sciences, having come into existence only a few decades ago, and has to deal with most intricate and complex problems. When the slow development and perfecting of the other great sciences are taken into account, it should excite neither wonder nor discouragement that a complete science of society has not yet been fully differentiated, that its province is not clearly defined, that its facts are not yet thoroughly co-ordinated, or that its votaries are not in full accord or exact agreement as to what shall constitute its boundaries and scope.

One encouraging and important result may certainly be predicated, however, as accruing from these years of study and investigation along sociological lines, and that is that there is gradually coming to be a consensus of opinion, on the part both of teachers and students of sociology, that the construction of

a valid science of society can only become possible by a complete differentiation of social subjects from all adventitious relationships and by the elimination from the field of investigation of all material not directly concerned with the development of the social life of the race. Because of this, students of sociology will henceforward direct their attention more especially to the consideration of such things as pertain to the origin, form, growth, structure, classification, relation, and development of social phenomena, the functions and forces operative among them, the laws by which they are governed, the relation of the individual to his environments and to society at large, the means and measures necessary to be adopted to secure the amelioration of social ills, the betterment of the social condition, and the final perfecting of the social order. Confined within such limits, the construction of a science of society clearly becomes a feasible task if attempted by right methods and on a right basis—a task, too, in every way worthy of the best efforts of the best minds of the age, the accomplishment of which will greatly promote the welfare of all mankind.

The trend of events and the condition of affairs during the last decade have tended to specially direct public attention to, to greatly intensify interest in, and to stimulate the study of, social problems. Everywhere throughout the civilized world are to be seen startling symptoms of social unrest. Everywhere the masses are restless and restive. The air is full of angry murmurs betokening popular discontent and dissatisfaction with the present order of things; and this general disquietude is producing a widespread movement, more or less radical, toward the disintegration and dissolution of the present social order or, at least, its reorganization on a different basis. The world is evidently entering upon a new era of social evolution, or revolution. Signs sinister, baleful, and ominous of direst danger are all too numerous. The fierce, fiendish outbursts of anarchy, the barbarous recklessness of maddened mobs, the wanton destruction of life and property, the disrespect and disregard of law, the rapid increase of the dangerous classes who are ever ready for riot and rapine, present a congeries of evils so portentous as to excite the gravest apprehension, even among those least easily alarmed, for the stability and safety of both society and the State.

The twentieth century, soon to step into the historical arena, bids fair to be the melancholy heir to unsolved social problems which surpass in momentousness and magnitude any that civilization has hitherto encountered, and before which all oracles are dumb. With the passing of the centuries the gregarious instinct of the race seems steadily to intensify and to impel, with resistless, unreasoning impulse, the population of the world to crowd, in ever-increasing numbers, into great cities, which become great sores upon the body politic; and these great sores are constantly increasing in size and numbers in every quarter of the civilized world, presaging grave danger to the State. Inventions multiply. Labor-saving machines, with brawny arms of iron and tireless hands of steel, usurp the place of the human workman, who either sits idly by in sullen silence watching his unfeeling, relentless, remorseless supplanter and competitor, or joins the great and constantly increasing army of tramps who are ever wandering aimlessly to and fro over the face of the earth. The social situation is rendered still more embarrassing by the fact that the population of the world is steadily and, in some quarters, rapidly increasing; and that annually millions of hungry mouths, and twice as many millions of idle hands, which must in some way be furnished employment or else become sources of mischief to society, are being added to the multitudinous masses that already find it all, or even more, than they can do to hold their own in the stern, severe struggle for existence. Amidst such a perplexing, portentous condition of affairs it should not be a matter of wonder or surprise if, at times, even the sturdiest and stanchest social reformers should lose heart and hope, nor that they should feel like joining in the pessimistic wail that bursts from the lips of Hamlet, when he is overwhelmed for a season by the difficulties and disasters that storm in upon him:

> The time is out of joint: O cursed spite,
> That ever I was born to set it right!

It is in times such as these which are now upon us, whose troublesome turbulence and dolorous difficulties have been set forth in dismal periods in the preceding paragraphs, but which have not even then been outlined in as dark a setting as circumstances would well warrant that the need of a trustworthy sci-

ence of society is most deeply felt; just as one feels most in need of a physician when struck with a painful and dangerous disease. But, as in times of sore sickness one wants to be ministered to, not by an empiric or a quack, but by a well-trained physician whose skill has been duly tested, so, when the social organism is convulsed with the pangs and throes of what may prove either its dissolution or its transition into a better and higher condition, there is deepest need of a practical science of society, that can prescribe a certain remedy and devise means and methods whereby the disjointed times can be set right and the jarring, discordant social elements may be brought into enduring harmony and perfect unity.

The various attempts that have been made and that are being made to formulate and construct a valid and satisfactory science of society may be conveniently classified into three groups, which may appropriately be designated, according to the methods severally employed, as the historical, the empirical, and the Christian systems of sociology. All of these systems have this in common—that they begin, as all sociological science must, with the consideration of the primary and fundamental phenomena pertaining to the social life and condition of the race. Starting from this common basis and pursuing each its separate way, they gradually develop into systems as diverse as are the several methods employed and the ideas and principles which dominate them.

The historical method is the one pursued by Mr. Spencer and his followers. It is based solely on facts deduced from the investigation of historical data, interpreted from an evolutionary standpoint. Following this lead, its pathway is a dismal one and is prophetic of a no less dismal outcome. It begins in the blackness of barbarism and advances slowly and painfully amidst savage superstitions, crude customs, and rudimental institutions. For centuries it wends its weary way amidst contending armies, over bloody battlefields, among impoverished peoples, and through devastated lands lighted with the lurid glare of conflagrant homes, harvests, villages, and cities. Anon, it is cheered somewhat by the advent of civilization, which, however, in many instances, is scarcely more than a refinement of barbarism, and by the dawning gleam of science, which, in its hands, gives only a baleful, material-

istic light. In each recurring cycle of human history it is confronted with the stern, disheartening fact that social and civil organizations, institutions, and conditions only make progress until they attain to a certain maximum of vitality and completeness; then they gradually decline, decay, and disappear, and a new start must be made by a new people, in new environments.

Even after many centuries have elapsed, during which evolutionary processes have been continually active under favorable circumstances, it is apparent, even in lands where civilization and society have attained their highest development, that while the clangor of conflict may have ceased the warlike spirit still remains, having only taken on another form. Indeed, it may be said to exist to-day as a more dangerous factor than when it manifested itself in open, bloody contests between hostile nations, since now society itself is everywhere seen to be divided into contending factions. The masses are arrayed against the classes, the hostile race spirit having been transformed into a more rancorous and dangerous class spirit. The forces of labor, organized into societies, associations, and trades unions, are arrayed against trusts, combines, syndicates, and corporations, the huge battalions of capital, so that these two mighty factors of modern civilization, which ought to be, and naturally are, friends and allies, are separated into hostile and contending camps.

Under the iron *régime* of *laissez faire*—the fetich of the historical school of sociology—the most glaring and iniquitous social and civil inequalities have obtained. The shrewd, the strong, and the unscrupulous, governed only by the maxim "Might makes right," exploit the weak and oppress the poor. With the continued concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, the laboring classes are in constantly increasing danger of being reduced to a condition of industrial serfdom and of becoming dependent on the churlish bounty of the great moneyed magnates for the chance of earning their daily bread. Thus through the advancing ages the arrogant oppression of the strong, the selfish luxury of the rich, and the dire poverty of the poor have combined to produce such a condition of injustice, inequality, misery, wretchedness, wickedness, and crime as to apparently justify the following well-known pessi-

mistic utterance of Professor Huxley, himself a chief priest of the Spencerian system of sociology:

> I know of no study which is so unutterably saddening as that of the evolution of humanity as it is set forth in the annals of history. Even the best of modern civilizations appears to me to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability. I do not hesitate to express the opinion that, if there is no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family, if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of a greater dominion over nature, which is its consequence, and the wealth which follows upon that dominion are to make no difference in the extent and the intensity of want, with its concomitant physical and moral degradation, amongst the masses of the people, I should hail the advent of some kindly comet which would sweep the whole affair away as a desirable consummation.

But historical sociology can give no well-grounded hope of improvement in the social condition, since it is shut up by its methods to the deductions gathered from historical data only; and the dismal failures which it has observed in the past are only doleful prophecies of a more dismal future, of which the present unsatisfactory, unsettled, and distracted condition of affairs in the social realm is sadly significant. Such considerations make it plainly evident that historical sociology has no panacea to offer for the numberless ills of mankind; neither has it any solution to propose for the perplexing problems that distract the world to-day. Hence it can never become the savior of society.

Theoretical sociology, on the other hand, discards entirely the slow, plodding methods of historical sociology, and only takes cognizance of the past and present condition of the race in order to note its defects. It then proceeds to devise an ideal system, or systems, from which, according to its view, all the defects of the existing social order shall be eliminated, and which, from the standpoint of its constructor, will, if adopted by mankind, free the world from all social ills and disorders. Being almost wholly empirical in its methods and giving free scope to the imagination, it is the favorite field for social *doctrinaires*, whimsical visionaries, and socialistic dreamers. Such methods of constructing an ideal social order were in vogue long before a science of society was dreamed of or thought possible. Plato's *Republic* was the first example of

the kind; portions of St. Augustine's *Civitas Dei* are to the same purport. To these are to be added, in increasing numbers, More's *Utopia*, Rousseau's *State of Nature*, and the theories of Fourier, St. Simon, Owen, and others of the socialistic school too numerous to mention. Bellamy's *Looking Backward* furnishes the most recent example of this method, and is only specially noteworthy because of the prominence awarded it by the public press, and because of the widespread impression created among the unthinking classes that the author of it was to become the prophet of a new era. Since a social system has never been invented and cannot be made to order, but must necessarily be a growth resulting from antecedent conditions and causes and developing in accordance with the laws and forces that are operative in human nature and society, it is evident that all merely ideally constructed systems of social order must be impossible of realization and hence barren of results and unworthy of more than passing consideration.

From the pessimism and despair resulting from the historical method and from the visionary, impracticable vagaries of theoretical sociology, we now turn to consider the feasibility of constructing a valid science of society on a Christian basis. It is a self-evident proposition that every science must have its basis in the domain and in the elements on which the science itself is based. Geology cannot have its roots in the air, but must be firmly planted in the rocky strata of the earth. Botany cannot flourish in the mineral, but only in the vegetable, kingdom. So sociology, being the science of society, must have its basis in the element or elements upon which society itself is constituted. But that can only be predicated as a basal element of any science which is universal, that is, which is always and everywhere present in the domain in which the science is regnant and over which it presides. The one distinctive and universal element, that always and everywhere pervades the social life of mankind, is the religious element. Wherever man is found, no matter how diverse may be the environments or in what else he may be lacking, religion, in some form, is a universal concomitant of the social life of the race. Plutarch wrote, more than eighteen centuries ago,

> If you go through all the world you may find cities without walls, without letters, without rulers, without money, without theaters, but

never without temples and gods, or without prayers, oaths, prophecies, and sacrifices used to obtain blessings and benefits or to avert curses and calamities.

Since Plutarch's time all quarters of the world have been explored and many new races have been discovered, and people have been found without houses, without raiment, without arts and sciences, without laws, but none without a religion of some sort any more than without speech.

In addition to the fact of the universality of religion, it is patent to every careful student of sociology that society everywhere crystallizes around the religious dogmas of a people, so that their customs, manners, laws, and institutions are mainly the outcome and results of their religious belief. Thus the scenes pictured on the monuments, tombs, and temples of Egypt, portraying the social life of the people, are but a rescript of the religious ideas that dominated the ancient Egyptians. It is the archaic, conservative spirit inherent in the religious system of China that has petrified the civilization and customs of that country and has rendered them all but impervious to the progressive influence and tendencies of the passing centuries. The system of caste, that rests like a withering blight on the civilization of India, has its origin in the religious dogmas that have for ages held sway over that land; and its baleful effects will be felt as long as they continue to dominate its people. It is the progressive and inspiring spirit of Christianity, which is preeminently the religion of the Anglo-Saxons, that has made them, in all the widely separated quarters of the globe where they are found, the freest in their institutions, the most progressive in spirit and character, and the most rapid in their development of all the people in the world, and has elevated them to the commanding position they have come to occupy among the nations of the earth. Such facts as these conclusively show that religion is the most powerful factor in the life of a nation, and fully justify the statement made by Goethe, that "religion is the deepest, nay, the one theme of the world's history to which all others are subordinate."

But the idea of a superior, superhuman power or divinity of some sort lies at the root of all religious life and thought. All religious systems must begin with it and build upon it.

As, however, it has already been shown that religion is the basis on which society is constitued, and from which it takes both its form and character, it follows, as a necessary corollary, that the establishment of a valid science of society on an atheistic or agnostic basis becomes a logical impossibility, since human society and the science of it both require a theological conception of some sort on which to build. It is also evident that the more perfect the theological conception is on which they are based the more perfect will be the social system derived from it and the science resulting therefrom. It is universally conceded that Christianity furnishes the highest and most perfect conception of Deity that the world has ever known; and, as the true conception of man depends on a right conception of God, which Christianity alone makes known, it necessarily follows that the science of society, which is the science of man in all his relations, can only be properly and correctly formulated on a Christian basis.

This conclusion is strongly reenforced by the fact that it is now admitted as a cardinal truth of history that "the wide interval between the peoples who have attained the highest social development and the lowest races is not, mainly, the result of a difference in intellectual, but a difference in ethical, development;" or, in other words, the permanent progress and advancement of the race are primarily due to the moral, rather than to the intellectual, element in mankind. It is also a well-established fact of history that all progress in which the intellectual factor has been the ruling and dominant one has been neither stable nor permanent, showing a complete correspondence between the facts of history and the statement of Holy Writ, "In righteousness shalt thou be established." Hence it becomes a necessary postulate of a valid sociology that the continuous and permanent improvement of the social organism can only be effected by a corresponding and continuous moral development of mankind, since it is not upon mind, but upon morals, that human welfare and progress are founded.

It follows also, as a corollary from this proposition, that the social and civil condition must always be on the same plane as the ethical or moral condition of a people—a fact that gave rise to the terse maxim of Plato, "The States are as the men are;" or, in other words, the people are the makers of the State, rather

than the State the makers of the people. It is, also, equally true that a moral transformation must precede any real and permanent advancement in the social or civil condition of mankind, since, as Hegel has shown, "the State is the realization of the moral idea of the people" who compose it; so that the social and civil conditions and institutions of a people are always on the same grade as the moral ideas and principles by which they are dominated. It is evident from these facts that, for the perfecting of the civil and social condition of the race, it is essential that the social organism should be brought under the control of a moral factor so puissant as to make it paramount to all opposing forces; and such a factor is only found in Christianity, which Mr. Lecky styles, in his *History of European Morals*, "the most powerful moral lever that has ever been applied to the affairs of men."

It is true that Christianity has been, and is being, assailed in every direction by powerful foes; and its opposers, while admitting its paramount power in the past, would fain make the world believe that, if it is not already in a moribund condition, it is, at least, a decadent force, its energy spent and the magic of its spell broken, so that it can never again attain to the commanding position it once occupied or exert the powerful influence it has hitherto exercised in human affairs. Nevertheless, one of their own number—Mr. Frederick Harrison, a leader of the ranks of positivism in England—in a recent article on "The Future of Agnosticism," makes the candid admission that "the net result of the whole negative attack on the Gospel has, perhaps, been to strengthen the moral hold of Christianity on society." Convinced that even this favorable statement from one of their adversaries falls far short of the whole truth, its votaries are claiming that, though Christianity is hoary with the age of many centuries, it still has the dew of its youth; that its power is increasing, its domain is enlarging; and that to it, more and more, the eyes of a weary world must turn for deliverance from its numerous ills and burdens and for the solution of its perplexing problems, or else close them forever in abject despair.

But the belief in the ability of Christianity to furnish a panacea for the world's ills and to accomplish the much-wished-for moral and social reforms is not confined to theologians and

ligionists, but is shared by statesmen and men of the world as well. Benjamin Franklin, one of the wisest of Americans, made the sage remark that "whoever introduces into public affairs the principles of primitive Christianity will change the face of the world." Kossuth, whose long and varied life and cosmopolitan career gave him ample opportunity for large and extensive observation of the social conditions in different quarters of the world, said, "If the doctrines of Christianity which are founded on the New Testament could be applied to human society I believe the social problem could be got at." De Tocqueville, recognizing the disintegrating tendencies of the times in both social and political affairs, wrote, "Society must be destroyed, unless the Christian moral tie be strengthened in proportion as the political tie is relaxed." Mr. Gladstone, one of the most illustrious statesmen of our own or any age, conversing on the social condition of the world, exclaimed: "Talk about the questions of the day! There is but one question, and that is the Gospel. It can and will correct everything that needs correction." The author of the *Social Influence of Christianity* records his conviction that, "if ever an ideal order is realized by humanity, it will be under the leadership of the Christian conception of man, and will require that for its basis." These statements, gathered from widely different sources, but voice the growing conviction that for the solution of the momentous problems that pertain to this life, as well as the next, the world must needs look to the "Teacher come from God," who "spake as never man spake," and who gave utterance to words that were, and still are, "spirit and life." And these vitalizing words of this divine Teacher form the only possible basis for the construction of a sociological system that can bring order out of the present social disorder and that can furnish an adequate solution of the industrial and social problems of the times.

It now remains to set forth, in as concise a manner as possible, the distinctive tenets of Christian sociology and the means and methods whereby it seeks to accomplish the solution of pending social problems, the harmonizing of the discordant, jarring social elements, and the perfecting of the social order.

The cardinal doctrine of Christian sociology is that the reformation of society and the perfecting of the social order can

only be effected by the moral regeneration of the individual. On this dogma its whole superstructure rests. It necessarily accepts that which is everywhere plainly manifest—the depravation of the social organism; but it teaches that this social depravation has its origin in the depravity of the individual, and that it is vain to expect better social conditions so long as the internal moral condition of the individuals who compose the social organism remains unchanged. Its motto is "Make the tree," that is, the source from which all things spring, "good," and the fruit will be good also. Hence it addresses itself first, not to the invention of new formulæ, new institutions, and new conditions, but to making anew the individual social unit from which all these things proceed, knowing that the new man will make for himself new environments, new institutions—in fine, a new order of things suited to his new condition and on the same plane with it. It proposes to do this, not by a slow evolutionary process, but by the impartation of the divine life—the perfect life—to the human soul, and to thus create new and perfect external conditions by the implantation in man's nature of a new internal life.

The individual, thus made a new creature, will have new desires, new purposes, new motives, and will be dominated by new principles. His life will no longer be self-centered, but centered and sphered in God. He thus becomes a partaker of the divine nature, of which love is the chief and essential element. Love then dominates his whole being and controls his every act. It exorcises completely the spirit of selfishness which is the great bane of human life and society, and ushers in the altruistic spirit which impels him to love his neighbor as himself. Thus the altruistic spirit which Mr. Spencer finds to be an indispensable element in social development and advancement, but which is utterly foreign to his system and could not be evolved from it or developed by it, is found to be a natural and necessary product of Christian sociology which, from its very nature, must permeate and dominate the social organism.

Sociologists of all schools realize that the practical acceptance and enforcement of the doctrine of human equality and brotherhood are essential to the induction of the perfect social order. But the dogma of the equality and brotherhood of

man is a logical deduction from the doctrine of the fatherhood of God which occupies so prominent and large a place in the teachings of the Founder of Christianity, and must for this reason become an integral element of Christian sociology.

To the regenerated individual, animated as he must be by the spirit of altruism and brotherhood, the acceptance and fulfillment of the Golden Rule—the glory of the Gospel—in all the relations of life, both public and private, becomes, not only easy of accomplishment, but also a moral necessity. But, whenever and wherever this law of love, this perfect rule of action, becomes the dominant power in society, wars of all kinds, national, civil, and industrial, will cease, and an era of universal peace and good will among men will be ushered in. The thorough leavening of society with the principles announced in the Master's Sermon on the Mount would radically change the present system of carrying on business and trade, which is causing so much discontent among the laboring classes, and whose motto seems to be, "They should take who have the power, and they should keep who can." The evils which characterize this system were quaintly set forth by Mr. Ruskin in an address delivered to the prosperous manufacturers of Lancashire, in which he said, "Your goddess of 'getting on' in the world is no goddess for me, because she is the goddess, not of everybody's getting on, but only of somebody's getting on." The application of the principles of Christian sociology to the business realm will speedily accomplish the dethronement of this selfish goddess, for under its sway everybody will get on together, the prosperity of one aiding and prompting the mutual prosperity of all; and by this means the vexatious problem of the just and equitable distribution of wealth will find solution, because under the benign influence and practical application of the Golden Rule everyone will receive his full and honest share of the profits of industry.

Under the social conditions superinduced by applied Christianity, which will be a necessary resultant of the establishment of Christian sociology, the solidarity of society—the pet phrase and dream of the socialistic schools—can have its only possible practical realization. There exists to-day what is styled a solidarity of society, brought about in part by the centralizing spirit that characterizes modern civilization, and in part by the estab-

lishment of a world-wide system of railroads, telegraphs, and ocean steamship transit whereby the ends of the earth are brought together and all nations, no matter how widely separated, are put in touch with each other, so that all the world has become one "highly organized and interdependent whole." But this is only a physical or mechanical solidarity, which must be supplemented by the moral element to give it perpetuity and make it the means for binding all mankind together in indissoluble bonds of brotherhood and charity, thus making it possible everywhere to exemplify Milton's noble conception of the perfect social state, which "ought to be one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth or stature of an honest man."

Thus, in our endeavor to outline in a practical way the scope and purpose of sociology and the means whereby it may fulfill its mission, we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that a science of society that will be fully capable of solving all pending social problems, and that will result in securing the amelioration of all social ills and in bringing about a final and complete regeneration of society, must be born of, and incorporate into itself, the teachings of the Founder of Christianity, who has ever been the hope of the world and the helper of the race, and whose pledge and promise to mankind, "Behold, I make all things new," is sure of final and complete fulfillment. What he has already done, and what he yet will do, is strikingly summarized in the following paragraph, with which we close this article:

> *Christus Redemptor* has, with atoning sacrifice, brought forgiveness of sin to the great company of the redeemed. *Christus Consolator* has stanched the tears of the world's sorrow and filled the hearts of the afflicted and the wronged with immortal hope. *Christus Consummator* will establish the kingdom of God in the hearts of men and transform human society at last into the order of final perfection.

E. D. McCreary.

ART. III.—REACTIONARY PHASES IN THE PONTIFICATE OF LEO XIII.

THE amiable mannerisms of Leo XIII are well adapted to produce a measure of popular illusion. Not a few, probably, will be surprised to be told that his pontificate, in its dogmatic trend and fundamental bias, is reactionary, in the sense of reverting strongly to the mediæval type. But that this is the fact is established by perfectly conclusive data. No unbiased critic can read in succession the full list of deliverances from his lips and pen without discovering that we have here the substance of the mediæval system and a consistent supplement to the Vatican Council, with its dogmas of papal absolutism and infallibility. The better to corroborate this contention, we will present the evidence under several distinct specifications.

I. No pontiff in any century has outdone Leo XIII in industrious efforts to promote the sentimental devotion which culminates in essentially divine honors to the Virgin Mary. Pius IX himself could not have wished for a successor more enthusiastically determined to build a congenial superstructure on the basis supplied by the dogma of the immaculate conception. In about a half dozen of the pope's communications to Roman Catholic Christendom the central and expressed purpose is the promotion of the cult of the Virgin. Again and again he proclaims the fundamental dependence of himself and the Church upon the good offices of Mary. A score of passages from as many different documents could easily be cited in illustration, but the following will indicate sufficiently the trend of the Pope's teaching:

> In the heart of the Romans is the ancient devotion to the mother of the Saviour; but now, in consideration of the more pressing peril, let us recur more frequently and with intenser ardor to her who has crushed the serpent and conquered all heresies.*
>
> In order that we may have firmer hope of obtaining [our requests], let us employ the intercessors and defenders of our salvation—the Virgin Mary, the great mother of God, the aid of Christians, and the shelter of the human race; her most pure spouse St. Joseph; and the apostles Peter and Paul.†

* *Epistola ad Card. Vicarium Monaco la Valetta*, June 26, 1878.
† *Epistola Encyclica de Civili Principatu*, June 20, 1881.

In defending the rights of the Church and averting dangers he says:

We consider that no means could be more efficacious than our gaining, by the religious practice of the veneration due to her, the favor of the sublime mother of God, the Virgin Mary, depositary of our peace with God and dispenser of celestial graces, who has been placed at the highest summit of heavenly power and glory that she might aid mankind on its way of toil and peril toward the eternal city. It has always been the principal and most solemn care of Catholics, in troublous affairs and uncertain times, to flee to Mary for refuge and to repose upon her maternal goodness. By this is plainly shown, not only the most certain hope, but also the confidence which the Catholic Church has always placed with good reason in the mother of God.*

We should take refuge in Mary, in her whom the Church rightly and deservedly calls salvation-bringer, helper, and deliverer.†

We wish that, constantly and without interruption, recourse should be had in the Church to God and to the great Virgin of the Rosary, the strongest aid of Christians, at whose power tremble even the magnates of the abyss.‡

It is well known how great confidence, in the midst of the present calamities, we have reposed in the glorious Virgin of the Rosary for the salvation and prosperity of the Christian people, for the peace and tranquillity of the Church. Mindful, on the one hand, that in great distresses the pastors and the faithful have been wont to turn confidingly to the exalted mother of God, the most powerful aid of Christians, in whose hands are placed all the graces, persuaded, on the other hand, that devotion to the Virgin, under the title of the Rosary, will prove to be supremely opportune amid the special needs of our time, we have willed that this devotion should everywhere be revived and always be more widely established among the faithful in all the world.§

The most holy Virgin, as she was the bearer of Jesus Christ, is likewise the mother of all Christians, whom indeed she bore at Mount Calvary amid the supreme pains of the Redeemer.‖

In harmony with the thought expressed here, the pope gives to Mary the comprehensive title, "Mother of God and of men" —"*Dei et hominum mater.*" ¶

As an accessory to the worship of the Virgin, the pope has earnestly commended the veneration of Joseph, addressing to this end an encyclical to Roman Catholics at large (August 15, 1889), and in a number of instances lauding the efficacy of the patronage of this saint. Supposing the Virgin to retain much

* *Epist. Encyc.*, Sept. 1, 1883. † *Epist. Encyc.*, Aug. 30, 1884.
‡ *Epist. ad Card. Vicarium Parocchi*, Oct. 31, 1886.
§ *Epist. ad Episcopos Italiæ de Sacro Rosario*, Sept. 20, 1887.
‖ *Epist. Encyc.*, Aug. 15, 1889. ¶ *Epist. Encyc.*, Sept. 8, 1893.

of human feelings, he deduces, by a congenial order of Roman Catholic logic, that her partiality for her spouse will incline her to be specially favorable to those who address themselves to him as devoted clients. The following may serve as a specimen of this kind of logic:

> The fact that the worship of St. Joseph is advanced daily and that affectionate devotion to him is on the increase may certainly be expected to be pleasing and acceptable to Mary, the immaculate mother of God, whose favor we are strongly confident of earning by this means.*

The order in which the celestial patrons are named is not a little significant. By reason of his relation to Mary, Joseph is placed even before the chief apostles. The heavenly phalanx to which the pope commends his cause is commonly described as Mary, Joseph, Peter, and Paul. In one conspicuous instance, however, he feels constrained to add an auxiliary whose name has very decisive military associations. Regarding the order of masons as a chief instrument of Satan in the world, he makes his appeal in this fashion:

> Let us employ as helper and mediator the Virgin Mary, mother of God, as one who overcame Satan from her very conception, that she may display her mastery over the base sects in which it is evident that the contumacious spirits of the evil demon live again with untamed perfidy and deceit. We call to our aid the chief of the celestial angels, Michael, the repeller of infernal enemies; likewise Joseph, the spouse of the most holy Virgin, the heavenly and saving patron of the Catholic Church; also the great apostles Peter and Paul, the disseminators and invincible defenders of the Christian faith.†

As affording an indication of the perfect accord of the pope with the mediæval type of devotion, we may also cite his very favorable estimate of the religious efficacy of the bones of the saints. He refers approvingly to this verdict of John of Damascus:

> The bodies of the saints are perennial fountains in the Church, from which, like streams of salvation, celestial gifts and all those things of which we stand in special need are poured forth to the Christian peoples. ‡

* *Litteræ Apostolicæ de Festo S. Iosephi in Lusitania Restituendo*, June 3, 1890.
† *Epist. Encyc. de Secta Massonorum*, April 20, 1884.
‡ *Litteræ Apostol. de Inventione Corporis S. Jacobi M. et SS. Athanasii et Theodori*, Kal., Nov., 1884.

We may note, moreover, the pope's approval of the exhibition of the "holy coat" at Treves (July 11, 1891), his contribution to the celebration of the transfer of the "holy house of Loretto," his kindly attitude toward the Lourdes fetichism, and his confidence in the power of bought-up prayers—that is, prayers evoked by promises of indulgences—to secure the conversion of non-Catholics.

Were we in a combative mood, we might ask for the papal warrant for some of the statements quoted above. We might inquire, for example, on what ground the pope describes the Virgin Mary as the destroyer of all heresies. We wait for authentic evidence that the good woman has ever stepped on Protestantism. Confidence in the pope's insight here is not naturally confirmed by his own repeated showing that the world is still very largely off the track of the true faith. But, waiving criticism, we content ourselves with the exposition which has been given of the papal propagandism in behalf of sentimental devotion. We cannot, indeed, claim to have made a detailed comparison between Leo XIII and all preceding popes on this subject; but we believe that it is safe to challenge anyone to name a single mediæval pontiff who has expended as much effort as this modern pope in promoting the worship of the Virgin. We are entirely sure that it is safe to challenge anyone to produce from the literature of classic heathenism a single example of a higher degree of practical dependence and religious veneration toward a subordinate divinity than that which Leo XIII, in manifold instances, authorizes and invites to be exercised toward the Virgin Mary. Some Roman Catholics outside of the Romance nations must feel that the pope has been giving them a larger dose of idolatry than suits their way of thinking.

II. On the subject of religious liberty the pontificate of Leo XIII, if not reactionary in a very emphatic sense, has still exhibited a good degree of resolution and industry in supporting and propagating long-standing Roman Catholic traditions. A significant index of the pope's sentiment is given in his approving reference* to the encyclical of Gregory XVI issued August 15, 1832 and the syllabus of Pius IX published in 1864. The former was evidently meant to condemn liberty of

* *Epist. Encyc. de Civitatum Constitutione Cristiana*, Nov. 1, 1885.

the press and of worship, taken in the sense in which they have generally been advocated in this country as the proper rights of freemen. The latter condemned each of the following propositions: "Every man is free to embrace and to profess the religion he shall believe true, guided by the light of reason;" "The Church has not the power of availing herself of force or any direct or indirect temporal power;" "In the present day it is no longer expedient that the Catholic religion should be held as the only religion of the State, to the exclusion of all other modes of worship." The reference of Leo XIII implies that, in condemning these sentences, Pius IX gave a standard to which Catholics may conform with the certainty of being in the right.

In the same connection, the pope declares that it is a crime for States or individuals "to observe nowhere the duties of religion or to treat in the same way different kinds of religion." Only under the pressure of practical necessity or for the sake of avoiding great damage are rulers justified in granting tolerance to dissenting forms of worship. An equivalent representation appears in the encyclical on Christian Liberty (June 20, 1888). Stated in brief, the assumption in this document is that the State owes it to God to profess and to patronize the true religion; that it is not difficult to determine, at least in any Roman Catholic domain, that the Roman Catholic is the true religion; and that in conserving a privileged place to this religion restrictions ought to be placed upon freedom of speech and of the press. The strength of the pope's desire to instill this way of thinking is strikingly shown in the fact that, with the certainty before him of offending thereby the majority of citizens in the United States, he took pains in a recent communication to Roman Catholics in this country to remind them that, in a normal condition of things, their Church must be awarded a privileged position before the State.*

In concrete instances where the pope has had occasion to apply his maxim he has not contradicted the tenor of his public teaching on this theme. In a number of instances he has bewailed the disgrace which has befallen Rome through the contaminating presence of Protestant schools and places of worship, and complained of the power which has despoiled him of the

* *Epist. ad Archiepiscopos et Episcopos*, Jan. 6, 1895.

faculty of worthily guarding the seat of Christ's vicar from this pollution. He says:

> Every reason persuades that in the holy city, consecrated by the blood of the chief apostle and of so many heroes of Christianty, the religion of Christ ought to reign supreme, and the universal teacher of the faith, the avenger of Christian morality, ought to have unrestricted power to close here the access to all impiety and to maintain the purity of Catholic instruction.*

A kindred application of maxims was made in 1889, in the earnest admonition which the pope addressed to the Emperor of Brazil against the scheme of the minister of State to grant liberty of worship and teaching. Such a scheme, he argues, as involving the parity of creeds before the law, detracts from the rights of "that one true religion which God has established in the world and distinguished by characters and signs very clear and definite, in order that all might be able to recognize it as such and embrace it." And he continues:

> With the said liberty is placed in the same line truth and error, the faith and heresy, the Church of Jesus Christ and any human institution whatever. . . . Already on other occasions, in public documents addressed to the Catholic world, we have demonstrated how erroneous is the teaching of those who, under the seducing name of liberty of worship, proclaim the legal apostasy of society from its divine Author.†

It may be worth while also to note that, among the great benefits which Italy is alleged to have received from the popes, a special emphasis is placed on the conservation of unity in religion.‡ Now, inasmuch as the papacy organized the supreme tribunal of the Inquisition at Rome in 1542 for the immediate purpose of blotting out the Reformation then in progress and gave Italy religious unity principally by the use of the fagot, rack, and prison, it would seem that the pope invites to a rather complacent recollection of that order of instrumentalities. Farther evidence is not needed to show that Leo XIII would applaud the action of any State preponderantly Roman Catholic in repressing all dissenting forms of worship, where this

* *Epist. ad Card. Vicarium Monaco la Valetta*, June 26, 1878; *Epist. ad Card. Nina de Præcipuis Pontificis Curis*, Aug. 27, 1878; *Epist. ad Card. Vicarium Monaco la Valetta de Scholis Urbis*, March 25, 1879; *Litteræ Encyclicæ ad Episcopos Italiæ*, Feb. 15, 1882.

† *Epist.*, July 19, 1889.

‡ *Epist. ad Cardinales de Luca, Pitra, Hergenrather, de Studiis Historicis*, Aug. 18, 1883.

could be done without too great a cost. Principle, according to his representation, is against tolerating any such forms; only temporary expediency can justify a Roman Catholic State in granting them any standing room.

III. In the domains of philosophy, theology, and biblical study Leo XIII has not only commended the mediæval standard, but has sought with great assiduity to bring Roman Catholic scholarship universally under the practical control of that standard. His extraordinary activity in enthroning Thomas Aquinas as the great philosophical and theological master has much the same meaning in his pontificate as belongs to the Syllabus of Errors in that of Pius IX. The former is as decidedly reactionary toward the mediæval *régime* as was the latter. No thinking man can believe that mere personal fondness for the study of the great scholastic doctor could have justified to the pope's mind such a scheme of propagandism as has been fulfilled in an encyclical addressed to all the bishops of the Roman Catholic world in behalf of the study of Thomas Aquinas (August 4, 1879), a brief declaring him the patron of Roman Catholic schools (August 4, 1880), and other forms, repeatedly used, of commending the Thomist philosophy and theology.* The manifest intent of the pope has been to cancel diversities in speculative thought, and to work toward a homogeneous system thoroughly in harmony with the highest pretenses of the hierarchy. That this has been his aim is evinced distinctly enough in the following description of Aquinas as the ideal master:

> That most sapient doctor always proceeds within the limits of the truth, as one who not only never contends with God, but always adheres to him most closely and obediently, whatever may be the way in which he discloses his secrets; as one, also, who is not less sacredly obedient to the Roman pontiff, and who reverences the divine authority in him, and holds that to be subject to the Roman pontiff is altogether necessary to salvation.†

Aristotelianism within the limits of mediæval dogmas, with their vast substructure of unproved assumptions, is thus the system to which Leo XIII undertakes to lead back the whole

* See *Allocutio ad Catholicos Scientiarum Cultores*, March 7, 1880; *Epist. ad Episcopos Belgii*, Aug. 3, 1881; *Epist. ad Archiepisc. Mechliniensem*, Dec. 25, 1880; *Oratio ad Moderatores et Alumnos Seminariorum Collegiorumque Urbis*, Jan. 18, 1885; *Epist. ad Archiepisc. Baltimorensem*, April 10, 1887; *Litteræ Apostol. de Hierarchia in Mexico Ordinanda*, 1891. † *Epist. ad Archiepisc. et Episc. Bavariæ*, Dec. 23, 1887.

body of teachers and theologians in the Roman Catholic Church. His pattern for biblical study is of no less ancient date, as appears from the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, November 18, 1893. According to this deliverance, the Bible should, indeed, be studied by the clergy; but the study must be within the limits of comprehensive and inflexible presuppositions. No scientific or theological opinion can be tolerated which is at variance with the assumption of the infallible dictation of every part of the Scriptures acknowledged by the Church or out of harmony with any item of the faith established by ecclesiastical authority. Some scholars can doubtless breathe within these limits; but one who has any considerable degree of mental virility, and has been accustomed to the freer and more rational methods of biblical study which have been gaining ground in this century, can no more breathe within the area of these restrictions than an astronomer could find perfect liberty if set back within the old Ptolemaic system and required not to contravene one of its suppositions.

In consideration of the fullness of his teaching and the energy of his propagandism along the lines indicated, Leo XIII must be regarded as having done more than any other modern pontiff, except the manipulator of the Vatican Council, to shackle Roman Catholic thinking. We refer to the measure and natural effect of his efforts. The actual effect may not be so great, since the intellectual forces which work in modern society are likely to overflow any artificial barriers. It would seem, however, that for the time being the pope has been measurably successful. Such diversities in speculative teaching as had place a few decades since have largely been repressed. A recent biographer informs us that the limited opposition to the papal program which existed at the start has disappeared since the condemnation (1887) of propositions from the writings of Rosmini, and that "unanimity tends more and more to be established in Catholic schools of philosophy." * Of course, it is not our intention to deny that a modicum of attention may properly be given to Thomas Aquinas as one of the acutest of mediæval thinkers. Our contention is that to place him at the head of the curriculum of fundamental studies, according to the pope's prescription, and to require all

* Mgr. de T'Serclaes, *Le Pape Léon XIII*, 1894, vol. i, pp. 272, 273.

Roman Catholic scholarship to bow down to his system, as the incomparable model of philosophy and theology, is in purpose and natural result thoroughly reactionary. The design is to consolidate Roman Catholic thinking upon a congenial mediæval basis and to fortify it against potent factors in the world of modern thought.

IV. In his utterly one-sided treatment of the pontifical record Leo XIII has industriously sought to subsidize history to the end of magnifying and glorifying the papacy. Adopting an expedient which seems more in harmony with the rhetorical dogmatism of a third-rate apologist than with the dignity of a high magistrate, he has published lengthy discourses to show how all the different countries of Christendom are debtors to the popes for incomparable benefits. Always selecting his facts in line with this general thesis, "The popes have always used all their authority for the purpose of benefiting States," * he sketches a picture about as much like the reality as an ideal paradise is like this world with its mixed conditions. A sensitive regard for truth, it strikes us, would have inclined his holiness to give some glimpses of qualifying facts.

Thus, in a communication to England he might have mentioned the sense of torture caused to that country by the exactions of Gregory IX, Innocent IV, and other pontiffs; the blast of Innocent III against the Great Charter, in which he declared it annulled and stigmatized it as a "vile and base" document—whereas, contrariwise, Cardinal Gibbons has described it as "the greatest bulwark of civil liberty, the foundation not only of British, but also of American, constitutional freedom;" the claim of Paul IV to pass upon the succession to the throne; the attempted dethronement of Queen Elizabeth by Pius V; and the seconding by Gregory XIII of the project of Philip II for the conquest of the kingdom.

In writing to the French people he might have mentioned such sample facts as the extraordinary tokens of satisfaction which the pope gave over the St. Bartholomew massacre; the unmerciful harrying of the nation for more than a generation in order to force down its unwilling throat the *unigenitus* constitution—a constitution veritably scandalous in some of its particulars; and the stigma which the papacy has recently suc-

* *Epist. ad Episcopos Siculos*, April 22, 1893.

ceeded in casting upon a very large proportion of the most eminent French theologians and prelates since the fifteenth century, by branding their characteristic teaching as a condemned heresy.

In a communication to Germany he might have recalled such historical amenities as the peculiar reception which Gregory VII accorded to Henry IV at Canossa; the benediction of Paschal II upon filial impiety against the same emperor; the slaughter which went on for years because of the arbitrary and unrighteous attempt of Innocent III to thrust aside the lawfully elected emperor; the measureless ferocity with which Gregory IX and Innocent IV urged on the conflict with Frederick II; the responsibility of the papacy, through its patronage of the unprincipled Charles of Anjou, for the extirpation of the illustrious Hohenstaufen line; the implacable war which the Avignon popes, in the fourteenth century, waged against the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria—a war mounting up, in the frenzied language of Clement VI, to the most unchristian specimen of invective that is on record; and the bull of Leo X against Luther, in which two such items of spiritual wisdom are authoritatively established as that reformation of life is not the best penance, and that it is agreeable to the will of the Holy Spirit that heretics should be burned.

In an address to the Italian people the pope might have wearied himself in citing facts analogous to these: the licensing by Clement V of the spoliation of the Venetians and the enslavement of their persons wherever they might be seized, because of encroachments on certain temporalities; an identical expression of extravagant rage on the part of Gregory XI against the Florentines; the accursed and cursing nepotism which was the characteristic feature of papal administration in the closing part of the fifteenth century; the subordination by Alexander VI of all higher interests to the promotion of children born in adultery; the very peculiar encouragement which was given to science by the action of Paul V, Urban VIII, and Alexander VII in condemning the Copernican theory; the obstructing by the papacy of the political unification of the peninsula, and the exposure of it through division to continuous foreign aggression; and the persistent attempt for the last quarter of a century to instill into the minds of Italians the conviction that

their national government is but the godless tool of an atheistic freemasonry. In his apostolic favors to other countries the pope might have rounded out his exposition of history in like manner. As the case stands, he is chargeable with idealizing a record which, however honorable it may be in many particulars, is scarred and seamed with tokens of fallibility and sin.

The plan of campaign which enforces the crying up of the unblemished services of the popes through all history implies, of course, an unsparing censure of those who have raised discordant notes. Leo XIII, it is true, does not appear to be the equal of some of his predecessors in the gift for anathematizing. But this is the way in which he characterizes the Old Catholics in Germany: "False men, scattering depraved doctrines and endeavoring to draw away disciples by fraud and deceit."* When it is remembered that the views of the party thus described were largely shared by the German episcopate before the Vatican decrees constrained them, as Hefele phrases it, "to change their convictions overnight," that the same views have dominated ecumenical councils and been elaborately defended by prelates as illustrious as Bossuet, that, moreover, the party in question contained men like Döllinger, fully the equal of Leo XIII in character and vastly his superior in breadth and accuracy of scholarship, the pope's words give a melancholy impression of the exigencies of pontifical sovereignty. Protestants, doubtless, have often been guilty of stoning their prophets; but their system leaves open a place for atonement. The curse of infallibilism is that, having once begun to smite and to brand, it is obliged in self-consistency to keep on smiting and branding. It makes no difference what may be the virtues or talents of those subjected to censure. They may be the elect spirits among Roman Catholic scholars in Germany, or the elect spirits of the flowering era in the history of Roman Catholic France, as were undoubtedly some in the first generations of Jansenists. Having once passed under the papal ban, they must everlastingly be set in the pillory, to be scorned and spit upon by all who wish to show the credentials of orthodoxy.

V. In describing the essential prerogatives of his office Leo XIII has emitted a mass of statements which vie with the language of the most ambitious representatives of the papal

* *Epist. Encyc. ad Episcopos Borussiæ*, Jan. 6, 1888.

theocracy. In dealing with the nations he has not, indeed, assumed the lordly tone of some of the mediæval pontiffs, since it would be simple madness, in a time when most civil rulers have too much independence to take commands from Rome, to openly attempt the rôle of dictatorship. But the logical implications of his claims have as unlimited a reach as even those of an Innocent III.

The pope describes the Roman pontiff as the one "in whom matters of eternal and immutable good and right have their custodian and defender in the earth."* He characterizes him as being for all Catholics "the master of their faith and the ruler of their consciences."† He reminds Italy of the exceptional honor bestowed upon her, inasmuch as "God has located within her bounds the domicile of his vicar, the *magisterium* of truth, and the center of Catholic unity."‡ An eminent saint is commended by him as a model because he always yielded a ready and trustful obedience to the Roman pontiff, "deriving thence his entire standard of thought and action."§ "In forming opinions," he says, "it is necessary to hold whatever things the Roman pontiffs have delivered or shall deliver, and to profess them openly as often as the case may demand."‖ The obedience of the will, as well as the believing assent of the intellect, he claims, must be rendered to Christ's vicar:

> As a union of minds requires perfect agreement in one faith, so it requires that wills be entirely subject and obedient to the Church and to the Roman pontiff, as to God. . . . Both that which ought to be believed and that which ought to be done the Church by divine right teaches, and, in the Church, the supreme pontiff. Wherefore the pontiff ought to be able to judge, in accordance with his authority, what the divine oracles contain, what doctrines accord and what disagree with them; and, in like manner, to show what things are honorable, what are base.¶

In accord with the Vatican decrees, Leo XIII makes the whole body of the episcopate secondary to the papacy. "The Church, as a divine edifice," he says, "rests primarily upon Peter and his successors; secondarily, upon the apostles and their successors—namely, the bishops."** Complete exemption, his holiness asserts, from every form of earthly authority belongs

* *Epist Encyc.*, April 21, 1878. † *Epist. ad Card. Nina*, Aug. 27, 1878.
‡ *Litteræ Encyc. ad Episcopos Italiæ*, Feb. 15, 1882. § *Oratio*, Jan. 18, 1885.
‖ *Epist. Encyc.*, Nov. 1, 1885. ** *Epist. Archiepiscopo Turonensi*, Dec. 17, 1888.
¶ *Litteræ Encyc. de Præcipuis Civium Christianorum Officiis*, Jan. 10, 1890.

to the Roman pontiff. He holds a coordinate place with no man, much less a place of subjection:

> The Church, by the will of God, is a perfect society; and, as it has its own laws, so it has its own magistrates, properly distinguished as to grade of authority, of whom the chief is the Roman pontiff, by divine right set over the Church and subject to the authority and judgment of God alone.*

The contention of Leo XIII, that in no manner can the pope be a subject, underlies his persistent demand for the decapitation of the kingdom of Italy and the restoration of Rome to pontifical sovereignty. In perhaps twoscore of his published allocutions and epistles this claim is directly or indirectly asserted. It is not, he says, because the pope is greedy of territory that the demand for the restoration of his principality is pushed; it is rather because the nature of the papal office requires its incumbent to be simply and absolutely a sovereign. A civil ruler can submit to a coordinate power in legislature or parliament; it is the unique and divinely appointed privilege of the Roman pontiff to have his lordship subject to no earthly limitation. In sustaining this point of view the pope makes the tacit assumption that divine Providence is always on the side of the papal dignity. He is well aware that the Roman bishops in the earlier centuries had no temporal dominion. He has advised Roman Catholic favorers of monarchy in France to bow to the work of Providence and to accept the republic as an accomplished fact. Why then does he not himself accept united Italy as an accomplished fact, considering the consolidation of the peninsula under one government to be in the order of Providence? Simply because it is a thing unthinkable to his mind that Providence could take away from so privileged a servant as the pope any important element of sovereignty. In this relation the Lord can give, but never take away. So central to the cosmic order does the pope regard his dignity that he makes bold to affirm that only in the conservation of its integrity is there a guarantee of any kind of prosperity for mankind at large. "The cause of the Church," he says, "of the pope, of the holy see, is the cause of the well-being of peoples and States."† Again, he affirms that the way to escape threatening evils is "with confidence and freedom from suspicion to enter

* *Allocutio ad Cardinales*, June 1, 1888. † *Allocutio ad Austriacos*, April 16, 1888.

into union with him who holds from God the supreme *magisterium* of religion; since the words of eternal life which he possesses have virtue to make prosperous even the life here below." * Once more, he remarks, "It is perfectly evident that when we treat of the temporal principality of the apostolic see we are dealing with the public good and the safety of the whole of human society."† As a specimen of pontifical consciousness in the sentimental order we have the following words, addressed to pilgrims from Holland on the occasion of the jubilee in 1893:

If, in the painful situation which we deplore, the supreme pontiff reproduces the dolorous image of Christ on Calvary, it seems also that he reproduces the glorious similitude expressed by the divine oracle, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself." It is, in truth, just and consoling to consider how much love the nations bring more and more to the holy see, from which is derived in return an ever-increasing abundance of saving benefits.‡

As being the infallible exponent of faith and morals and the supreme guide of Catholic consciences, Leo XIII claims an indirect authority over the civil domain, not, indeed, closely defined, but capable of very extensive application. No one but the pope himself has theoretically the right to tell where the prerogative of interference may not be exercised which is sketched in sentences like these:

If the laws of a commonwealth are openly at variance with divine right, if they involve any injury to the Church, or contradict religious duties, or violate the authority of Jesus Christ in the supreme pontiff, then truly to resist is duty, to obey is crime. . . . It belongs to the pontiff, not only to rule the Church, but in general so to order the actions of Christian citizens that they may be in suitable accord with the hope of obtaining eternal salvation.§

Protestants, it is alleged, also claim the right to resist civil demands for the sake of conscience. Yes; but to allow each individual the prerogative to consult his own conscience is in point of theory vastly different from accrediting to the pope the right to mass the consciences of millions of men. The two things admit of no comparison.

The autonomy of States, Leo XIII assures us, can never suf-

* Discourse to a Roman deputation, Feb. 10, 1894, quoted in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, series xv, vol. x, p. 17. † *Epist. Encyc.*, April 21, 1873.

‡ Quoted by Mgr. de T'Serclaes, *Le Pape Léon XIII*, vol. ii, 618, 619.

§ *Litteræ Encyclicæ*, Jan. 10, 1890.

fer from papal encroachments. But what reason does he give for his conclusions? None whatever, except the speculative consideration that the papacy is a divine institution, assigned in the divine thought to a sphere which does not cross that of States. Now, this consideration applies to all past pontificates, as well as to the present or the future. The pope, indeed, allows as much, and declares in broad terms that the Roman pontiffs have never trangressed the proper bounds of their authority. What a guarantee against papal aggressions! Those who know what papal history has been will not be extravagantly thankful for assurances of this sort. Those, too, who know what human nature is will be perfectly certain that nothing but an ample area of indifference or contempt for papal mandates can keep such a privileged mortal as the pope is represented to be from gravitating more or less into the mood and the ways of a universal dictator.

A rather suggestive specimen of asserted jurisdiction within the civil domain has been given by the pope in his instruction to Roman Catholics in Italy to refrain from voting in national elections. The formula that it is "not expedient" to use the suffrage, which had been given out at an earlier date, was declared at the command of the pope, July 30, 1886, to mean that it is "not permitted"—"*non expedire prohibitionem importat.*"* Now, if it falls within the legitimate exercise of pontifical sovereignty to order in this way the political action of Roman Catholic citizens in one country, the logical inference is that the pope has the official prerogative to reach his hand into the political affairs of any country on earth which contains Roman Catholics, without further warrant or occasion than his own judgment of administrative discretion.

We shall be blamed for not giving place to more that might be said in praise of Leo XIII. But our theme does not lie in that direction. Moreover, the task of eulogy is certain to be amply fulfilled. The pope himself is not at all unmindful of what is due, if not to his person, at least to his office. He is continually serving as high priest to his own official dignity and incessantly offering sacrifices thereto. If he settles, as arbitrator, a little dispute between Germany and Spain he must make the occasion a text for discoursing on the benefits which

* Quoted in *Civiltà Cattolica*, Feb. 2, 1895.

the office of the Roman pontiff, under normal conditions, is fitted to bestow.* If he undertakes to counsel the faithful on the social problems of the hour he cannot forbear to notice that the so-called reformation of the sixteenth century was largely responsible for the causes of disturbance in the present, and that the effectual means of healing disorders lies in general submission to pontifical authority.† In fact, an imaginative mind must find it quite easy to picture a set of mirrors in the Vatican so adjusted that, whenever the pope fulfills his wish to benefit mankind, the accessory aim of reflecting upon the world a full-length figure of pontifical glory is always at the same time accomplished.

The pope's followers feel free to take, if possible, even a higher strain than that of their chief. A periodical which has received the official blessing of Leo XIII says succinctly, "The first rule of Catholicism, living and near at hand, is the pope."‡ It records also the conviction that the two great centers of supernatural virtue on earth are Lourdes and the Vatican. "In both places it is understood and felt that Jesus Christ lives and works from God—invisible there in the person of his beloved mother, glorious in heaven; visible here in the person of his vicar, humbled upon earth."§ One biographer speaks of the lamp in the pope's study as "giving forth that supernal light which illuminates both hemispheres," and others freely refer to his public acts as the product of divine inspiration.

Three causes may be expected to perpetuate this order of sacrifices: (1) the admiration elicited by the eminent personality of the pontiff; (2) the plan of campaign, which requires, in harmony with the Vatican decrees, that the pope shall be exhibited at every favorable juncture as a kind of earthly god; (3) the patronage of the pope over all the higher offices of the Church, and the natural ambition of all aspirants for preferment to earn rather his smile than his frown. Meanwhile those who are managing the glorification, or proximate deification, of the pope should seriously consider whether they are not laying a foundation for future damage. A reaction may be precipitated in the minds of the more judicious Roman Catholics who are not willing to

* *Allocutio ad Cardinales*, Jan. 15, 1866.
† See encyclicals of April 21, 1878; Dec. 28, 1878; June 20, 1881.
‡ *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1893, series xv, vol. v, p. 399.
§ *Ibid.*, series xv, vol. viii, p. 547.

go all lengths in man worship. The scheme of sentimental and materialized devotion which seems, in logic and in fact, to be inseparably connected with the project of papal exaltation may work toward such a spiritual atrophy as will leave only an inferior motive power for any kind of religious ends. Finally, the ominous fact of an acute antagonism in the leading Roman Catholic countries between the forces of papal propagandism and the disciples of a radical unbelief may be made, by intemperate efforts of the former, still more prophetic of evil. To reach a practical apotheosis of the pope, at the expense of alienating a large fraction of the more cultured portion of society from all sympathy with positive religion, would be a costly procedure.

H. C. Sheldon.

Art. IV.—HOMER TO-DAY.

The literature of Greece, like its art, is a treasure forever. Its wisdom can never fail to instruct, or its beauty to delight, mankind. Even if research and criticism had completed their task, yet, as in changeful light on familiar landscapes, new aspects would constantly appear in Grecian letters, and nothing could stale the freshness of its ever-shifting variety.

In the beginning, speaking as human vision dimly sees, Homer created Greek literature. His poems, coming out of the far-away, have, like the Nile, for ages "concealed the origins of their fountains." Many an investigator, like Bruce, a hundred years ago, dancing with delight at his discovery of the Nile spring, has declared with exultation his settlement of the Homeric time, place, and personality. But, as the Nile has been shown to rise far beyond the scene of Bruce's triumph—beyond the great midland lakes, in watersheds still more remote—so the conclusions of more than one literary explorer have been displaced by some new theory of the Homeric origin. Modern discovery has wrought no change in the beneficent river that, still broods over Egypt with its watery wings, nor has modern critical debate affected the Homeric stream. It is always the Nile on which we gaze or sail, and it is always Homer with whom we are entranced. He has to-day far more readers and expounders than when, twenty-two centuries ago, Ptolemy Philadelphus founded an Homeric chair at Alexandria and Aristarchus centered upon Homer the labor of the first great school of criticism.

Of the Homeric poems, as of the Book of Job, it must be a matter of universal concession that they are prehistoric. They are unattended by contemporary records. They must be treated by the higher criticism. If the light that is in them be darkness, dark they must remain. It is only a hundred years since vigorous inquiry as to Homer and his poems actually began, and the task seems now nearly finished. The early literary world was trustful, if not credulous. Finding the treasure in its actual possession, it was inclined to the simplest view of its origin. At the first literary epoch in Greece the Homeric poems are already existing, and, in fact, form nearly

the whole of the nation's literary store. It is the era of Solon, when Athens is beginning to be great. The Greek is already a written language, as an inscription found in Upper Egypt, carved a hundred years earlier, fully proves. Pisistratus finds these epics, which are probably unwritten, familiar and delightful to the ear and tongue of himself and his people. Besides these, there is a mass of inferior epic matter taking from them its theme, tone, and movement. Nor need we wonder that a people so intellectual as the Greeks held all in recollection and passed it down orally from one generation to another. Such feats of memory have been frequent, as when, at the beginning of our own century, Duncan McIntyre, a Highland gamekeeper, though unable to read or write, could recite six thousand verses in Gaelic, besides copious poems of his own. Pisistratus wisely urged attention to these ancient treasures and encouraged their recitation, while a commission of his appointing rejected the unimportant mass and edited the Homeric poems. Rhapsodies, epic snatches, and ballads "stitched" to these were generally thrown to the winds. Onomacritus, the chief editor, is believed to have done his work well; and it was surely no easy task. He left the antique clear of the ideas of his own time; and, if he welded many poems to produce the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, he did it so skillfully that men of keen eyesight have never agreed as to where his seams and sutures run. This edition was the one used by Greeks in the great days of Pericles and Plato, the one carried in a rich casket by Alexander and read at the tomb of Achilles—that young man of Hellas's fair morning, as Alexander was the youth of its evening. It is, in substance, ours to-day.

During these centuries, the fifth and the fourth before our era, the influence of the poems on Greek thought is immeasurable. Hardly any intellectual product fails to get from Homer something of ornament or illustration. Named or unnamed, he is "the poet." Hesiod, eldest of the poets next to Homer, Pindar, in his triumphal odes, and Sophocles, in his dramas, praise and copy him. His verses brighten the last dream of Socrates and enrich the last eloquence of Æschines. The philosophers trace to him the prevailing ideas, in not only morals and religion, but even in physics; and Plato, though denouncing him as immoral for giving gods mortal passions and

excluding him from his republic for "estranging minds from things real," yet falls into his style and continually quotes from him, in a way showing a reverence involuntary and a fascination irresistible. Homer's poems stood with the Greeks of those days even as the Bible stands with us. Each sect of philosophers found its origin in the poet and claimed his indorsement; however they might differ in interpretation, they at least agreed that in his subject-matter and its treatment one found all religion and morality. Nor was he known in Greece only. Livius Andronicus, the earliest Roman writer, put the *Odyssey* into Latin as the first book from which Roman boys should learn their own language; and thus "rude Rome" was, after a fashion, early familiar with the Homeric strains, the music of Ionic thought.

Here, before critical debate begins, one may ask what is the content and quality of these poems that, from antiquity, have so fascinated mankind. One of their charms is found in the glimpses they give of a rich and suggestive background. Whatever the date of the poems, behind them lies a "pre-Hellenic" stretch of human doings and development. This Homer reveals by allusions and assumptions, as through rifts in clouds or breaks in mountain chains; and it is all the more effective because seen in glimpses only. This background is also evidenced by proof of another, and of a material, kind. At Mycenæ we pass through the gate whose lintel supports those marble lions which are the oldest piece of sculpture in Europe, and we are in the heart of an ancient citadel. On our right is the open-air council room, a hundred feet in diameter, where sat the wise men of the State. On the left are those tombs, inviolable and mysterious for three thousand years, from which have of late been taken the ashes of a royal house, with a hundred pounds' weight of golden ornaments. In the Troad, where the site of Ilium has borne in turn seven towns, the city of Priam and his palace have been brought to the light. Even the contingent of his ally, "the son of the dawn," has been traced to that Hittite empire, so long forgotten, in the east of Asia Minor. All these discoveries, achieved by recent toil and now filling many books and enriching many museums, are but suggestions of the Homeric background. They awaken more curiosity than they appease, and for that reason are of undying

interest. From the dim unknown into which we peer Homer brings royal personages, kings wide of sway, warriors of prowess, sages of wisdom, women beautiful, delicate, and accomplished. These come not of barbarism; men do not gather figs of thistles. The Peloponnesus must have been a mart of many nations, a realm of art and culture, from which Homer gathered, with an artist's privilege, as Walter Scott gathered from the feudal ages, such things as best suited the picture upon his easel. But who were these kings before Agamemnon? Farther back, what manner of men were they who furnished heroes and demigods to mythology and tragedy? Each student in each generation puts the question, but the darkness gives no answer. Conjecture will be, as it has been, rife as to those rich realms of which Homer veils so much more than he reveals; and the shadowy forms of Œdipus and Antigone, of statesmen, warriors, and fair women, will hereafter, as heretofore, be summoned to fill the pre-Homeric, prehistoric void.

Another of Homer's enduring charms is his perfect presentation of human nature. As long as man's behavior is man's chief entertainment and we reckon nothing human to be alien from us, Homer's men and women will never be dull company. Helen, more sinned against than sinning, her grief and shame softening her celestial charms; Andromache, smiling tearfully as a beam from her infant's face gilds her sad farewell to her husband; Hector, brave and gentle, the Bayard of that far-off chivalry; Achilles, impulsive and passionate more than boy and forceful more than man—these, and others whom time would fail to name, are not artificial people. They are as real as those on our streets to-day. As distance counts for nothing in Colorado air, so, in looking back to Homer's people, we see their smiles and tears, we hear their words of love, of passion, or command, and we are at ease in their company. The height of art is attained in concealing art; the poet makes no visible effort to parade them or to display their qualities. Neither Hector nor Helen is aware that anyone is looking or listening. "*Hinter dem Gebirge sind unseres Gleichen*" says the German peasant, and Homer shows that behind the ages are people like ourselves. We are their kindred. Their mortal joys and griefs touch us. We reach our hands to them; and all after us will equally realize this kinship.

Homer's presentation of nature also gives his poems imperishable interest. He was fortunate in his locality. In the whole world there are no other such seas and islands, such streams and groves, such fertile vales and towering hills as were his. In this profusion of environment the poet reveled, but squandered nothing. Already the rule of Greek rhetoric was, "Nothing in excess." He had but to open his eyes, and something of nature illustrating something of man was visible. The bee, the cicada, and the swan; the dog, so vile in the *Iliad*, so true and loving in the *Odyssey;* the horse and the lion; the flock on the hillside; the ship running athwart the gray-haired waves—these and other objects make a picture that is worthy in itself, is restful to the reader's thought, and enlivens the transactions of the story. Every one of Homer's sketches of nature, still or stirring, has a purpose, in which it never fails, of illuminating or emphasizing some aspect of human condition or behavior. The illustrations that sparkle through these poems are as profuse as the dewdrops. As the tourist of to-day wanders along the Homeric lands, much of their beauty has vanished, many a charm has withered, man has broken and wasted much; but Homer is verified in this half decay, and one is grateful that in their early freshness there was an eye to see and a hand to preserve to all ages those charms which are like a framing of silver to golden pictures of human deeds.

Thus far in history most great enterprises have involved the struggles and carnage of war. The *Iliad* shows us the marshaling of hosts, the shock of battle, all the pomp, parade, and circumstance of war. Paris, alluring Helen, the most beautiful woman of her time, to Troy, finds all Greece rising to obtain for Menelaus restitution and revenge. Asia comes to Troy's relief. Ten years of struggle follow, intensifying in the tenth; and from Troy's blood and ashes Helen returns, to be again the wife of Menelaus and the queen of Sparta. Such a drama calls out every human ability and rouses every passion in our frames of clay. But the *Odyssey* is a poem of peace; it describes simpler tempers, conditions, and experiences. The poet fearlessly adapts his geography to his story, and in seas, islands, rivers, and continents man is to him the measure of all things. Ithaca to-day is not his Ithaca, nor Corfu his Phæacia, nor is Sparta an easy chariot ride of a day from Pylos.

Odysseus is ingenious, self-possessed, and irrepressible; Penelope is faithful, discreet, and long-suffering; Telemachus is brave, generous, and eloquent. Besides these, there passes before us in the tale no end of persons, high and low, human and divine. The adventures are both amusing and appalling, and all are radiant with

> The light that never was, on sea or land;
> The consecration, and the poet's dream.

The war of the *Iliad*, with its passions, its heroisms, and its sufferings, the wandering of the *Odyssey*, with its infinite variety—these the ages have counted great in themselves, and too great in their treatment for time to belittle.

The religion of these poems ruled the best days of the Hellenic world, and it adorns and enlivens modern literature. The idolatries of other peoples in those far-off times were gross and cruel; Homer transforms these into fair humanities. His deities are more than mortal, but they are active, intelligent, and sympathetic. He never confuses his divine, any more than his human, personages, or assigns to one what pertains to another. Each is clear and distinct, so that in the days of art they presented no confusing task to brush or chisel. It is not strange that Greek conceptions of the divine crystallized in these poems; here was their religious system, and to accept this was orthodox. The Zeus and Athene of Homer, his Apollo and Artemis, his Muses, his throngs of deities with their varied gifts and graces, formed altogether the most clean, humane, and inspiring idolatry that ever entered into the heart of man to conceive. "An idol is nothing in the world," and the Homeric deities are to us but painted air; yet who would have their bright suggestion lost in the invisible? Do they not stir with life the asphodel meadows else too calm?

Finally, the music of the Homeric verse can never lose its charm. It is like the silvery voice of Arcadian waterfalls or the laughter of Ægean billows. "'Twill murmur on a thousand years, and flow as now it flows." Poetry is the oldest recorded form of thought; and the dactylic hexameter, one might think, came of itself to the poet's lips, for in this most ancient of secular verse the rhythm, the undulation, and the energy are complete. No wonder if the chief delight at a banquet was in listening to the wrath of Achilles or the wanderings of Odys-

seus. It was as when one played skillfully upon an instrument —and more than that. The noble men and fair women of the bygone moved along the field of vision; warriors with nodding plumes and clashing weapons, gods and goddesses high and radiant, neighing steeds, and wave-tossed vessels, all in order of time and motion, as on the frieze of the Parthenon, made marvelous procession.

Thus the poems had for ages been the treasure of the Grecian world, giving delight to a people come to be most acute of perception and in taste most accurate and sensitive. They had given rapture to the commonalty and resource and suggestion to poets, artists, and philosophers; they had dominated the religion of a thoughtful community and kept firm hold upon its period of greatest intellectual activity; and at the end of the fourth century before our era, far as they might be from the date of their production, they enjoyed simple, unquestioned, undiminished appreciation.

Then came the age of criticism. The function of the critic is to find and delineate the best that has been thought and said in the world. His task is toilsome, thankless, and often hazardous; for he is condemned when he approves the unworthy, and who wishes his disapproval? The reign of the second Ptolemy at Alexandria saw the true beginning of Homeric criticism. He set himself to make his capital the world's literary metropolis. He began that library famous both for its magnitude and its destruction, and gave the Hebrew Scriptures their Greek form as it remains unto our day. But his chief attention was devoted to Homer; and, though the works of his scholars perished in the first destruction of his library (47 B. C.), yet we know their substance by the notes and comments of others. Of these the first was Zenodotus. He found, united with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, a mass of epic compositions, which he separated and dismissed to oblivion. He divided the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* into twenty-four books, marking those of the *Iliad* by the capitals of the Greek alphabet, and those of the *Odyssey* by the smaller letters. His rejection of the epic trailers called cyclic poems, from their treating of persons and events "cycling" around the great transactions of Troy, led his pupil Hellenicus a step farther; he rejected the Homeric authorship of the *Odyssey*, counting that the anticipations of the

Odyssey in the *Iliad* were not enough to outweigh the differences in style and spirit. He was the first separatist. Byzantium now sent to Alexandria a careful workman, Aristophanes, whose chief work was the preparation of a well-authenticated text from all the manuscripts gathered by Ptolemy. Then appears Aristarchus, the commanding literary personage of his century. He was a born editor. He reëdited many authors; he wrote commentaries; he gave oral lectures. His *ipse dixit* was absolute with the listening crowds; and, what is remarkable, his decisions have, until within a century of our time, been rarely questioned, and never wholly rejected. He positively assigned the two poems to one and the same hand. As spurious he threw out nearly twelve hundred lines; but what were these among twenty-five thousand?

As Aristarchus left the Homeric poems, so we find them. Many a commentary has been written on them; and in 1488 the new art of printing produced at Florence a splendid folio edition. The fall of Constantinople had now driven Greek scholars westward; and in 1491 William Grocyn, the first to teach Greek in England, began his work at Exeter College, Oxford. From that day Homer has not lacked devotees in England. In 1778 there was found in the library of St. Mark's, at Venice, a manuscript of the *Iliad* singularly complete in text and rich in scholia, or explanatory notes. The peculiar value of these is that they give to modern scholars a fair account of all that ancient critics wrought upon Homer's *Iliad;* and careful search has been made for a companion manuscript giving in like fullness the *Odyssey*. This Marcian manuscript has been the very apple of discord among Homeric scholars. A hundred years of Homeric controversy have followed, marked by close study, careful dissection, lively imagination, and almost national lines of division, as between the scholars of England and Germany. The scholia of the Marcian manuscript showed that the men of Alexandria had not rested on the authority of certified manuscripts, but had freely handled their material, which was about the same as ours, according to perceptions, tastes, and judgments of their own. It was now clear that, although wider views and finer discernment might be attained and new and more truthful opinions might result, yet the age had wrought no change in the subject-matter. In 1795 Wolf, a German, appeared in the field.

He asserted that before Pisistratus there was, not only no manuscript, but no embodiment, of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey;* that rhapsodists—wandering bards—composed poems, each according to his ability, and recited them upon various occasions, to be thereafter held in memory by themselves and their hearers. The Homeric poems were thus the work of no one man, of no personal Homer, but came of many men's genius in composing and of one man's skill in compiling and editing. The word "Homer," under etymologic torture, was constrained to mean "the harmonizer" or "assimilator"—no longer "the blind" or "the hostage." This theory threw out of the poems all idea of a definite original plan, and made their form and such unity as they have the work of an editor, who, with more or less art, framed what material his hand found to handle. It set men to vigorous thinking and soon gained patrons. Then came Gottfried Hermann, who held that there was a personal Homer, of rare genius, a ποιητής—a creator, indeed—striking out upon the epic path, before untrodden, and composing masterly, but brief and gaunt, poems, and to whose work others added, until the bulk became as Pisistratus and ourselves have found it. Lachmann, through study of the *Nibelungenlied*, found the Homeric "plan" to be an afterthought—a feat of wonderfully good editing, indeed, sixteen ballads being thus harmonized—but that the whole was not a composition of one original writer.

Beyond these theories of "higher criticism" one need make little note of others. Wide and wild has been the range of opinion among the toilsome Germans. Horace of old thought he did well to be vexed when good Homer nods and falls below the high range of his brighter hours. Critics have in this century done more than be vexed. They have carved out and thrown away "un-Homeric" verses, singly and in groups, as coolly as Renan ever said of a scripture text, "This is unhistoric." One cannot here recount the many ways of dissecting and constructing the poems which the ingenuity and industry of the century have devised, until permutation itself seems exhausted. Yet the poems stand, like the Sphinx in the desert, "staring right on with calm, eternal eyes."

The Greek language in Homer seems a very seed-bed of dialects. Here are Ionic—Old, Middle, and New—with Æolisms

and Atticisms. Dorisms alone are lacking, and one might almost look for the θὰ ὑπάγω and ἐφέρθη of modern Greek! This variety aids the theory that the poems are composite, the work of compilers and recensionists. The Atticisms are credited to Aristarchus, who believed that Homer was an Athenian. The Old and Middle Ionic appear in Homer alone; the New Ionic is the dialect of Herodotus. The verbiage of the *Odyssey* is quite different from that of the *Iliad*. Only about one hundred and thirty words are found in the *Odyssey* which are not found in the *Iliad;* but many words occur with quite different meanings, and philology would indicate that both poems are not by the same hand. This is the most unmanageable objection to the unity of the poems in authorship. Yet it never troubled the Greeks, for they referred the *Odyssey* to Homer's old age, and so explained all these variations and contrasts.

Of the great scholars of England, Gladstone holds to the unity of the poems in date and authorship. Grote divides the *Iliad*, making from it an *Achilleid* and an *Iliad*, each with its own author, and gives a third author to the *Odyssey*. Geddes urges that one writer produced the *Achilleid*, and another both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. With this that brilliant heathen, Symonds, agrees, while Lang mocks them all. The controversy grows wearisome. But meanwhile the poems, like the heroes of the Valhalla or Milton's warring angels, take their wounds cheerfully, and the morning finds them whole and joyous. Whatever composition of parts the critic's eye may discover, the moral unity of the poems seems indestructible. "The blind old man of Scio's rocky isle" may be a dream, though

> Seven wealthy towns contend for Homer dead,
> Through which the living Homer begged his bread.

Yet the feeling will persistently outlive all criticism, however acute and plausible, that behind these wondrous songs abides a far-away mysterious singer whom the world will ever call Homer. English scholars have in general stood by this traditional unity with a liberal feeling. They generously hold that all discord may be harmony not understood, and that the poet, in dealing with affairs involving so many years, places, and peoples, might reasonably have chosen what his art could most lift and illuminate, giving small care to connections and details. Repetitions, inconsistencies, and *nonsequiturs* they find in too

many known authors to reject such as not genuine when found in Homer. German criticism is acute, but the English is more sympathetic, humane, and wholesome.

Research, dissection, and criticism have had upon the Homeric poems, as upon the Bible, an effect which none need regret. Little of prehistoric art has come down to us complete. The Hermes of Olympia is the only surviving original of the great period of historic art. But *forma mentis eterna.* Homer attains an ever higher position. The undergraduate, as with the eyes of the morning, reads him with a dewy freshness of delight; the professor, growing old, ever sees a new charm on familiar objects, as on mountains at sunset. If the poems mock translation it is because the Greek language cannot be duplicated. In reading Dante, though there be many a mighty line, one is perplexed with allegories and allusions. The Homeric poems are as intelligible to the reader of to-day as to the throngs to whom the bard chanted them when, in kings' houses, they had their first hearing. They do not unfold the sacred truth that gives Job and Moses their lofty grandeur. They are human only. Homer, *nominis umbra*, hands them down from prehistoric gloom. Of their own merit they have lived; of their own merit they are imperishable. Grim Wolf confessed that, even with scalpel in hand, he often surrendered to their poetic charm and felt himself borne on in swift delight along a stream of continuity. One must own that no possible number of ballads, not even the Arthurian, though each in itself be worthy, can any more form an epic than a group of architectural structures can form a Parthenon, with its broad outlines and exquisite details. The general movement—with the deeds and words of both the greater and the lesser personages, and all their traits and turns—going on as in a Shakspearian or a Sophoclean drama, inspires the feeling in the reader that the Homeric poems are from one master, whose eye, like that of a shepherd, is upon his wide-ranging flock, and whose voice directs them all, in vale or on hill, by grove or stream of the pasture.

We can but congratulate the student of our day on the ease with which he can comprehend the greatest poet, next to Shakespeare, of all on the fair scroll of literature. Macaulay compared the bleak and meager form of the classics issued four hundred years ago from the Aldine press at Venice with the full, facile

editions which he himself read. Even livelier is the contrast between the *Iliad* which fifty years ago was in the student's hand and the book which he opens to-day. Scholars of two generations have labored, and he enters into their labors. The text is emended by the best that history, philology, and archæology can offer. Excavations and explorations have cleared up many a phrase and allusion once obscure—the Heræum, the very temple near Mycenæ on which the poet's eye must at some time have rested, being the most recent recovery. All these sources of accuracy have been opened to the student in the lifetime of men now living. The perfection of the text, the clearness and aptness of annotation, the copiousness of illustration make, as on a mountain side, the climbing a delight, while the summit loses nothing of its glory.

Had Homer been Christian! St. Paul, so runs tradition, going up from Naples to Rome, turned aside at Posilippo to muse at Virgil's tomb. "*O quem te fecissem, si noveram te!*" came like a groan from the apostle's lips as his great heart felt the poet's pure and lofty genius. Yet must one sigh that so much of the Homeric power is spent on idols which are "nothing in the world?" There is another view to take. In some affecting degree, the whole development of Greek literature belongs to that "mystery of God" whereby he left himself not "without witness" while the fullness of another epoch was slowly coming. There is a glory of the stars, though they fade at the coming of the sun; and that is Homer's own. Besides this, his mythology, though it took from idolatry much of its grossness, is but a part of his achievement. Were it artificial and misleading, enough that cannot be shaken and is noble, tender, beautiful, and true would remain. How can Christianity need, how can it have, an epic? It has Moses and the prophets. It has that marvelous Job, which may be recited or sung. It has the gospels. In all these are recounted the highest possible transactions, with every play of human passion and every phase of human performance. Many a scriptural personage might become the central figure of an epic, were he not so already. To "Javan" and "the isles," as the prophet knew Homer's Ionia and Hellas, it was given to achieve in the night, by the light of stars, a work impossible under the beams of the sun—a work entitling the laborer to say, "We are also his off-

spring," and enabling the night to show knowledge to even the golden day.

For three thousand years all study of Homer has ended in wide and tender reverie, and so it must ever end. The subject-matter of the endless dream is Homer himself. One thing is clear—that our enchanter, like Walter Scott, was first himself enchanted with nature, with gods, and with the ways of men. He was long in training for his work; his vision was quick and clear; he saw the cities of many men and learned their minds; he gathered the choice things of far-floating tradition and of ever-struggling theogony. Then, as his own bees in spring-time from blooming fields come freighted to their hollow rock, so he, heavy-laden with treasure, returns to Ionia to walk by the sounding sea and look forth upon the wine-colored deep. Now come the inspiration and the poet's dream. The muse, like the fair woman in Caedmon's vision at Whitby, bids him sing. "What shall I sing?" "Sing the wrath of Achilles!" Nor does the voice divine—*θεία ὀμφή*—die to silence in his heart until both epics have gushed forth and, flush with the wealth of dimly known but opulent ages, have begun to refresh and fertilize the literature of the world.

A. B. Hyde

ART. V.—MISSIONS AS SEEN AT THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.

DURING the Columbian Exposition it was the writer's privilege to attend seven sessions of the World's Parliament of Religions. In this assembly were gathered, not only representatives of the various divisions of Christianity, but intelligent delegates from the several divisions of heathenism, with many representatives of religions that are neither heathen nor Christian. Never in the history of the world had there been held such a congress. Every man was invited to appear as a "sincere defender of his faith," without fear of inquisition or contradiction. Upon the minds of those who attended the conviction grew strong that Christianity had nothing to fear, but everything to hope; and the Rev. George T. Candlin said, "As a missionary, I anticipate that it will make a new era of missionary enterprise and missionary hope." *

I. Much was done to remove misunderstandings. When Christian workers first went among the heathen they were regarded with suspicion or fear. The heathen could not comprehend the motive of their mission or the inspiration that sustained it. They were inclined to believe that missionaries were the creatures of ambition or the mercenary agents of commercial enterprise or the incarnation of vileness bent on destruction. In India all Hindu families are also Hindu in their religion. For this reason the Hindus supposed that all persons in Christian countries were Christian in faith and practice. When they found that men from Christian countries were the unscrupulous agents of commerce or the depraved victims of vice, that they despised law, that they were strangers to justice and the perpetrators of fraud, they inferred that these men were the product of missionary teaching. They therefore misunderstood Christianity, while they supposed that they were judging it by its fruits. They did not know that it was the lack of Christianity that they condemned; and it was interesting in the Parliament of Religions to hear heathen advocates point out what they regarded the defects of Christianity in a spirit of self-defense.

* *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i, p. 169.

When the Christian missionary first looks on heathenism he, also, sees it at its worst. He is an observer from the outside, and not from within. The cruel distinctions of caste, the widespread ignorance, the degrading customs, the spirit of sensuality, and the depravities of moral pollution he supposes to be the normal fruit of the religion by which the heathen are known. When, therefore, the missionary speaks severely of a religion that yields such fruits and undertakes to supplant it by Christianity, this is resented on the ground that the fruit of Christianity is also bad.

Until recently the rule has been to show only the contrasts between the Christian religion and others. We have contrasted our light with heathen darkness, our truth with heathen error, our material prosperity with heathen adversity, our emancipated and progressive civilization with heathen bondage to the primitive conditions of social and national life. In making these comparisons we have drawn upon our knowledge of what Christianity is from within, while we have only known the doctrines of the heathen from without. Besides other results, the Parliament greatly aided the Christian and the heathen to see as never before the real antagonisms between Christianity and heathenism. In the future our differences will not be those inspired by mutual animosity, by prejudice, by hatred, and by intolerance; but they will be differences found in the great and fundamental principles that underlie and maintain faith.

II. This ignorance of the East and its religions was openly commented on by the orientals. Thus, they stated that if we knew them we would approach them differently, represent them more fairly, and discover where our faith and theirs reveal a common inspiration and a mutual ground of sympathy. For example, they claimed that we do not understand the meaning of their idols. They say, "Your Roman Catholic Church has material images, and your Protestant Church has mental images, and our idols are only mental images materialized." Manilal N. D'vivedi, a Brahman and a member of the Philosophical Society of Bombay, further declared:

> It may be said, without the least fear of contradiction, that no Indian idolater, as such, believes the piece of stone, metal, or wood before his eyes as his God, in any sense of the word. He takes it only as a symbol

of the all-pervading, and uses it as a convenient object for purposes of concentration.*

Then he extemporaneously told how a Christian missionary had provoked the wrath of his people, instead of converting them. In condemnation of idolatry the missionary said, "I can strike against your god, and he cannot hurt me." A heathen in the congregation replied, "So I can do things against your God, and he cannot hurt me." The missionary replied, "Yes, he can, and will when you die." The heathen thereupon added, "So will my god hurt you when you die." Both "believed in the existence of a spiritual principle."

Again, Dr. George F. Pentecost, of London, in his address on "The Invincible Gospel," censured the oriental religionists for their criticisms of Christianity, and said that the abuses in American cities pointed out by these men were outside the pale of Christianity. He furthermore declared:

In India among the high caste Brahmans there are at least six hundred priestesses, and every one of these is a prostitute. They are prostitutes because they are priestesses, and they are priestesses because they are prostitutes.†

The next day Virchand A. Gandhi, a Hindu, in a paper entitled "The History and Tenets of the Jains of India," said:

Abuses are not arguments against any religion. . . . There are a few Hindu temples in Southern India where women singers are employed to sing on certain occasions. Some of them are of dubious character, and the Hindu society feels it and is trying its best to remove the evil. But to call these "priestesses because they are prostitutes" and "prostitutes because they are priestesses" is a statement that differs as much from the truth as darkness from light. These women are never allowed to enter the main body of the temple; and, as for their being priestesses, there is not one woman priest from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.‡

A Brahman monk, Vivekananda by name, a great favorite at the Parliament on account of his candid manner and tolerant spirit, in reply to our conviction that the funeral pyre was a natural product of their religion, said:

The Hindus have their own faults; . . . but, mark this, it is always toward punishing their own bodies, and never to cut the throats of their neighbors. If the Hindu fanatic burns himself on the pyre he never lights the fire of inquisition; and even this cannot be laid at the door of

* *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i, p. 337.
† *The Daily Inter Ocean*, Chicago, Sept. 25, 1893. ‡ *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1893.

religion, any more than the burning of witches can be laid at the door of Christianity.*

They further declared that we have too long been contrasting their most degraded classes with the best products of our civilization—a procedure as unjust as for them to describe our civilization by what can be seen in the slums of Chicago.

III. While these orientals showed themselves intolerant of attacks inspired by prejudice or ignorance, they were extremely tolerant of Christian wisdom, reason, and righteousness. The delegates of the Brahmo-somaj did not hesitate to say that they regarded Jesus as "the greatest religious teacher the world has ever known." B. B. Nagarkar, of Bombay, is a Hindu reformer trying to ingraft certain Christian principles into the old Hindu stock. He said:

> The conquest of India by England is one of the most astounding marvels of modern history. . . . The victory of the British, if victory it can be called, was mainly due to the internal quarrels and dissensions that had been going on for ages. . . . It was a state of complete anarchy; and no one could fathom what was to come out of this universal chaos. At this critical juncture of time there appeared on the scene a distant power from beyond the ocean. No one had heard or known anything of it. . . . In those days a white-faced, biped animal was synonymous with a representative of the race of monkeys. . . . It was no earthly power that transferred the supreme sovereignty of Hindustan into the hands of Great Britain. . . . Their deep wailing and lamentation had pierced the heavens, and the Lord of love and mercy was moved with compassion for them.†

In this revolution he discovered for India the blessings of "a divine providence" and said, "I think of Christ, the great Teacher of Nazareth, as a king of prophets."‡ The Rev. Dr. H. H. Jessup, of Beirut, Syria, also, declared that there is a "vast reform party of Persian Moslems who accept the New Testament as the word of God and Christ as the deliverer of men, who regard all nations as one and all men as brothers."§ And H. Dharmapala, a Buddhist of Ceylon, said, "Yes, friends, if you are serious, if you are unselfish, if you are altruistic, this program can be carried out, and the twentieth century will see the teachings of the meek and lowly Jesus accomplished."‖

* *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. ii, pp. 976, 977.
† *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 767, 768.
‡ *The Daily Inter Ocean*, Chicago, Sept. 17, 1893.
§ *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. ii, pp. 1125, 1126. ‖ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 98.

IV. The Parliament strongly emphasized the fact that "men must be converted by their veneration, and not by their doubts." Christianity will advance among the heathen, not merely by developing skepticism with reference to their own doctrines, but by showing how the truth they already have is the forerunner of the truth that Jesus has come to proclaim. Mere disproof only drives the specter of superstition out of the house; but it is ready to return to its old lodging as soon as the memory of the disproof is forgotten. The victim of superstition must be made not only to conform to the teachings of Christ, but must be transformed by the renewing of his mind, the regeneration of his heart, and the divine inspiration in his life. We must oppose idolatry; but our opposition should show, not personal animosity, but divine authority. For many years the intelligence of Athens had hurled invectives against the idolatries of the city. Socrates and Menander did not hesitate to condemn the superstitions that enslaved the people. Yet these superstitions remained. "But," as James Martineau puts it, "when Paul, without a sneer, even taking a text from a pagan altar, revealed to them the unknown God and preached Jesus and the resurrection, the doom of the whole Pantheon went forth upon his voice." In presence of the Parliament of Religions it seemed as if the spirit of Justin Martyr was again with the Church to revive his teaching of "the omnipresent Logos"—"the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." It seemed, also, as though Jesus said, with renewed emphasis, "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice; and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd." And to the devout Jew Jesus again seemed to say, "Thou ar not far from the kingdom of God."

Professor Minas Tcheraz, delegate from the Armenian Church, declared that Christianity had brought about a revolution in the ideas of the Armenian people and had pushed them forward in the way of instruction.* And Herant Mesrob Kiretchjian, of Constantinople, described the Parliament as a Beulah land of prophecy which should send forth the echo of that sweet song, once heard in Eastern lands, "On earth peace, good will toward men." By way of this Parliament it seemed as though

* *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. ii, p. 929.

all religions had come to the golden gate of the twentieth century; and, in obedience to the one God, all prayed, "Our Father which art in heaven," and, with the inspiration of Him who enlightens every man, all sang, "Nearer, my God, to thee."

Certain it is that to-day there is majesty and force in the Gospel as never in the past. It has now a Christian civilization behind it such as the early Church did not enjoy. It is henceforth to be revealed, not in words only, in epistles, in sermons, in creeds, but also in arts, in sciences, in governments, in institutions of learning and of charity, in Christian churches and Christian homes, in refinements and in culture, in material prosperity and in national glory. These features of our civilization amazed the visitors from the East. They could not account for it, but witnessed it until it seemed like an enchantment. The enthusiasm of our people for liberty, for education, and for popular advancement was to them a constant astonishment. Was Jesus the genius that had turned our coal into power and our iron ore into steel, that had made the electric fluid our servant by day and by night, that had given a railroad to every city and a steam engine to every factory? At first they thought that our civilization was purely and only material; but they learned that beneath all and through all there breathed a spiritual life whose inspiration was none other than the Christ.

In these auspicious times it is our privilege to do greater works than have been accomplished in all the past. A goal is before us that cannot be attained by singing hymns, by partaking of the sacraments, or by the ecstatic uplift of prayer. But if we will be the successors of the apostles, not only in time, but in spirit, will, like them, count it a privilege to sacrifice, to suffer, and to endure as seeing him who is invisible, and will now go and "preach the Gospel to every creature," we shall see Jesus entering into his heathen inheritance and taking possession of the uttermost parts of the earth.

H. R. Bender

ART. VI.—PROGRESS IN THEOLOGY.

THEOLOGY is the science of God. It is a human science, though it deals with divine being and supernatural things. Its concepts are not inspired. They may be based upon inspired revelation, but as parts of a formulated system are not themselves of inspired origin. Man does not create the facts on which any science is based. The stars and their laws afford the basis of astronomy. Matter, in its constitution and affinities, furnishes the facts on which the science of chemistry rests. Progress in these sciences does not involve any change in the laws which govern the stars, or any alteration in the methods of chemical action. Is theology a progressive science, or is it a science which is complete and unimprovable?

If progressive, it does not involve change in the truths on which it is based. Theology is not to be defined in strict accordance with its etymology. It contains more than the simple doctrine of God. It has been called "the science of the unfolded, objective self-manifestation of the divine Spirit in the phenomenal kingdom, a practical science which develops progressively and side by side with that kingdom." It is divided into natural theology, which includes those manifestations of himself which God has made in the physical universe, and revealed theology, which relates to those disclosures of himself which God has made in written or spoken word. Evidently the field is wide upon which the student enters when he begins the study of theology, too wide a field to say that in it there is no progress, no higher step succeeding lower.

Ideas grow, both in men's conception of them and in their apparent relations to each other. They may not, at the first presentation, appear in their just proportions. We often see, in the beginning, but the adumbration of an idea. The idea itself is hidden and comes into view later. There is more in any idea set forth in the Scripture than appears in the particular presentation of it which is attempted. Without doubt truth is something which has exact dimensions. Man's failure to comprehend it is due to his finiteness, and not to any lack of definiteness in the truth itself. A mind broad enough can go round the truth and view every aspect and angle of it. It is not a

misty, hazy kind of thing. It is a definite something. It can be scrutinized and recognized. But this will take more than time, for the finite mind; it will require eternity. Ideas are but phases of truth. They come to us disjointed and without their bearings upon each other being fully perceived. It is impossible at a glance to discover the relations of all ideas to all kindred truths. A second look is necessary; eternity will be consumed in the task. The comprehension of truth depends not a little upon the amount and kind of knowledge we have. But this knowledge is variable, both with the individual and with the race. It increases. It is more to-morrow than it is to-day. Measurements of ideas must therefore be liable to change. As the mind advances, with increasing knowledge, in its power to grasp truth, it will perceive larger parts of ideas presented. With changing circumstances ideas will present themselves to the mind in changing ways.

Even if all spiritual truths were revealed in the Bible, time must elapse before the mind of mankind could comprehend these. Time is necessary for the combination of the aspects in which an idea presents itself to different minds. At first, revelation will wear almost as many aspects as there are minds to view it. These may at first appear in conflict. They are diverse, if not seemingly contradictory, and only by study of their settings and promptings can they be shown, or be believed, to be phases of the same, or harmonious, truth. Who, for instance, without knowledge of the purposes and circumstances of the divine speaker, could reconcile with the fifth commandment Christ's words, "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple?" Partial knowledge would make it appear that here was flat contradiction with other express commands. Larger understanding of the Scripture brings manifest harmony. Scripture is light upon Scripture. The accumulated results of Christian scholarship clear the atmosphere that this light may shine.

Truth is a crystal. It is perfect and fixed. It is subject to no law of change. But knowledge of truth is in a state of flux. Truth is that for which we search, but which we do not fully know. Phases of truth are what we deal with in all

discussions, and these are unstable, because more or less incomplete. The finiteness of human knowledge makes Christian thinkers restless. It is the restlessness of life. It is a good thing to set old faiths in new light, when there is any new light to set them in. And how can there be any doubt that this new light will shine forth? It comes with every new discovery of a principle in the natural or spiritual world. For no fact lacks its bearing upon every other fact in the universe. "A falling leaf shakes the sun." The correlation of forces is such that no particle of motion can be lost. Each factor in the universe has its relation to all others.

New discoveries enlarge the boundaries and increase the contents of theology. God is the author of all things. As Creator his relation to all is such that each fact is a light upon his character, an index of his nature, a commentary upon his power. The growth of knowledge concerning the intellectual or the physical world is, therefore, a contribution to theology. It shows God in some fresh way, and so adds directly to the sweep and substance of theology. It cannot be said that such facts are of equal importance and force with the more direct statements of Scripture, but they have their bearing upon the interpretation of Scripture. It will be sufficient proof of this statement to call forward the familiar change in the interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis. There is nothing in the text to show whether יום means an indefinite period of time or a day of twenty-four hours. One meaning will fit the Hebrew word as correctly as the other. The narrative reads with equal sense either way, to one not possessed of knowledge from some outside source bearing upon the situation. Geology, a late-coming science, brings at length the story it has read in the rocks. As plainly as the rainbow is penciled on the sky is that story written upon the stony leaves of the old earth. It says that long ages elapsed during the various stages of creation. Century was piled upon century before the earth, peopled first by lower forms of life, was ready for man's abode. The story is written in the rocks by the One who gives us the Bible. Its authenticity cannot be questioned. The Creator certainly wrote this message, which comes to us as he wrote it, unaltered by the hand of man, to tell us what he did in the times of which the Pentateuch speaks when it describes the creation. With

this new light we can tell what יום means. It cannot mean a day of twenty-four hours. It is only ignorance that ever led students to give it such a translation. If men had known God's ways in nature they never would have read such a blunder into his book. As his ways in nature are better known his book will become a clearer word. Men know more of God as they study and know his works more fully. Theology is thus necessarily improvable because it is a human science; for if human it is marred by errors. The gradual discovery and correction of these errors constitute a part of the progress of theology.

Further, we may not unnaturally suppose that God treats the race somewhat as a father treats his child. The child's brain is not submerged with a deluge of knowledge. God does not overwhelm men with truth. Something is held back. The race advances in its capacity to comprehend. Outlines of truth are given at first. Later revelation gives fuller details or adds higher truths. Some Bible doctrines appear at first as mere hints, and later shine out full-orbed. Growth is manifest in the Bible from first to last. The scarlet thread of vitality runs through it. How it grew we cannot say so well as that it had an orderly development. Who can tell just how God influenced the men who wrote it? The attempt to do so has involved endless dispute, and will always do so. How far were the writers dominated by the Holy Spirit? They were something more than amanuenses. There is a human element in the book, yet the writers did not speak by their own authority. This is nearly all that can be certainly affirmed. But, however produced, the Bible shows the gradual unfolding, or development, of the greater truths before the minds of men. God's method of teaching Israel is characteristic of the whole. The Hebrews did not know much else than how to mix mud and straw, and mold them into bricks to be dried in the sun. Their slavish toil and the superstitious notions of the Egyptians had debased their minds. It was impossible, all at once, to make them understand the nature of God and the destiny of the human soul. God began with them as children, and gave them but one glimpse of himself. Moses was perplexed as to the way in which he should begin to teach his brethren. "What shall I say unto them?" he exclaims. God replies, "Thus shalt

thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you." This simple idea of the divine existence was the nucleus around which there was to be afterward gathered in the minds of the people the attributes of the divine character. Goodness, holiness, and justice were each, in turn, made known as traits in that character; and, finally, when the new dispensation dawned and God's Son suffered for men, there was made the much fuller revelation of God's love and mercifulness.

In the Old Testament the idea of immortality appears more faintly than in the New. The seer of Uz talks of a Redeemer, one who shall come before his life closes. He looks for a helper who shall cure his boils, punish his enemies, and restore his cattle. There is no doubt a hint of future life in his words, which he himself sees dimly, and which is plain to us because of all that has since been revealed. But Job's thought of the future is in the form of an unanswered question. Were there, until later times, clear ideas among the Jews concerning personal immortality? They talked of high national destiny, but spoke of the grave as the goal of the individual. To say that their silence upon the future life can be accounted for upon the ground that it was so familiar as to be taken for granted does not meet the case. It is more rationally accounted for by saying that the circle of revelation was not complete. God had some truth yet in store for the human mind. The time for the fuller revelation came, and Christ "brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel." The partial knowledge of the Jews on the question of life after death is not surprising. The process of unveiling the supernatural world was just at its beginning. Spiritually, the race was in its infancy. Even lesser truths were but partially comprehended. The Hebrew ideas concerning slavery, marriage, and divorce were not God's ideas. Their practices in regard to these matters were tolerated and passed over in silence, simply because they could not be brought at once to the high standards which were given to them later. The light was less full then than afterward. God's mornings do not dawn all at once, but come at first with twilight. Between the rugged lines written by Moses and the luminous pages of Paul's epistles there is certainly an increase of light.

Christianity is adapted to all ages. Its text-book, the Bible,

presents new phases of truth when read in the light of new conditions. In the apostolic days there was progress in the understanding of doctrine. The Joppa vision gave Peter a new view of the teachings of Christ, an essential widening of his views. At first our Lord's disciples could not grasp the idea of a universal spiritual kingdom. They had pictured for the future a temporal, Jewish kingdom, with Christ upon the throne, and themselves occupying the chief places about him. It was a slow process to lead them out of the mazes of Jewish selfishness.

Each age produces its thinkers, who read God's word more candidly, and give to the world advanced views of the truth. When John Wesley began to preach in England the pulpits of the Church were proclaiming the fiction of a limited atonement. Christian life was at a low ebb. The masses of the people could not be roused to repentance. They said, "Perhaps we are among the foredoomed. We must shortly go to hell anyway." So they sat inert. But when Wesley began to preach free grace and free will they said, "That means hope; that means obligation;" and they bestirred themselves to become Christians. This sounded like new theology to them; and so it was —not new in the sense of being just created, but new in the sense of being just practically discovered. Wesley did not make the doctrines of free will and free grace, but found them, where they had been overlooked, in the word and in the world of God—as old as creation itself, yet as young as the young hope which now sprang into life in men's hearts everywhere. The battle for these advanced ideas was a fierce one. The forces arrayed against each other seemed unequal. But Wesley's courage was inspired, not by the number of his followers, but by the strength of his convictions. He rained savage blows even upon his yokefellow Whitefield, who clung to the old Calvinistic views. Finally the victory was won. The effort recently made to revise the Westminster Confession is the beginning of the end of this forward movement in theology. The fiction of a limited atonement is practically gone. The idea of infants in hell is rejected everywhere as simply a horrible figment of the imagination. The idea of damnation without representation is regarded as a monstrosity in theological thought. As the murk clears from the air we

find that most of those who were against us have come over, and have been firing their guns at the fortress in which they themselves were once intrenched, until its walls are battered down. The Wesleyan movement marked a distinct advance in theology. Who dare say that in the future there will come no clear-headed, warm-hearted, candid seer of God to lead men to a larger understanding of the truth—one who, though receiving no fresh revelation, will see more clearly the relations of the thousand messages of God already spoken, and will interpret them more fully?

It is simply a question of interpretation. A truer exegesis will bring us truer views. Exegesis is a garment of the crazy-quilt pattern. It has been made to cover a multitude of sins and sinners. Those charlatans who have added times and times together, and then glibly told us when the world would end, have not been the only grotesque exegetes. Origen was the chief offender in his age, and his methods are poisoning the minds of men to this very day. All Scripture, he thought, had three senses. The first was the apparent, purposely full of imperfections, like the body. The second was the moral sense, as superior to the first as the soul is superior to the body. Then there was the mystic sense, hidden from all but the few, and superior to the other two as the spirit is superior to the body and soul. Ever since his time men have carried mysticism into the study when they have gone to examine the Bible, and into the pulpit when they have gone to preach it. The Bible is best read through the eyes of common sense. But it has taken the world a long time to find this out. So it has happened that the man who knew no Greek, but did know God and good old Anglo-Saxon, has sometimes come nearer the truth than his learned neighbor. The new exegesis is one of candor and common sense. This kind of exegesis is rubbing many human thumb marks from the sacred page. Christian scholarship, as it ripens, tends toward unity, because it works away from personal and sectarian bias.

Progress in theology does not imply errancy in the Scripture. We must believe in an infallible word. Many supposed errors have disappeared in the light of thorough investigation. Archæological research has cleared up many a doubt. Progress in theology, instead of involving the errancy of Scripture, has

diminished the belief in such fallibility. Why may not the creed of to-day be found faulty? It is but a human symbol. Each of the historic creeds is colored by the controversies of the times in which it was born, and controversies always emphasize extremes. Some things have been established. If true to-day they will be true forever. But the advancing mind may find a lack of room in present formularies. It will be necessary to expand at some points. The restlessness of Christian thinkers, the certainly incomplete character of human knowledge, the presence in the world of a leavening truth which has not yet wrought its complete work, and the manifest evolution of doctrine throughout the history of the Church, make it sure that the demand may come for at least a partial restatement of Christian doctrine. The new statement will be both Calvinistic and Arminian. It will magnify grace and the divine sovereignty, but will not minify man's free agency. It will proclaim salvation through the atonement of Christ, but with no added theory to explain the mystery of redemption. It will declare faith in God's mercy, but will not minify his justice. The office and work of the Paraclete will be more emphasized. Eschatology will be less materialistic. For men to pause where they are would be to conclude that differences are contradictories. The human mind has apprehended differentiations of truth, but has not yet reached unification. Antithesis precedes synthesis. The drift of thought is toward deeper and broader views, by which different particulars will be seen to be but different phases of the same theological truth.

Richard G. Hobbs

ART. VII.—CONSCIOUSNESS AND CHRISTIAN FAITH.

CURRENT literature still doggedly asks, Is Christian faith grounded in reason? This question is seemingly legitimate; but it is really an affront against Plato and an assault on the validity of all knowledge. Why interrogate the ground of Christian faith, in distinction from faith of any kind? Evidently the problem is raised by certain preconceptions. These disclose at once that peculiar egotism which makes one man's subjectivity the basis for agnosticism, while relegating that of another to the region of delusion. *Credas quia absurdum est.* The question implies, at the outset, opposition between faith and reason. But definitions should be determined by received thought. Such antagonism ejects from faith its most vital element—belief founded on facts. Faith issues from correct belief. Belief is correct only when grounded in reason. Christian faith and faith of any genuine sort differ merely in subjects. The subject in one case may be God, in another meteorological predictions. In origin and process the acts are one. The last resort of the analysis is mind. Both phases are legitimate contents of consciousness. If not, why not?

Beyond itself mind knows nothing in greater certainty than that of indubitable probability.

> Knowledge is the certainty that our conceptions correspond to reality or to truth. By reality we mean any matter of fact, whether of the outer or inner world. By truth we mean rational principles. By certainty it is plain that we cannot mean any thoughtless assurance, but only that which results from the necessity of the admission.*

But how be sure of the certainty? We can know nothing to the degree that its opposite shall be impossible (for how determine the grounds of the impossibility?), except the reality of consciousness. This is true, in a sense, of such primal forms of knowledge as space and time, inasmuch as mind knows these only because it first knows itself. The "vasty deeps" outside of consciousness are accepted as they appear rational. Sanity demands belief in what lies in consciousness as, at least, formal actuality.

* Bowne.

But indubitable probability has the highest value. Sanity demands belief in externals as realities because of the laws of testimony. Mind knows itself. It believes in a universe. This belief is grounded on facts. The facts are assured by the laws of testimony. Evidently that testimony which certifies to the thinker his own personality, the existence and general trustworthiness of his senses and mental faculties, and the correctness of his perceptions and judgments may be valid with the religionist, no less than with the scientist. If not, why not? That this was as true in Plato's case as in Paul's argues nothing except an appeal to the facts. Nor can it be good discussion to urge the difference between the so-called facts of revelation and the so-called facts of nonreligious knowledge, or to set up the methods of physics as more rational than the methods of theology. There is here no question as to kind of facts; the sole question concerns the relation which any fact sustains to consciousness. How is any fact known? Mind knows directly no visible fact. The visible is only an inference. Every conclusion of thought is the result of a previous separation of the visible from the invisible. Of the invisible there is what is in consciousness and what is not in consciousness. What is in consciousness is known directly. All the certainty that can attach to the term knowledge obtains here. But such certainty obtains nowhere else. The visible and the invisible outside of consciousness are matters of inference. They are believed in on evidence. And this is true whether religion or physics be the field of thought. The last resort of all investigation is a place "dark with excessive bright;" yet it is in the laws and phenomena of this region that the problems of the schools and of Christianity must find their classification and solution.

Meanwhile, language is ultimately only a convenience. Below all definitions lies truth, incapable, whatever its name, of being entirely precipitated, or at all of being dissolved away, and serenely undisturbed by academic addresses and knightly tilting of reviews. It is a pity that men mistake their dictionaries for revelations and their egotism for inspiration. The consistency and authority of thinking and its results demand for consciousness a scope wide and genuine enough to admit religious facts and their evidences, and a testimony so unhampered by theories as to place belief in those facts and evidences

by the side of belief in the facts and evidences of the schools. Otherwise, every man is his own encyclopedia, and uniformity in reasoning merely a caprice. For, whatever the subjects appealing, consciousness can only be one in the same individual; and this unity must declare, tentatively at least, for the legitimacy of the contents of Genesis, the gospels, and epistles, no less than of geology or philosophy. Suppose the appeal be to a "believer." The facts, on both sides, are arrayed, the testimony "finds" consciousness, the issue is belief; for the evidences "find" one indivisible court, and the processes giving conclusions are absolutely identical. In the sense of this paragraph I am unable to reach belief in Christ in any other way than that in which I reach belief, say, in evolution. If the mind knows anything at all it knows all facts not of itself in the same way.

Religious belief is, therefore, thus far, legitimate, or both reason and belief are wholly arbitrary and inextricably blended with "personal equations." But the nature of mind ought to go for something; whether material or immaterial is here indifferent. In either case, it is not anything outside itself. But the outside is a composite of facts. No one has yet discovered its boundaries. It is evidently impossible to catalogue its qualities and kinds of facts. And it is sheer egotism to deny any fact because of its kind. Religious facts are possible. Consciousness is one; the rise of belief is one process; facts vary; all facts must have a standing in court. Otherwise, mere denials of any facts are equivalent to proof. But this is intellectual suicide.

Two things now come forth: will, and its deposits outside of consciousness. From the watchtower of will mind discerns what are called cause and effect, say, in friction and heat. We play with words when we say "invariable antecedence." For what originates that phrase? The attempt to explain the effect. This "attempt" is only another putting for "seeking the cause." Hume sought to do away with cause because his mind demanded an explanation of effect. The phrase "invariable antecedence" simply veiled the demand; friction and heat observed, it leads to friction willed, producing heat. This is contingent, for wherever will exists it is free. Experience tears the veil "invariable antecedence" away, and dis-

covers—causation. The numberless decisions of experience create and recreate small worlds of its own. Here is something irrefragable and prophetic. It is the birth of the idea of causation. Outside of consciousness there are no data for that idea, for observation must take its facts to consciousness before the idea can arise. Experience furnishes any number of series of phenomena called cause and effect. Between any series and the man there is absolutely nothing. But will forces a nexus. Consciousness then embraces two things—a personal thinker and causative power.

It will not be disputed that reason enables mind to apprehend and understand somewhat the worlds of its own creation. Within the limits of these worlds it is capable of producing something, and it is capable of producing everything. But there is a universe which is not of its own creation. What caused it? It is contingent, according to laws of thought, for its nonexistence is possible. It began to be. But a thing beginning necessitates a beginner. This is so in the laboratory and the court of justice. Why not in theology and philosophy? Inertia is king until will conquers him. As consciousness recognizes cause in the little worlds of experience, so cause must be found in that vaster universe. The cause in the one case is will. What else is it in the other? Inertia is king till will conquers. A somewhat which is kindred to the smaller creator must lurk somewhere between nothing and a universe. The theist deposits in the word "God" the infinity of his own personality and causative power. This process is legitimate, because it explains. The explanation gathers all causes into one, and finds for the universe a Being who is capable of causing something and capable of causing everything. If mind is the explanation of the small worlds of experience because it is adequate and comprehensive, it is rational to fix upon a similar infinite Being as the explanation of the universe, because such an One can be conceived as adequate and comprehensive as the cause of all. If not, why not? It is difficult to see why we must be forever crying "ignoramus," unless men are fundamentally different in the grounds of their natures, or unless "ignoramus" is a legitimate case of "personal equation." But no; consciousness is one. The facts are the same for all. Mind rationally gazes beyond "fire mist" and "promise and

potency," and declares, "I am a cause." Why not a cause beyond "mist" and "potency?" This question gives it the right to blot out "ignoramus" with "*credo*."

Either God is, or man is not; otherwise consciousness is an utter deception. That is, *a* God. The definite article lies beyond. Discussions of cause, first cause, the unknowable, infinite force, the world-ground are only additional veils thrown over consciousness. They simply show what mind is searching for. The investigations ultimately assume such forms as to defy denials and posit personality in worlds. But, arriving at an order of things which is the least superior to, or different from, a hard mechanism—and all resolutely refuse to look at the universe as they look at a locomotive, fired, but without driver, and invariably slip something into the former which is not in the latter—the function of reason as supporting religious belief, and therefore faith, is as authoritative as its office of determining causes in the realm of physics. The fact that both belief and faith must be located in one common ground, which can exclude the impression of no phenomena, and hence none of the "substance of things hoped for," nor "evidence of things unseen," reveals the true relation between faith and reason. The acquiescence of religious faith is logical if it have sufficient grounds. To blandly insist that it has not, because evidences do not support belief, is merely to turn to the facts a blind eye. Assuming it to be impolite in the agnostic to deny the theist's facts, as well as an assertion of superhuman knowledge of an entire universe, the question occurs, If religious faith has not sufficient grounds, what kind of faith has? What kind of rational conclusion has? Whatever the authority of revelation or the limitations of the human understanding, Christian faith claims to be bound by the laws of reason, because issuing from belief based on evidence. No question of comprehension is involved. We apprehend some meaning in words, though we may not be able to grasp all they connote. If comprehension is to fence out religious knowledge there is an end to all knowledge, and even consciousness becomes a myth. To dogmatize things out of accepted or possible knowledge because they are greater than thinkers is no more legitimate as to religious fields than it is as to scientific. The goal of good thinking is the reconciliation of possible facts with known facts,

the removal of logical contradictions, the establishment of truth in consciousness. Certainly, nebulosity is not that goal. But here the entire rubric of Christian truth makes its appeals. And, until some thinker arises who embraces intellectually all that is, has been, or may be, and, therefore, can point out to us just what are facts and evidences and what are not, these appeals must be as authoritative as the appeals of any truth not religious.

All legitimate belief may develop into biblical faith. "In all cases faith is a reliance, not directly upon our own reason or upon ourselves in any way, but upon the reason, the word, the wisdom, the goodness of some other personal being, and the proper office of reason is to see that we have sufficient ground for such reliance."* This definition was written with an end in view and is, therefore, suggestive only. There is faith and faith. In order to reason at all there must be belief (and faith) in mental powers; and by means of this belief (and faith) reason deals with facts, and thus induces further belief (and faith) in certain conclusions. The conclusions may embrace personal existences, together with their doings. It makes no difference if the personal existences are infinite and, therefore, in essence unthinkable. Let him that is just courageous enough *not to know* fetch up a concept of a finite (recognized) person. Some minds discourse about atoms, forces, infinite lines, infinite space, infinite duration. It is all simply word-storage. Yet it is perfectly legitimate. It is legitimate to talk about the infinite unknowable, if only you do mean something. The use of the word implies some knowledge. Belief based on evidence stores in the word such knowledge. Belief stores "Jehovah" or "God" similarly. The question is, and it is no other, What are the evidences that these words represent an existence? Reason deals with these evidences, belief recognizes the conclusion, and faith reposes in God.

There are those who insist that they apprehend in consciousness inner evidences of God when reason has exhausted those external evidences which others decline to entertain. There are those who reach, partly on inner evidences, a belief in the general system of Christian truth. They are conscious of certain processes obtaining after stated conditions are fulfilled; and these

* Hopkins.

processes surpass in demonstrating value those which issue from external evidences. Here are some facts of consciousness which imperiously demand to be catalogued as facts. To deny the validity of this belief (and faith) is superciliousness, or it is irony; it assumes the superiority of the denier, or it concedes that of the believer, while covertly intending the opposite. No one can read Huxley or Draper, when they are not brutal, without discerning this attitude. Let us inject the Christian system into Hamilton's definition of science, as a "complement of cognitions, having in point of form the character of logical perfection, in point of matter the character of real truth." The fitness of the application is denied or questioned; that is, it is denied that the complement of cognitions concerning God, moral laws, the soul, Jesus Christ, and redemption has, in point of form, logical perfection, and in point of matter, real truth. In other words, the whole question is begged on grounds of impossibility of proof. But by what canon is any truth thus barred out? It is a question of facts. It is more—it is a question of intellectual consistency and courage. It is easy to say that these inner facts of consciousness, forgiveness, moral changes, emotional excitations, spiritual apprehensions are imaginary. But the epithet "imaginary" will hardly take the place of reasoning, and is scarcely potent enough to sweep away the facts. When obedience to the requirements of a system of life invariably brings into consciousness certain clearly defined and uniform states, the states are entitled to be called facts, and the facts logically support belief. If there are those who never find the facts it argues nothing except a want of the conditions. To question the facts outside the conditions is to establish an arsenal for the annihilation of science.

The facts of Christianity, both historical and experimental, cannot legitimately be slurred over. They demand explanation. Good thinking must determine their truth or falsity. The deductions arising from them invite examination in court. They simply ask that in the examination three things be observed: that the historical facts be determined on historical grounds, that the moral facts be determined on moral grounds, and that the offices which reason, belief, and faith hold anywhere obtain here. For, as in all knowledge, the religious materials are a mass of facts and deductions therefrom.

Not one of the doctrines essential to Christianity fails to endure these tests. While the subject-matter of religious differs from that of scientific belief, the formal processes of reason are the same. For example, the formal process of reason which convinces as to gravitation does not differ from the process convincing as to the existence of God. Belief in God issues from a study of known facts, and is the deduction of a hitherto unknown fact. In process, the arguments *in re* geology, biology, astronomy take the same molds with those involved in the cosmological, the ethical, the historical, the biblical, the experimental, and even the teleological, arguments as to a Supreme Being. The facts themselves, not excepting some of those which lie directly in consciousness, are results of previous deductions. This was as true concerning Newton's apple as Paul's vision on the Damascus road. It is so with all the fundamental facts of Christianity.

No one disputes that Christ lived. But the facts which show what kind of life he lived and what kind of being he was are in the same order with those which show what kind of being was Charlemagne, and what kind of life he lived. I am speaking now of the historic facts. As to the supernatural facts, they are to be determined as facts by the testimony of the historic facts, just as the assumption of the iron crown is to be determined by the historic facts. At present there is a loud insistence that the Bible be studied like any other book. So with Christ. Very good; then let the historic facts determine, on the laws of testimony admissible in any other case, the supernatural claims. If reference be had to Christ as present to the believer's consciousness, the facts supporting that belief belong with other facts present in consciousness, and can only be questioned by begging the question. If the historic facts demonstrate his claims (just what they are is a matter for criticism or exegesis, and not, at least primarily, for philosophy), the facts attesting personal presence must be reasoned about as are the facts attesting any personal apprehension—that is, on moral grounds. In dealing with Christ, the Son of God, we have to do no more with the unknown or unknowable than in dealing with any other person. All the facts in consciousness must be referred, for interpretation and authentication, to the historic or present external facts. Testimony simply asks a hearing

unprejudiced by the subject-matter in hand. The miraculous and supernatural elements cannot be passed by as impossible in any conception which posits God in law and understands by law a universal and intelligent mode of action; and if some one says he cannot do this the answer is, He is not compelled to do so, for it is not a matter of compulsion, but of rationality. And further, the facts which cause mind to posit God in law and interpret law as a mode of God's action are of the same order with the facts which cause mind to posit gravitation in matter and to interpret it as a method or mode of matter's action.

Miracles cannot be ordered out, either by notions of possibility, experience, or expediency. To assert that nature has no room for miracles is to assert for some men what no man has—an adequate knowledge of all her laws. To insist that miracles are contrary to experience is to assume that one man's experience is identical with every man's experience. To aver that miracles are not needed is to claim magnificently egotistic wisdom as to the government of this universe. Miracles maintain a formally rational basis, thus: law is a method of divine action; Christ is an historic being; his character is inconsistent with self-deception or knavery; contemporaries witnessed his life; their character and the purity of their recorded testimony are similarly inconsistent with self-deception or knavery. At the present hour there is, after all, only one question worth considering—the ability of Christ's disciples to see aright and report correctly the subject-matter of their testimony. In determining this question the surreptitious introduction of the impossibility or indemonstrability of supernatural manifestations is the poorest kind of beggary. The records may answer as to the disciples' ability. The records present the facts, whatever these may be. The facts in the records show that these men protray a character utterly beyond them, in spite of their ignorance, their Jewish prejudices, and a natural bent to magnify or distort, and that they have made statements which the laws of human nature declare beyond the power of creative imagination, yet containing the germs of a philosophy of being as foreign to their natural capacities and the age in which they lived as Darwin's theory of origins or Kant's categories are beyond the people of darkest Africa. Nor does it solve the problem to transfer the authorship to later years. These propositions are true even of a deferred author-

ship. The four gospels are naked of the signs of fancy, unless anything supernatural is fanciful; and that is the old beggar. Arnold's *dictum*, that Christ was so far above his disciples that they could not have correctly reported him, is answered by the fact that they (or some others?) did report him as they did, in such a way that, if their report was not correct, we have the problem of explaining how he was reported at all.

Here is a greater problem than miracles. Miracles fit into a system of thought at least formally rational; while Arnold's supposition can be made to fit nothing, but is a tremendous strain on what we know of human nature. Is the record of Christ one in which healthy, honest men, by no known law of human nature, blunder into an accidental portrait, with statements, events, and truths severely sober and absolutely beyond their power to create intentionally or unaided? Is it all a blunder? And in answering the question must we forever insist that the writers were either not healthy or not honest? Other honest men have been deceived. But error does not disprove truth; it clears away the evidences. And it is not a question of error in general, but of this particular error. Never before was such a blunder. The record is unique in the total absence of those badges of legend, imaginative growth, religious accretion, and oriental or human propensity which accompany error, unless, again, the supernatural is, *ipso facto*, such a badge—the old beggar once more. The fact that the gospel writers transcend themselves brings it out clearly that they have reported truth or blundered into the sublimest ideas and the most matchless picture. How they could thus blunder into what has caused an intellectual war of nearly twenty centuries, and into a system which enshrines the greatest force of earth's life, is a question so astonishing and so straining to the laws of life and good thinking that the questions of miracles and God manifest become merest child's play beside it. There is now but one problem for sages—to harmonize this astounding phenomenon with sober reason and accredited human nature. It seems easier to accept the record than to accomplish this unique task.

Beyond these lines rises the massing power of Christian evidences. No system of thought can be fairly judged by a study of isolated details. The study of an insect has small relation to physical life as a whole. If an extended view is essential to

a true grasp of nature, equally essential must be an effort to view religious truths in their entirety. The study of isolated details misses the effect of the whole upon the parts. To know the part it is necessary to allow for the influence of the whole. In moral things it is truer that the whole creates the parts than that the parts constitute the whole. It is impossible to convey a true impression of the whole by any isolated dealing with its components. If the one fact investigated remain a seeming contradiction, if its evidences, detached from those of its companions in the vast array of moral facts, seem inconclusive, it is apt to be denied as a fact, and this denial affects every other fact in turn. And yet the massing power of the whole may be the one thing necessary to the conclusiveness of the evidences under consideration. German rationalism multiplies instances. Christianity stands not by one fact, or by several facts considered separately, but by many, collective and relative. The nature of Christ does not rest upon miracles alone nor upon what he said of himself alone. A rational view of Christ is a complex result of mutually supporting and supported evidences. So of each great truth. It is true the study of details prepares for the study of the whole, but the massing force of the whole system is a factor returning upon the details, the value and validity of which are legitimately to be insisted upon. For, after all, only in those moods when the stress of thought over details is stilled in large outlooks, which forget the details in the immensities, does Christianity find its opportunity. Here appear the experimental evidences. In these moods Christian faith, as distinguished from belief, is born, and becomes the "substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." But the foundations are facts, and deductions therefrom come along by the same formal processes of reasoning that precede rational conviction anywhere.

Frank C. Haddock.

ART. VIII.—THE MECHANICAL CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD.

AMID the many conflicting theories as to the origin of the universe and its wonderful phenomena, the mechanical conception has been more largely adopted, by those who have rejected the teachings of a biblical theism, than any other recent anti-Christian explanation. To solve the problems which gather around the far-reaching realms of matter and mind and to lessen the burden of mystery which those problems contain, the endeavors of the ablest investigators have been directed from age to age. Without exaggeration, it may be affirmed that, after half a century of discussion, the best that the mechanical theory has to offer as an explanation of the universe has already been presented in the teachings of its ablest representatives. The demands which that theory makes upon the common intelligence of the race and upon the best instincts and convictions of our mental and moral constitution surpass in magnitude and difficulty all the miraculous interventions recorded in the biblical revelation, and involve us in contradictions and fallacies which cannot fail to force all healthy reasoning into a fierce and permanent rebellion.

The facts which confront us and demand an explanation are of the most wonderful character, and in extent are almost beyond calculation. The organic world around us and the far-stretching universe, with all their forces, laws, and marks of intelligent design; the human mind, with its rational faculties and moral powers, and the special work to which, by some agency, they have been assigned; the unity of the physical world; the presence and reign of law in all the realms to which human knowledge extends; the correspondences between the instincts of the brute and the outer world from which it draws its sustenance; the moral order of the world; the consciousness of the race, its religious beliefs in spiritual and invisible realities, and the vast influence of these convictions in every past age; the intellectual and moral achievements of mankind; the splendid array of characters distinguished for their lofty qualities, in spite of the most unpropitious surroundings; the presence of Christ in the world, his matchless personality, his

unmeasured influence upon all subsequent generations, and the grasp of his teachings upon the world of to-day—here are facts which call for explanation. And it must be an explanation that will satisfy the demands of our rational faculties, nor leave us in the bewildering mists of an Atlantic fog, crying out for a solution that will place our hopes upon the rock of everlasting stability.

Whence, then, came all the venerable and wonderful machinery of the universe by which we are surrounded and of which our world forms a part? No wonder that, as Emerson looked upon the immense and infinite handiwork, he exclaimed, in the language of one thrilled with the grandeur of such a spectacle, "I clap my hands in infantine joy and amazement before the first opening to me of all this magnificence, old with the lore and homage of innumerable ages." How came life upon our globe, with all its variety of manifestation? By what process came force and all the law and order which distinguish the physical and mental worlds, the freedom of choice which constitutes the true basis of moral responsibility and makes human conduct a vital element in the welfare of the race? Whence came our personal consciousness, and all the beliefs which have asserted their imperial power in the history of mankind and have proved themselves the sources of the mightiest impulses and organizations in the past and in this most progressive age? It is a noticeable fact that, as the universe is opened up yet more and more, its structure becomes invested with a grander meaning. W. S. Lilly, in the *Fortnightly Review* for July, 1887, has said that the progress of science multiplies the evidences of design in a most wonderful way. Dr. Dallinger, in his Fernley lecture for 1887, has also said:

> Design, purpose, intention appear, when all the facts of the universe are studied in the light of all our reasoning faculties, to be ineradicable. . . . All the universe, its whole progress in time and space, is one majestic evidence of design, and the will and purpose running through it are incapable of being shut out of our consciousness and reasoning faculties.

But, in responding to the demand for some adequate explanation of the facts already enumerated, what has materialism to offer? Does its solution of the vast order of things around us commend itself as sufficient to account for the results indicated? And, as a working hypothesis, is it adapted for general appli-

cation and practice? The materialistic philosophy, though marked by various peculiarities, has always been substantially the same. As has been said:

> It has ever regarded the raw eternal matter—the elemental stuff of creation—as the only substance and as the all-sufficient cause of every variety and species of life. It maintains that these various forms of life and the wonderful manifestations in all the departments of human thought are the outcome of forces which exist in unintelligible matter, and that evolution explains and accounts for the whole array of these wonderful facts. Man himself, with all his organs of body and faculties of mind, has been evolved from matter by physical laws or atomic forces working without guiding thought or influence.

Professor Tyndall has said, "The doctrine of evolution derives man in his totality from the interaction of organism and environment through countless ages." Büchner declares that "the human mind is the prodnct of the change of matter." Moleschott says, "Thought is a motion of matter." Carl Vogt has also said, "Just as the liver secretes bile the brain secretes thought." The ground is taken by the leading advocates of materialism that matter is the only real substance in the universe, or, at least, the only substance of which we have any knowledge or about which we can speak with certainty. Huxley says, "I believe that we shall arrive at a mechanical equivalent of consciousness, just as we have arrived at a mechanical equivalent of heat;" and he adds, "Even those manifestations of intelligence and feeling which we rightly name the highest faculties are not excluded from this classification." We are also assured by the same school that "the soul of man is nothing more than a quality of the brain, and when the brain becomes disorganized by disease and death the soul vanishes into nonentity." The mechanical conception, as expounded by its ablest authorities, professes to explain the universe and its phenomena in terms of matter and motion alone. It thus deifies the mindless forces and operations of nature by making them adequate to the production and maintenance of the whole procession of wonders that surround us. Whoever, therefore, holds that matter or material force is eternal and originates all mind and mental power is a materialist, and is compelled to accept the conclusions which that theory logically involves. But Dr. Dallinger has well said, "This coarse materialism ignores too

much and assumes too much, and treats with manifest disdain the fundamental basis of our reasoning faculties."

Is it possible to accept a system which leaves the far-reaching universe, with its numberless evidences of intelligent purpose, to be explained by physical principles and methods alone, without inciting the indignation of those higher intuitions which distinguish us as intellectual and moral beings? Materialism assumes too much; and it is in its unreasonable assumptions that the fallacy and weakness of the whole system lie. It breaks down just where the highest demands of philosophy begin. Is it rational or possible to regard man, the highest product of the universe, as the effect of something itself destitute of mind and consciousness? Can the effect in any case be greater than the originating cause? Hermann Lotze, we are told, is full of scorn for the idea that a power that invested us with personality does not itself possess personality. Carlyle has said, in his life of Frederick the Great, that there was one form of skepticism which the all doubting Frederick could not endure: "It was flatly inconceivable to him that intellect and moral emotion could have been put into him by an entity that had none of its own."

This inconceivability is an experience of which all are conscious who attempt to make any effect greater than its cause. To credit the wonders of the organic world and the working out of the most marvelous and intelligent adaptations to "natural selection," to the notion of "unconscious ends," to the theory of "conditions of existence," or to "the fortuitous concourse of atoms" is not flattering either to science or to common sense. To account for "force by matter, for the orderly by the unorderly, for the organic by the unorganic, for life by chemistry and mechanism, for thought, feeling, and volition by molecular motion in the brain and nerves," demands a credence compared with which the claims of biblical revelation are unimportant. "We cannot," as a leading scientist of to-day has said, "think of any part of the world or universe and prevent the conviction that it has been ultimately caused." James Freeman Clarke has, also, observed, "If the universe has come from a gaseous nebula everything now in the universe must have been potentially present in the nebula, as the oak is potentially present in the the acorn." We can only get out of

molecular units that which is put into them. There can be no evolution without involution. If we accept the mechanical theory of the world's origin we cannot avoid accepting the absurd conclusion that the effect may be greater than the cause. No amount of intellectual acrobatism or legerdemain can shut off the inexorable demand that in every instance the cause shall be equal, or superior, to the effect. Dr. Lorimer, in his *Isms, Old and New*, has said that Locke witnesses to the validity of this position in the following words:

> Whatsoever is first of all things must necessarily contain in it, and actually have, at least all the perfections that can ever after exist; nor can it ever give to another any perfection that it hath not actually in itself, or, at least, in a higher degree; it necessarily follows that the first eternal Being cannot be matter.

Here the materialists are met with a most formidable difficulty. They are utterly unable to show that whatever is in the effect was first in the cause—that is, in the cause which they assign—and consequently are shut up to the illogical and absurd inference that there is something in the effect which is traceable to no cause whatever. In order to meet this view, materialists have endeavored to enlarge the original definition of matter, and new qualities have been ascribed to it. As Dr. James Martineau has said:

> Starting as a beggar, with scarce a rag of "property" to cover its bones, it turns up as a prince when large undertakings are wanted, loaded with investments and within an inch of a plenipotentiary. In short, you give it precisely what you require to take from it, and when your definition has made it "pregnant with all the future" there is no wonder if from it all the future might be born.

To submit to such jugglery as this and to accept such new definitions of matter as materialists, by the very narrowness of their theory are compelled to create, is to abnegate our intelligence and commit a mental suicide for which there is no apology whatever.

If the mechanical conception of the universe is carried out to its conclusion it leaves us with only a system of fatalism utterly antagonistic to that freedom of choice on which alone moral responsibility can rest. Man, with all his faculties, when viewed in the light of the godless system under review is nothing more than the outcome of blind and mindless forces,

the splendid product of some hapless chance, the unfortunate victim of the bitterest delusions and of a relentless, iron necessity. There can be neither praise nor blame, because the foundations of an intelligent choice are swept away by the resistless current. Obligation, duty, accountability are simply convenient fancies—generous, but misleading, dreams—having no more authority than an unbridled and unhealthy imagination sees fit to create. The disastrous results which would follow the unrestrained application of such teachings are worthy of more general attention than they usually receive. But the best consciousness of the race and the growing influence of deep convictions based on Christian theism will, we believe, neutralize the bold materialism of the age and grapple successfully with the errors which that speculation contains.

The apostles of unbelief may cry out about the "din of ecclesiastical rebuke," "irrational panics," and "theological gladiatorship;" but, when the loudest word has been spoken by these conjurers with atoms and molecules, let us remember that humanity adores no shadow, nor has it in its noblest instances been the deluded slave of some strange hallucination or misleading dream. Man is more than the child of "cosmic sparks;" his reason cannot be accounted for as the "grandchild of diffused fire mist;" he is something better than "wandering sorrow in a world of visions." When Herbert Spencer defines the moral sense as "only the past experience of countless generations commanding what is useful for the tribe," he does not furnish the explanation which the case demands. With shameless audacity and a vandalism that is barbaric, this materialistic conception of man's higher nature practically ignores the responsible offices of our moral faculties, insults our deepest instincts, denies the immortality of the soul, and leaves us in the darkness of dumb despair. By the same theory the world around us is left to be explained in terms of matter and motion alone; and its splendid aggregations of material and intelligent combinations are nothing more than the final outcome of some strange "haphazard of unintelligent forces" and the "amazing spectacle of unpurposed accidents." Man's entire constitution, as a reasonable being, must be altered before he will be able to "reduce the infinite creative music of the universe to the monotonous and soulless chatter of an enormous

mill swung by the stream of chance—in fact, a mill without a builder or a miller, grinding itself with a perpetual motion." We are told by those who proclaim this "gospel of the flesh," and who apparently delight in the glorification of unconscious and senseless atoms, that they are the "squatters of an advancing civilization." But, as Professor Christlieb has justly said, they are its gravediggers; and we see them swaggering as the heralds of freedom, when in fact they are the apostles of the most brutal tyranny and the most destructive teachings that have assailed the crown rights of humanity since the world began.

It would not be difficult to show, by quotations from prominent writers whose teachings have been a perpetual encouragement to the theory of the mechanical conception of the world, that they themselves refuse to be classed as materialists. It is significant that Huxley, Spencer, and Tyndall, after having in various ways committed themselves to the theory under review, object to the logical issues which it involves, and make their ultimate appeal to a power that is "inscrutable," "unknown," and "unknowable."

In conclusion, the best thought of the age is solidly against the materialistic philosophy; and with increasing emphasis that thought is pushing to the most pitiable straits the leaders who have championed the godless hypothesis we have been reviewing. Professor Tholuck is reported to have said, "If a man is a materialist we Germans think he is not educated." Joseph Cook, in his Boston lectures on biology, is responsible for the statement that "there is not in Germany to-day, except Haeckel, a single professor of real eminence who teaches philosophical materialism." Dr. J. H. Gladstone, said in December, 1887, that, out of thirty-five leading scientists who had given a dinner to Professor Tyndall, only three or four were on the side of skepticism; and that, looking over another list of those most eminent in science in England, nine of the first ten names were men of unquestionably religious character. The late presidents of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the Royal Society, of London, and the French Academy were Christian men. Among the believers in Christian theism in the world of science have been Newton, Herschel, Descartes, Pascal, Leibnitz, Linnæus, Cuvier, Davy, Liebig, Ampère,

Faraday, Owen, Agassiz, Brewster, Clerk-Maxwell, Thomson, Tait, Dawson, Stokes, Beale, Pasteur, Flourens, Olney, Cayley, Lord Rayleigh, Dumas, Wurtz, Dallinger, and Lord Kelvin. Dr. Gladstone, himself an eminent scientist, says, "It is difficult for me to remember a single man of the first rank in science who is opposed to Christianity, unless that charge can be truthfully brought against my friend Professor Huxley."

Professor Max Müller, in the *Nineteenth Century* for December, 1894, ably gives his reasons for refusing to be classed as an agnostic. And Lord Salisbury, in his presidential address at the Oxford meeting of the British Association, August 8, 1894, replies in strong and conclusive language to Weismann's paper published a few months before, in which this prominent disciple of Darwin championed the theory of natural selection as "the only possible explanation we can conceive." In answer to this statement Lord Salisbury says:

> It seems strange that a philosopher of Professor Weismann's penetration should accept as established a hypothetical process, the truth of which he admits that he cannot demonstrate in detail and the operation of which he cannot even imagine. . . . I quite accept the professor's *dictum*, that if natural selection is rejected we have no resource but to fall back on the mediate or immediate agency of a principle of design. . . . I would rather lean to the conviction that the multiplying difficulties of the mechanical theory are weakening the influence it once acquired. I prefer to shelter myself in this matter behind the judgment of the greatest living master of natural science among us, Lord Kelvin, and to quote as my concluding words the striking language with which he closed his address from this chair more than twenty years ago. "I have always felt," he said, "that the hypothesis of natural selection does not contain the true theory of evolution, if evolution there has been in biology. . . . I feel profoundly convinced that the argument of design has been greatly too much lost sight of in recent zoological speculations. Overpoweringly strong proofs of intelligent and benevolent design lie around us; and if ever perplexities, whether metaphysical or scientific, turn us away from them for a time they come back upon us with irresistible force, showing to us through nature the influence of a free will, and teaching us that all living things depend on one everlasting Creator and Ruler."

The conclusion of John Addington Symonds, in his article on the "Progress of Thought in our Time" in a recent *Fortnightly Review*, is undoubtedly correct, that "the main fact in the intellectual development of the last half-century is the restoration of spirituality to our thoughts about the universe." Says Fisher, in his *Idea of God:*

From age to age men wrangle with their eyes turned away from the light, the world goes on to larger knowledge in spite of them, and does not lose its faith for all the darkeners of counsel may say. As in the roaring loom of time the endless web of events is woven, each strand shall make more and more visible the living garment of God.

Professor Bowne has truly remarked, in his *Philosophy of Theism*, that "the atheistic gust of recent years has about blown over, atheism is dead as a philosophy, and remains chiefly as a disposition. The critic must allow that the theistic outlook was never more encouraging." Seeking "the rational foundation of the theistic idea in the theistic consciousness of the race," he finds it in "the demand of our entire nature, intellectual, moral, æsthetic, and religious;" and he proceeds to show that, "without a theistic faith, we must stand as dumb and helpless before the deeper questions of thought and life as a Papuan or Patagonian before an eclipse."

William Harrison

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

ALL who are interested in the discussion aroused by, or the subject treated in, Dr. James Mudge's notable book on *Growth in Holiness toward Perfection*, will do well to ascertain by reading the book itself whether the things said about it, *pro* and *con*, are true or false. No volume recently issued by our Book Concern has received higher commendation or severer criticism. The result of the discussion will, we trust, be the promotion of holiness.

A CHRISTIAN gentleman, eminent in position, in usefulness, in habitual candor, and in lifelong godliness, was heard to say, "I try to be as pious as I can, but am careful not to imagine myself to be more so than my brethren in good standing in the Church;" and again, "I am accustomed to believe that my brethren love God as much as I do." This is exemplary and sufficiently related to holy interests and large issues in the kingdom of love to justify its mention here.

IN a time when it is said the thoughts of men are changing, old things terminating, new beginning, there is need of the spirit of scrutinizing and inquisitive caution which will not consent to the removal of old landmarks, institutions, customs until it is clearly shown and known what better thing is to be set in their places, and why and how it is better. H. P. Liddon declined A. P. Stanley's invitation to appear on a public occasion where his presence would most certainly be construed as an indication of sympathy on his part with the school of Maurice and Jowett; and in declining he wrote the Dean of Westminster: "You speak, my dear dean, of a period of transition. Transition to what? One current flows toward Mr. John Stuart Mill and positivism beyond, and another toward Baur and the school of Tübingen and the desolate waste beyond that. The Girondins of revolution have their day, but they make way for its Jacobins."

In every period of agitation for proposed change it is judicious to

ask, with utmost circumspection, Liddon's wise question, "Transition to what?" If we fail to ask it there can be no propriety in describing us as beings of "large discourse, looking before and after." Those whose habit is to insist upon this question are called conservatives. The specific nature of their usefulness is intimated in their name; unless they have been misnamed, their function is to conserve. Their method is to delay action on their own part and to obstruct it on the part of others until the right and expediency of the whole matter at issue have been exhaustively searched out, deliberately considered, and all effects of proposed changes carefully calculated. They keep in mind the fact that it is as possible for an organization to legislate away some vitally essential feature, perhaps its one uniquely valuable advantage, as for an individual to part with "the immediate jewel of his soul." By an immense aggregate of wisdom through a long period of time our general superintendency has been regarded as essential to the efficiency of the Methodist Episcopal system. He who bartered his birthright for a bowl of soup made a sad mess of things. The entertaining of plausible propositions for change has sometimes been a dalliance which "kissed away kingdoms and provinces."

Whenever in Church or State a clamor arises, fault-finding with things as they are, and agitating for change, the judicious will press several inquiries, such as, How many and who are making this demand? Where will the proposed change ultimately lead us? "Transition to what?" Will this new measure fit into the constitutional framework? If not, its advocates are laying beams that do not touch the walls and planning the collapse and downfall of the entire structure. No measure which cannot prove its right of way by answering satisfactorily the challenge of such inquiries should be permitted to pass.

The recent British election, amounting to a parliamentary revolution, seems to have pronounced a vigorous veto upon various pertinacious propositions for change.

NO SUICIDES ON THE CONGO.

M. Ferdinand Brunetière, of the French Academy, contends that modern progress has indefinitely increased the unhappiness of mankind. It is not said in a pessimistic spirit, but as a warning that moral forces and religious faith become more, and not less, important in an advanced and complex civilization, ea-

pecially because one of their functions is to instruct, console, and control the defeated, the discontented, and the envious; for discontent and defeat are inevitably frequent incidents of a high civilization.

"There are no suicides on the Congo; but in Europe the number of suicides increases year by year," writes M. Brunetière.

Now we are not quite sure that the absence of suicide proves that the Congoan leads an entirely blissful existence. One fact to be considered is that the Congo native is not in much danger of the miseries of a tedious old age. He has small need to be in haste to kill himself, inasmuch as it is probable that some of his near neighbors or the gentlemen of the adjoining tribe will shortly save him that trouble by enthusiastically slaughtering him, if not roasting and eating him at an early day; so that if he is weary of life nothing is required of him but a little patience and he will have his wish, the exertion necessary to its accomplishment being borne by another rather than by himself. Nevertheless, we do not deny, but admit, that the French academician presents a point which is worth considering, and especially that his estimate of the present importance of religious faith is not overdrawn.

A moment's reflection perceives that both the subjective and objective causes of unhappiness are enlarged and intensified in the conditions of our modern world. Subjectively, an advanced civilization stimulates desires which push men to exertion; men aspire, resolve, and strive in larger numbers and with greater intensity, so incurring the risk of disappointment. More efforts overleap or fall short because more men are stirred by vaulting ambition to make daring and difficult attempts. If Icarus had been content to stay on the ground he would not have suffered his fall. Again, civilization raises ideals and standards of measurement, so that what was once accounted a satisfying success is now felt to be a mortifying and distressing failure. While more men succeed, judged by the old standards, yet there are more who have the sense of failure; and whether the defeat be real or imaginary, comparative only or utter, the effect on the feelings is equally poignant and bitter. What is true of the wealth standard is typical of many other things; within the memory of men still living fifty thousand dollars was accounted as great a fortune as a million now. Furthermore, it is a familiar fact that education and culture in all their forms, by quickening our perceptions, refining our sensibilities, and making life every way more vivid, increase our capacity for acute suffering; defeat, privation,

and disappointment are the more excruciating as our hyperæsthetic nerves are more tender. The barbarian's nerves of sensation are comparatively dull and immune from pain.

Objectively, also, the external conditions of modern life provide for much unhappiness. Occasions for discontent are more numerous as objects of desire are multiplied by the inventions for comfort and embellishment belonging to an increasingly elaborate and elegant civilization. Men live in sight of a vast number of desirable things which they cannot possess, and every such thing is a temptation to jealous dissatisfaction. Men and women do not go through the bazaar, as Socrates did, with uncovetous soul, thinking serenely how many things are there which they do not need; they go through teased by cravings far beyond their means. The tribe of Tantalus was never so large. Again, the required conditions for success are continually more rigid, exacting, and inclement. Competition is grim and grisly. Thousands are gored by "bulls" or crushed by "bears." In all lines of effort the pace is rapid, the strain incessant and enormous, so that success hinges upon exceptional speed and endurance. All business is done under risk of failure—a risk which cannot be insured against, because failure or success depends on the judgment and capacity of the individual himself. Hence come a vast number of defeats. Adversity and disaster are always present in the business world. All the exchanges witness a procession of disappearances not in the least mysterious. We hold that certain extreme representations of the general unprofitableness of business cannot be true. The assertion that ninety-nine out of every hundred fail moves us to ask the asserter for his definition of failure. If it be true that a large proportion fail to get rich and have to abandon various enterprises, yet certainly they at least succeed through many years in making a living; they have food in the pantry, if not a fortune in the bank. But, setting aside the absurd implication that as a rule business is carried on at a loss, it still remains true that as years go by there is a larger actual number, if not a greater proportion, of men who have failed or feel that they have.

This brief glance at the state of things in our advanced civilization makes it clear that the necessity for checks and defenses, anodynes and antidotes, against unhappiness is not diminished, but increased. The fairer and richer the world becomes under enlightened and cultivated humanity the farther removed is the probability of man's finding in earthly things full satisfaction for

all his desires. Just here it is necessary to point out that the constitution of human nature and the record of human experience agree in saying that no merely moral system, not even the best, supposing any such could be constructed without religion as a basis, can furnish the necessary inward comfort and support demanded by the keen severities of civilized life. No adequate remedy or relief can be found except in the divine consolations of a religion which reveals a loving Father, a compassionate Saviour, and an infinite Comforter. Such a religion is necessary most of all in a civilization which, in its pride of achievement and its self-sufficient confidence in its ability to solve all problems, notwithstanding its progress is attended by more, and not fewer, casualities, is tempted to believe that it does not need divine help and comfort at all. This high-strung, heady, spirited, and venturesome modern world cannot dispense with the Gospel nor afford that the consolations of God shall be small in its ambitious and sensitive heart. While religion has other and higher functions than offering a "consolation prize" to those who have failed, yet when the world's unhappiness is under consideration the imperative need for religion on this ground is as apparent as its indispensability on more purely ethical grounds. In such a world as we live in the failure of the faith would mean a vaster catastrophe than has yet afflicted our race, for this reason conspicuously, as well as for others—that the increase of unrelieved unhappiness would shortly paralyze the vital forces of civilization, and human energy be largely diverted from ordinary channels of endeavor by the noisome necessity of burying the bodies of an ever-increasing number of suicides. If men and women living in a Christian civilization do not avail themselves of the Gospel by the light of which it has grown, it were better for their happiness, here and hereafter, if they had been born on the Congo and lived in the stolid insensibility and low contentment of squalid barbarism.

A STUDY IN DYNAMICS.

One day a prophet of spiritual things was walking alone in a wood near Dulwich, England, when "the image flashed upon him of one walking thus alone through life—one apparently too obscure to leave a trace of his or her passage, yet exercising a lasting, though unconscious, influence at every step." This instantaneous conception worked itself out in process of time into the drama entitled "Pippa Passes," in which a past master of the contents

of human nature and life teaches the lesson of the imperial and propulsive power of purity. It is the story of a young factory girl named Felippa, pet-named Pippa, a winder in the silk mills in the Italian village of Asolo. One holiday, when the mills are closed, innocence in the person of little Pippa goes strolling up and down the streets and hillsides singing to itself, as innocence, who is God's daughter, will; and in four tragic moral crises, past the scenes of which she goes, her songs jostle evil off its track, fill headlong wickedness with hesitation, and rescue from temptation. The passing of this gentle girl disturbs the borders of her pathway more than would a cannon-ball express going by with a thunder roar, shaking the province and sucking a whirlwind after it.

"Pippa Passes," which Edmund Gosse and Edmund Clarence Stedman consider Browning's masterpiece, is a parable of the dynamics of character in its most delicate and ethereal action. This factory girl, all unawares, is out on a soul-saving service, an unconscious evangelist to four most critical, acute, and necessitous moral emergencies, which are pictured in four separate scenes, divided by suggestive and interpretative interludes.

In the first, Sebald and Ottima, a bold and reckless pair, caught in the carnal snare and guilty of murder besides, are sinning shamelessly in the mad delirium of unhallowed passion, when a girl's sweet voice comes over the garden wall and into the shrub-house, singing this exquisite song:

> The year's at the spring,
> And day's at the morn;
> Morning's at seven;
> The hillside's dew-pearled;
> The lark's on the wing;
> The snail's on the thorn;
> God's in his heaven—
> All's right with the world!

This, only this and nothing more, reaches the guilty lovers, and it leaves with them the vision of God overhead and innocence, blithe, happy, and trustful, under his eye. In a flash they see that virtue is better than vice; for all is well with the righteous, but the wages of sin is death. Sebald exclaims, "That little peasant's voice has righted all again. . . . I see what I have done entirely now." Pippa has broken the spell in which these sinning souls were bound, though she passes on knowing it not.

In the second, a young sculptor, Jules, is beside himself with

anger at discovering a nefarious plot contrived against him by a brutal gang bent on his ruin. Just when the culmination of his rage has swept him to the verge of deciding upon cruelty and murder as a method of revenge, by force of what we call accident and Heaven calls plan the little silk winder happens to be going by singing another song, and something in the music or the words abates his wrath, restores his self-control, clears his moral vision, and betters all his thoughts, including his artistic ideals, so that both the man and the artist are saved.

In the third, Luigi, a boy patriot with excessive zeal and erring judgment, is about setting out for Vienna to assassinate the emperor. While he and his mother, alone in a ruined turret, are talking of his rash and furious enterprise, the factory girl, warbling her harmless holiday away, passes underneath, and her song, stealing up, mingling its notes with his mother's entreaties, operates to soothe the fierceness of his spirit, and, there is reason to believe, introduces hesitation enough to weaken his bloody purpose from fulfillment.

In the fourth, a proud, worldly, and luxurious bishop sits in a palace, with a soul already darkened and unfaithful, and tempted now to flagrant and awful wickedness, when the clear young voice somewhere outside starts singing of nature's simplicities, serenities, and loyalties—trees, flowers, grass, birds, sun, stars, and moon—not omitting to close with God over all; and the imperiled bishop, listening, sees as if by sudden shining of celestial luminaries the black abyss before him, and with a loud outcry starts affrighted from its brink.

Pippa's songs have the effect of a moral recall and produce a moral recoil. This is because the songs she likes are like herself in quality, as if steeped in the purity of Pippa's spirit.

The essence of any personality is diffusive and distinguishable. That each person has a peculiar quality, distinct and inseparable, is familiar fact; in each the human elements are mixed after a special equation, compounding a unique result; and each declares his essential nature in every issuance, utterance, act. The opposite poles of personal quality are wide apart. The effluence of some is an effluvium, a noxious exhalation; the emanation of others is, to all our cognitions and sensibilities, the sweet "presence of a good diffused." This Edmund Gosse had in mind when he wrote concerning Walt Whitman, "Something mephitic breathes from this strange personality;" and Pius IX, when he sent word to Bishop Mermillod to remain at Ferney and

sweeten the place from the memories of Voltaire; and a Mohammedan Swedenborgian, if such there were, might explain that the Koran refers to this when it says that the houris of paradise perspire musk; and this also was meant by the man who wrote, "The one perfume, preferred by her, with which my mother was wont to touch her handkerchief when I was a boy, is as distinct to memory now as to my sense perception then, yet not more definite than the subtle aroma and bouquet of her personality, a spirit-perfume defying description or analysis, which is with me still as when her immediate presence diffused it here, though thirty years have passed since she added her fine fragrance to the aggregated sweetnesses of heaven." Now, Pippa illustrates the distinctness and positiveness of personal influence; she was a moral perfume sweetening in some degree all the air of Asolo, as if "her garments smelled of myrrh and aloes and cassia out of the ivory palaces." This guileless girl, a simple, artless, inexperienced little saint, happy in filial relations with God, saturates her world with sanctity as she moves.

The story of Pippa shows the startling force of personal influence, in its thinnest dilution and slightest tint, its filmiest form and lightest wafting, its softest note and faintest echo. The action of the power proceeding from her is exceedingly indirect, oblique, remote. She does not deliver a message, point a finger, direct a glance, or accost a soul. Innocence passing by simply vocalizes its maiden meditation in the air, and listening guilt, made conscious of sin and aware of heaven, trembles, cowers, relents, repents. Note, that nothing hortatory or didactic is in her songs, no stated decalogue or gospel. She is not singing from Rous's Psalms or the Church hymnal. Mendelssohn's "*Lieder ohne Worte*" are scarcely more indirect. As in the Eleusinian mysteries there was no doctrinal instruction, but all meanings were inferred from the spectacle, so in Pippa's songs there is nothing directive or admonitory; what message they are capable of impressing is an oblique suggestion from their drift and pitch. She is as undidactic as the virgin moon, which simply by its shining preaches of the sun whence it derives its light. Yet her sweet soliloquies, floating softly abroad, reach the tempted and the guilty in shrub-house and studio and turret and palace with the force of a John-the-Baptist message thundering righteousness and judgment; the proportion of effect to cause is as if a babe's breath should disperse the White Squadron or a film of vapor adrift in space derail the solar system. The tremendous dynam-

ics of character in its most rarefied and ethereal effluence is powerfully illustrated in Pippa. She is not only a perfume, but as much a power in Asolo as if she were a walking dynamo, an electric girl able to lift men with the tips of her fingers.

In "Pippa Passes" is shown, also, the possible might of personal influence acting in and limited to its briefest opportunity. This is intentionally italicized in the title given to the poem. This factory girl's holiday usefulness is shut up to a ministry of touch-and-go. Her transit was a mathematic tangent, just kissing the circumference of each moral crisis at a single point. But personality is electric and discharges its force through an instant's contact. Pippa's song flung out upon the air is like a live wire swinging loose; Ottima, Sebald, Jules, Luigi, and Monsignor feel the thrill. Only a moment at each critical station was she seen and heard; yet the power of her presence is imperial and decisive. The perturbation she causes is worthy of a passing world, as when huge Neptune, rolling in the offing of our system, pulls Uranus aside toward the outlying infinite. Nor is the effect temporary; on the contrary, permanent. Though Pippa is a wandering and intermittent voice, her echoes do not die on hill or field or river; they rather roll from soul to soul and grow forever and forever. The conjunction of a momentary cause and a lasting result, common enough everywhere else, is not absent from human intercourse. One lightning flash, and Alexis is dead and Luther impelled on his life-long course. As one prick of the cobra's fang sends venom through all the veins, so one impure suggestion may taint the whole mind. One summer a young Boston fish dealer had a few glimpses of Wilbur Fisk, and, enamored of the vision, Isaac Rich's life became like his name and was thenceforth dedicated to producing Wilbur Fisks. Christian workers are often oppressed with the feeling that transiency of opportunity prohibits large results. The man who toils year after year in the Judson Memorial Church, south of Washington Square, among the shifting population in sight of his tall tower, seems to himself as one standing on the bank of a swift stream shooting arrows at the logs floating past, or as one preaching in an elevator to people getting in and out at every floor, ministering to lives a moment within reach, then gone forever. So is it with the missionary telling of Jesus and the resurrection to an accidental group of heathen in the thronged bazaar, and the street preacher on the curbstone calling the denizens of city slums to repentance and reformation. And everywhere a great

part of religious work must be done in transient conditions, with only momentary opportunities; at which, the point here is, no worker need be disheartened. Pippa's passing influence stands as the very type of transiency, and reminds of that greatest ministry of all, when, throughout Galilee and Judea and beyond Jordan, in cities and villages and along the countryside, the wondrous and thrilling report ran near and far that Jesus of Nazareth was passing by.

If that which gives way and flies back before its opposite is thereby proven the less weighty and less mighty, then the superior force of purity is one of the doctrines of the drama here discussed. Not that goodness is always unconditionally invincible, for the world puts virtue in serious peril by many trials and tests. Not without danger was the walk the young silk winder took that day through Asolo. Knowledge of life makes one tremble to see innocence steering its light pinnace along the edges of those several whirlpools where souls were circling downward or spinning already in the vortex. Nor did wickedness omit to set its traps for such a prize as Pippa. Yet she came home unharmed at nightfall to her "large, mean, airy chamber." Virtue like hers, it seems, goes panoplied in its own whiteness. On the side of human possibility there is a moral health so sound and solid it will not take infection; and on the side of divine intention goodness is not meant to be a prey. The earth is not replenished with lambs for the delectation of bloodthirsty wolves. To be devoured is not the purposed fate of innocence. Una's intended place is on the lion's back, not inside his jaws. The will of Heaven is fulfilled in virtue's victory.

That goodness is superior in force, as well as in character, is a lesson needed by both good and bad. Evil's pomp and blare and fierce demeanor fright some timid souls. Its brazen effrontery and bullying mien and violent methods seem so formidable that good men, intimidated by its aggressive and defiant energy, write it unduly high in the scale of potencies, discouraging themselves and diffusing dismay around them. Doubt and fear say, "Beyond question goodness is supremely lovely; but is it strong for overcoming? The beauty of holiness none can dispute; but has it rugged robustness to contend with a brutal and bludgeoning world?" Surface appearance looks the other way. In the moment of conflict mild-mannered and sweet-spoken inoffensiveness seems no match for swash-buckler badness with its fists and firearms; but let the doubter go away a while, say for a gener-

ation or two, then come back and see that the tribe of the violent has perished, while the meek inherit the earth.

The children of the devil, with a blind faith in the bravado which seems like bravery and the audacity which mimics power, imagine, naturally enough, that the kingdom is theirs; they can easily outwit and outfight these innocents; therefore wickedness leaps with confident ferocity upon the little flock, so harmless and apparently so helpless. But in due time a Power which makes for righteousness gives the kingdom to that little flock. Then at the end of an experience immensely educational the undeceived dupes of the devil con the lesson set for them in characters of fire—"It's wiser being good than bad; it's safer being meek than fierce."

A totally unnatural and far more lamentable thing is that a puling and pusillanimous pessimism, which is less respectable than atheism, drivels sometimes from lips that ought to be manly and courageous. One of the sorest trials of those who believe in God is to hear the expression in Christian circles of gloomy views concerning the condition and prospects of mankind, as if Christ were a visionary and his Gospel a futility. Some morbid, twisted thinking gets the attribute of omnipotence shifted over from God to the devil; the Maker and Ruler of all is supposed to be at a disadvantage in his own universe. Mere heresy, a simple disagreement with a prevalent creed or generally accepted doctrine, is immensely less injurious than this cardinal, capital, utterly fatal sin of unbelief in God, upon which our Saviour—and, with equal distinctness, the nature of things—denounces unmitigated damnation. It is slandering the Creator to imply that he has permitted superior power to wickedness. Lincoln said, "God must love common people or he would not have made so many of them." Parity of reasoning would accuse him of a preference for evil if he had arranged that it might predominate. Despondent views of the final fortunes of the world are blasphemous. It is incredible that the Power which made all worlds has in any one of them given the kingdom to the wicked one. The Charioteer who drives this racing planet around its blue-walled sidereal stadium keeps the whip hand of all its forces; the wildest and most fractious he holds with a curb bit, and can throw them on their haunches when he pleases. So much of insurrectionary insolence as cannot ultimately be made to praise him he is abundantly able to restrain. Because "God's in his heaven" it is so well with the world that purity is able to triumph here. His saints are not a feeble folk,

but the most formidable force ever marshaled, the only surely conquering column that ever lifted its banner and took up its line of march across the plains of time.

Disbelief in the power of purity and truth and righteousness is fostered by demoralizing falsehoods in various copybook maxims and poetic quotations which attribute superior vitality, alertness, sagacity, and longevity to evil. Samples of such axioms of unbelief readily occur. "The evil that men do lives after them; the good is often interred with their bones." Whether result or recollection is referred to, this saying is not true. As for results, there is a lasting quality in the effects of virtue and a value which prompts society to preserve them. As for recollection, many monuments and celebrations perpetuate the remembrance of noble actions, while no commemoration is held or memorial reared on behalf of baseness. Evil deeds have in their nature something which inclines men for very shame to abstain from mention of them. They are put out of sight that they may be quickly and forever out of mind—consigned to oblivion as offal to a pit. The very name of the wicked shall rot.

"The good die young, but they whose hearts are dry as summer dust burn to the socket," is a poetic heresy which puts the exception in place of the rule, the general truth being that goodness and longevity go together in a long and fair survival of the fittest. In wisdom's right hand is length of days.

"A lie will travel round the world while truth is pulling on its boots" is a saying which gives an advantage to the lie. But the false is susceptible of, and at every step liable to, disproof positive and final; like Egyptian chariots without wheels, it drives heavily, while the true rolls forward on a firm foundation of fact, making its safe appeal to time. "The evil cannot brook delay; the good can well afford to wait." The revolving earth rolls in its vindication. Superior speed and energy are in the truth, and the Maker has pitched the slope of the world to the advantage of righteousness.

In the oft-quoted words, "Right forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne," the twice-occurring adverb makes the lines untrue. Take it the ages through, rectitude fares better than rascality. Wrong oftenest feels the halter drawn. Criminals, and not honest men, wear out the gallows. "A charmed life old Goodness hath." In wisdom's left hand are riches and honor. Say ye to the righteous, it is and shall be well with him.

Even Scripture is perverted to unjust effect. "The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light" is interpreted to imply a superior sagacity in the wicked. Only locally or exceptionally now and then have the words been true, the general fact being that "the best men ever prove the wisest too; something instinctive guides them still aright." Virtue alone is sagacious and strong. The all-good is the Almighty. We withhold worship unless we can address it to a Being amply entitled to the ascription, "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever. Amen!" The superior inherent force, as well as the supreme loveliness and dignity of goodness, is one of the doctrines of "Pippa Passes." Innocence goes forth through Asolo on an errand of power. Wickedness, conscious of manifold inferiority, cowers abashed before the moral majesty and might of passing purity and prepares for flight.

If one searches deeply for the secret of Pippa's power he sees that truth to essential fact requires it to be said that her superbly useful day is an instance of answered prayer. True, she frames no formal petition in our hearing; her prayer, like her gospel, is in solution making prayerfulness. She is influential for good because she desires to be. (To be "useful to men and dear to God" is a cherished thought with her.) Early and late, when she wakes and when she goes to sleep, God's service is on her mind, and, in her heart, habitually a forward-looking desire and a backward-looking wistfulness equivalent to prayer. She sets out in the morning with a wish to make the most and best of the "single day God lends to leaven, what were all earth else with a feel of heaven," and with fond apprehension of possible tasks to be imposed by God. And when she sits on her bedside at night we see there has been a steady longing in her heart; she would really like to know how she might approach these people—Sebald and Ottima, Jules, Luigi, and Monsignor—so as to touch them, some way move them; she thinks it was half promised in her morning hymn that her part with them might be in some sense important. And this obedient, unconsciously but powerfully influential child of God falls asleep with the thought that peradventure he may have used her in ways she knows nothing about, knowing that to be a happy habit he has.

Because this essay deals with some of the most puissant moving forces of man's world we have entitled it "A Study in Dynamics." Does the physicist object?

THE ARENA.

DR. MUDGE AND HIS BOOK.

I CRITICISE Dr. Mudge with extreme reluctance, because I do not wish to occupy my time in removing obstructions to the spread of holiness, preferring to devote myself to the direct enunciation of truth and positive enforcement of privilege and duty; and also because I do not like personal discussion. I bear nothing toward Dr. Mudge but love and respect. I have not the pleasure of knowing him personally, but have known of him for a decade or more. He wrote occasionally and well, some years since, for *Divine Life*. But his mind then, as I thought, was not exactly plumb on holiness. I place a respectful estimate upon him. I believe he possesses the ability, the literary qualifications, and the heart to write a superior and useful treatise on holiness; and, had he devoted his fine gifts to the achievement of such praiseworthy production, he might shine with the luster that now encircles the brow of Abel Stevens, the magnificent writer and faithful chronicler of our glorious career as a Church. In all of Stevens's voluminous and elegant pages there is not a hint of dissent to disaffect our people toward our traditional faith and prudential usages. Dr. Mudge could have done the same and worn like garlands; but he has chosen to put himself on record as a critic of Wesley and his cothinkers, ancient and modern, by writing a book entitled *Growth in Holiness toward Perfection; or, Progressive Sanctification.*

The very name of the book indicates departure from Methodism. It places no goal before the seeker, animates him by no attainable privilege, and allows no room for instantaneous salvation by faith. Indeed, a deplorable feature of the book is the paucity of allusion to faith. The great force in religion, and the cardinal factor in Christ's Gospel and all Methodist theology, is given a back seat. It is superseded by *growth*. And it is growth like that of a tree toward the clouds, objectless and without any boundary line. The seeker is baffled and forever disappointed, like a man making a desperate attempt to overtake the horizon. Observe, it is not growth to perfection, but growth *toward* perfection, which Dr. Mudge confesses is an ever-receding boundary (page 196). It is then a weary march toward the unattainable. But Wesley says, "Christian perfection or perfect love is a grace put within the reach of every man and receivable any moment by faith." Shall we exchange this present privilege for Dr. Mudge's never-ending journey toward nothing? So, progressive sanctification, accompanied with his denial of the possibility of entire perfection in this life, is no sanctification at all.

Passing from the title of the book to its contents, the skies do not brighten. From the author's censorious prologue of twenty-nine pages, which he denominates "Preliminary," to the recital of his experience, we find on every page divergence from Methodist faith and teaching.

The drift of his "Preliminary" is to discredit our standard authors, especially Wesley, to decry our terminology, to exalt the present above the past, and to overthrow our ancestral ideas on the subject of holiness. Wesley he represents as a novice, a "pioneer groping in mist and fog," and never getting quite out. He pats him on the shoulder and says, "He did well for his time," and then commiserates him because he lacked the light and opportunities of modern critics. As well commiserate the sun because he is not a lucifer match! John Wesley was one of the most learned and intellectual men of any age. That mind must be obtuse indeed which does not see the hand of Providence in raising up so accomplished a man, so profound a scholar, so astute a theologian, so versed an historian, so masterly a polemic—a man so rich in ancient lore, so completely abreast of the sciences of his day, and so deeply spiritual, zealous, and holy—to be the founder of the most evangelical Church in Christendom. Luther, Calvin, Chalmers, and Edwards pale before him. Where is the man who wrote so voluminously on topics of the day, at the same time made a Greek and a Hebrew grammar, translated the New Testament, making corrections in the King James' version a hundred years in advance of the recent extolled revision of the New Testament, and gave so learned and judicious a rendering that the revisers have simply followed his trail and adopted it? A man almost as much at home in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin as in his own tongue, and at the same time versed in all literature of the past and all sciences and questions of the day, civil and religious, is not the man to be set aside as a "beginner." Nor is a mind so clear, so logical, so practical and stalwart to be accused of befogging the Church with definitions of doctrine "unscientific, inexact, and muddled." John Wesley's is the monarch mind of Methodism.

For want of space I cannot quote and explode the mistakes of Dr. Mudge *in extenso*, though it would not be difficult to do so. I trust, however, to contribute something toward their disproof and the neutralization of their evil effects.

1. Our author inveighs against our doctrines. He repudiates both the doctrine and formula of "original sin," as held by Methodism and the general Church since the fourth century, and as incorporated in our Discipline as one of our Articles of Religion. He says that the terms "original sin," "birth sin," and "inbred sin" should be "dismissed to the museum of theological curiosities." He substitutes the word "depravity," claiming to desire and to give greater perspicuity to our definitions. Does the term "depravity" loom with light upon this profound and mysterious subject? The origin of human evil has been the problem of the ages, and has given rise to countless myths and superstitions. The only rational account is found in the first chapters of Genesis; and that is an account of an *original sin*, and traces it to man's delinquency. The question has often been asked why God made man when, by his attribute of prescience, he must have known that man would blunder and fall. I answer, because he could not make *man* at all if he did not make him with liabilities. It was an alternative of freedom or nonexistence. God

could have made an automaton without life, or an animal with only instinct, but he could not make *man* with reason and will without making him self-governing, able to stand and liable to fall. Man abused his liberty, which he need not have done, and which God warned him not to do. The consequence was that he fell into a condition of debasement and corruption, and became a wreck physically, intellectually, and morally. That is the history of the origin of the world's disaster in small compass. It is traced to a primary sin properly called "original sin." And it must be remembered that the primary sin was both an act and a state—an act of sinning and a state of sinfulness. The guilt of that first transgression is untransferable, and remains with the first transgressor; but as Adam was the head and progenitor of the race the effects of his sin became transmissible by natural generation, and actually blasted his progeny who had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression. Now the phrase "original sin" is exponential of the origin of our woes. It stands in our theology as an index to man's lapse and the world's misery. But "depravity" has no such relationship or significance. Depravity is an effect, not a cause. That men are depraved is obvious to all, but the question arises, How came they so? Did God create a race of depraved beings, or is depravity inherent in matter and mind, as some have conjectured? If not, whence our corruption and enfeebled faculties? The term "depravity" gives no answer.

2. Dr. Mudge rejects our definition of sin. Methodism, following Wesley, says that "sin is a willful transgression of a known divine law." St. John, in fewer words, says the same. Dr. Mudge defines sin as a "deviation from duty." Would theology or precision gain anything by the change? How can we know what duty is except by a revealed divine law? There is no duty where there is no law, and therefore no sin. "For where no law is, there is no transgression." If duty is to determine what sin is, it must mean our perception of duty, and that would subject right and wrong, sin and holiness, to man's caprices.

Dr. Mudge accuses the popular didactics as affirming that some sins are innocent and some guilty; some require an atonement and repentance and some do not; some are our fault and some are only our misfortune, etc. This is all news to the writer. We never read or heard such preaching. We have read of possible failures to measure up to an infinitely perfect standard through incapacity, but never thought of such imperceptible deviations as sins, and never found them catalogued as such until we read Dr. Mudge's book (pages 57, 58).

3. Again, Dr. Mudge objects to our terminology. He does not like "Christian perfection," "perfect love," "entire sanctification," "cleansing." The title of his book is a substitute for all these. For the word "cleansing" he would have us use the word "empowering," which involves an infelicity, and would make us read, "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son *empowereth* us from all sin. . . . If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to *empower* us from all unrighteousness." Is not this making rather free with the diction of an apostle?

4. Dr. Mudge also objects to our standard definition of holiness. Wesley teaches that holiness is perfect love. Our author says (page 83), "Holiness is that condition of human nature wherein the love of God rules." Is this an improvement? Is there no obscurity here? To what extent does love reign? Is it supreme and absolute, or only partial, in the regenerate? Wesley and St. John teach that love so reigns in the regenerate that they do not sin, though not saved from all inbred sinfulness. It is a limited monarchy. But, in the wholly sanctified, love reigns without a rival. In this we cling to the skirts of Wesley. Dr. Mudge, however, couples regeneration and holiness as synonymous terms. He says the regenerate are "more than partly holy" (page 82); which is equivalent to declaring they are entirely holy. Indeed, he goes so far as to affirm that even conversion is a sinless state. Speaking of his relatively holy man (page 136), these are his words: "He fulfills all the law which at present is binding upon him and, hence, may be called, in a very intelligible and wholly proper sense, sinless."

Now, this is contrary, not only to Wesley and Methodism, but also to the faith and teachings of the universal Church, unless we except Count Zinzendorf. Mr. Wesley hesitated to call the entirely sanctified "sinless," lest the term should be construed to mean too much and to cover all mistakes, errors, and slight deviations which are the inevitable result of infirmities and fallen faculties. But Dr. Mudge pronounces every young Convert "sinless." And yet, with strange inconsistency and contradiction, he minifies the perfection of perfect love, and denies its attainability in this life. He says (page 89), "To know and love God, then, or, in other words, to be his child, is to keep his word; and whosoever keeps his word, John says, has perfect love, which is precisely the same as to say that every child of God, in having God's love, has perfect love." And thus he teaches that every Christian, who is a Christian at all, has perfect love. This makes perfect love to consist, not in a holy affection at its maximum of intensity, as our Lord inculcates, but in outward compliance with his commandments. The truth is, our Lord and St. John both teach that to keep God's word, or commandments, is the fruit of perfect love, not its essence. And still, in palpable contradiction, Dr. Mudge denies the attainability of perfect love or entire sanctification. He says (page 157), "Entire sanctification, in the higher or absolute sense, where something more than the partial knowledge and inferior, undeveloped powers of the young convert come in, where, indeed, complete knowledge and the powers of unfallen humanity are implied, must, as with the higher perfection, tarry till another life."

Again, in speaking of the perfect man "in a complete or positive sense," (pages 138, 139), in contradistinction to the one who is relatively perfect or holy, he says: "The latter is delivered, not merely from all sin, but from all depravity." Then, quoting Wesley in respect to the wholly sanctified in this life, he adds: "Such a one has recovered the whole image of God, to use Wesley's language, his soul has been restored to its primitive health and original purity, he has all the mind that was in Christ, and

he walks uniformly as Christ walked." Then he quotes Bishop Foster on the same point, who says, "The propensities will no longer rebelliously strive with the conscience, no longer have undue power, like a frenzied patient, but, remaining and becoming restored to their right condition, will ask only their normal indulgence and exercise." Then Dr. Mudge gravely asks, "When will this be, and where?" and answers, "Not now or here, but in another world than this, when we shall have laid aside these enfeebled and enfeebling bodies which compel us to err." This locates sin in the body. If this is not flatly denying the attainability of entire sanctification in this life, what is? Nor can Dr. Mudge escape the denial by saying he is speaking of the perfection of glorified saints; for he uses the words of Wesley and Foster, both of whom applied their words to a state of grace attainable in this world.

Again, Dr. Mudge intensifies this denial as follows (page 221): "Our depravity may be very greatly diminished, how greatly none can tell; but, so far as we can perceive, it is never, in this life, absolutely destroyed." These denials utterly subvert the doctrine of sanctification as held by our Church. They do more; they necessitate a future probation. If I must carry my depravity, in part or in whole, into eternity, then I must have another trial there or clank my chains forever. Thus the heresy of a second probation is covertly broached by a Methodist preacher. Whatever converts eternity into a repair shop necessitates a future probation.

Dr. Mudge has written a book to dissipate the idea of a second blessing. This blessing is the specter that stares him in the face at every turn. Therefore opposition to it is the gist that runs through the whole volume. His belligerency toward it is like an army marching with fixed bayonets. Why it should throw any man into convulsions is strange. "Second blessing" is not a theological term with us. It is a word of convenience, a poetic grace. "Speak the second time, 'Be clean.'" It is allowed to stand as a commonplace denoting a second stage in Christian experience, but the phrase is not vital at all. But Dr. Mudge pursues it as if it twisted out of joint the process of personal salvation. To get rid of it he disparages Wesley and his cothinkers from the birth of Methodism to the present hour. At one time he depresses entire sanctification so low that every Christian can claim it; at another he lifts it so high that nobody can reach it.

5. He also invalidates the testimony of those Christians who humbly claim that to them this grace has been given, though less than the least of all saints. He discards the exegesis of Scripture texts by our profoundest minds and best scholars. He rejects all spiritual anointings, and even pentecostal baptisms of the Holy Ghost, except what is common to ordinary Christian life. Even his own experience, with which the book closes, is shaped and molded to discredit the Methodist view and to support his fancy of an endless growth toward nothing definite and a progressive sanctification which can never be grasped or finished in this or the next world.

In concluding this criticism we wish to say emphatically that we do not

accept and defend the Wesleyan doctrine of holiness because it is Wesleyan, but because it is scriptural and reasonable, and accords with experience. We have given a high character to John Wesley, not as a bigot or man worshiper, but to do justice to a great and good man, and to neutralize detractions in which inferior men frequently indulge. Nor are we a hobbyist on the theme of Christian perfection, as some regard all advocates of this special experience. We are as broad in our sympathies and views, and as zealous in our efforts to promote all the phases of spiritual experience and all the interests of the Church, as any other type or class of Christians. We are made a little peculiar, perhaps, because of the stress and urgency of our efforts, on one point of our general faith. We see all the lines of light, all the virtues of the atonement, all the forces of redemption, converging and focalizing in personal holiness. We think Christ came to restore the lost image of God. All else is incidental. But we see the Church without clear vision or ardent feelings on this subject. Therefore we direct special attention to this aspect of religion, and pray that the Church may speedily rise in full-orbed holiness to hasten the millennium.

ASBURY LOWREY.

New York city.

OF WHAT USE IS IT?

WE mean the Song of Songs. What it is intended to be seems one of the things no one can find out. Dr. James Strong "accepts the view that the poem is a celebration of Solomon's marriage with a daughter of Pharaoh." Dr. Terry thinks that "the heroine of this poetic drama is to be understood as a fair young maiden of northern Palestine whom King Solomon is supposed to have sought in vain to win. She resists all his blandishments, rejects all his efforts, and remains true to her shepherd lover, to whom she is at last restored." And now in the September *Review* the Rev. W. W. Martin, in an article of great ingenuity, concludes that the poem is "a production of the exile," "a song of the Beloved and his love; and the Beloved is Jehovah, and his loved one his chosen people."

All of which moves us to ask: If, after some thousands of years of trying to find out what the Song of Solomon does mean, no more agreement is reached among our best and learned men, how successful is the book as a disclosure of saving truth? As a conundrum it is a great success, as a supernatural revelation it is a failure; for a revelation reveals something, while the Song of Songs reveals nothing. And how much divine inspiration is there about a production that presumably from the days of Solomon or of the exile to the closing years of the nineteenth century has been trying to get itself understood and has not yet succeeded? If any human being had made such an effort, and such a failure, men would conclude it was time to let somebody else try. It looks to the writer like nonsense to include this book among the Scriptures of divine truth—at least as in any sense especially inspired.

Jersey City, N. J. J. C. JACKSON.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE AGE OF THE SPECIALIST.

THE time has come when all classes of people unite in paying tribute to the specialist. The old in this respect has been superseded by the new. Breadth has given place, not to narrowness, for that would be too sweeping a term, but to depth as applied to a narrow field. In other words, general ability gives place to special qualifications in particular lines. A general practitioner in medicine is rarely found, except in remote places, and even they on important occasions refer to the specialist. This seems natural and desirable, and yet there is danger of its being overdone. There are many spheres of activity in which a well-rounded man is of more service than one specially fitted for a particular department can possibly be.

The ministry of the Gospel illustrates this. There are diversities of gifts in the ministry, as well as diversities of functions. Some have special aptitude as evangelists. They have great powers of exhortation and appeal. They can gather people to their sermons, can reach them in their homes, and have rare insight into the mode of dealing with struggling souls. This is a great power, and one that ought not to be undervalued. Then there are great preachers. They excel in public address. It is said of them that the pulpit is their throne. They are sought for their oratorical ability, and command large congregations. From the days of Demosthenes great orators, whether in Church or State, have won the homage of mankind. Effectiveness in the composition and delivery of sermons is a power for good which is recognized by Protestant Christendom. The preaching of the Gospel is the supreme function of the minister. Paul himself magnified preaching as compared to the administration of ordinances when he said, "For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel." Some are eminently successful as pastors. They have sympathy, they have tact, they have a knowledge of people, and can minister to them in their times of difficulty. This capacity is often undervalued, as if it were inferior to the more showy gifts; but good pastors are often more effective than are powerful preachers who neglect pastoral work.

None of these capacities, great as they are in themselves, can achieve complete success in the Gospel ministry without the others. They are all essential, and he who would be at his best in the Master's service should cultivate them all. The faithful pastor, the powerful preacher, the warm evangelist, united in one person, constitute a personality whose effectiveness for good cannot be questioned.

And here the question arises for the consideration of the young preacher. The specialist in religious work is sought, while the all-round preacher is overlooked. It is announced in glowing words that

the celebrated revivalist or the famous orator is about to visit the city; but the balanced Christian minister, who has made his work tell in every department of Church life, receives little or no public recognition. A true man with a real mission has no desire for notoriety. He is satisfied to see the Church move steadily forward; he rejoices, not in the fact that his praises are sounded on earth, but that his name is written in heaven, and that in due time he shall "come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him."

This view does not undervalue specialization, but merely aims to assign to it its proper position. In science, literature, and art, and even in practical Christian work, there must be specialists. The professor of geology, of philosophy, of philology must not only have a general training, but in his chosen field he must be a specialist. Nor can anyone question that he who would do his best work in the various fields of reform must be largely a man of one supreme aim, and must have special equipment for it. Each young man who enters the ministry should endeavor to ascertain his adaptations and await the openings of Providence in regard to it. It is a safe rule that the man who has special gifts for any important necessary work will in due time be discovered. There are those constantly on the lookout for such persons, and humanity is waiting for them.

We repeat, however, that the ministry in general should contemplate only the pastorate as its appointed work. To minister to the people in spiritual things, to break to them Sabbath after Sabbath for successive years the bread of life, to visit their sick, to bury their dead, to train their children, to sympathize with them in their troubles, is the work to which the minister of the Gospel is called. And what position or work could be grander or nobler? What a thing of power the regular ministry of the Church is! What noble men have filled it! How the world has been uplifted by it! It is worthy of the best talents and the best training.

It follows that the young preacher of this age should have a broad training. He should not content himself with a narrow study of one particular department. He must have a well-balanced preparation. He will do well to take the "regular course" in any institution to which he may go as a student. It should be his desire to excel in every department of study. Hebrew must not be neglected for philosophy, nor homiletics for Greek. Theology and history will have their own places; and in this way he will become "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed" in any field to which the providence of God may assign him.

This view will not prevent special attention to any study for which he may have a special aptitude or inclination, but his well-rounded preparation is the safest and surest way to the most complete mastery of any specialty. There should be, and is, in the Church, a place for everybody to work, a special field for men and women with special gifts; but the best field, on the whole, is the ordinary work of the Gospel minister.

TRANSFER OF MINISTERS.

THE Methodist Episcopal Church differs from most of the other denominations in the absoluteness of the power of appointment. From an episcopal decision as to the field which the minister is to occupy, when made in conformity with the law of the Church, there can be no appeal. This is true in the several Conferences, and applies with equal force to the transfer of preachers from one Conference to another. While in the Presbyterian Church, for instance, a formal call is necessary and the preacher may accept or decline, in our Church the decision of the bishop as to a transfer is final. It is assumed, of course, that in the administration of this authority he will consult the wishes of both the preacher and the people. We presume few transfers are made where the consent of both parties has not first been obtained.

This method makes the transfer of preachers very simple, and encourages the wish to find in some other part of the country a more desirable field than the one the minister occupies. It is particularly so when what is called a suitable opening is not found in the Conference in which he is laboring. This method also has serious drawbacks. Many Conferences are already crowded, and the transfer of additional preachers to the stronger churches, as is generally the case, necessarily presses other brethren into smaller appointments, often greatly to their discomfort. Hence has arisen a demand on the part of ministers for what are called "equivalent transfers," that is, that as many shall be transferred from the Conference as are brought into it, and that the grade of appointments so filled shall be equal. This demand seems fair, and the authorities, we presume, conform to it whenever they can, without doing violence to what they believe to be the necessities of the work. How to adjust this system to all the conditions which confront us is one of the important problems demanding the consideration of the Church.

In the Itinerants' Club, however, we are interested in it as to its bearings on the preachers, especially the junior ministers. The difficulty of a wise solution of the question arises out of our peculiar mode of appointment. It is generally agreed that when a young man enters a Conference he expects to be assigned to a smaller charge, where he may have time to grow, and from which he will graduate into a larger field in due time. It is very rarely that he expects, or receives, a large appointment at the beginning of his ministry. Suppose, however, that a young preacher is assigned at once to a chief appointment. He accepts it, of course, with satisfaction, and probably fulfills its demands to the satisfaction of his people. According to our regulations, at the end of five years he must have a new charge. If he is a man of unusual ability he may go to another charge of the same grade, and then to another. By the time he has filled all the "chief appointments" he is still young. He perhaps recognizes the necessity of maintaining the position which he has secured. What shall be done? But two courses are open: if he remain in his Conference he may either be reappointed and serve these churches over

again, or he must consent to occupy places of inferior rank. For, while there ought to be no grades in ministerial service, every minister as called of God being fully the equal of every other, in popular opinion the pastorate in large churches is held to be more desirable than in the smaller ones. This condition of things at once forces upon his attention the desirability of securing a transfer to a large church in some other Conference, and in this way maintaining his ministerial standing. The alternative seems to be, "Step down or step out of the Conference;" and often he chooses the latter. Of course, we must not question that the desire for larger usefulness in a new field enters into the consideration.

In such circumstances—and we have cited actual conditions—what shall the minister do? One answer would be that in three cases out of four it would be better in the long run for him to remain in his Conference and take the work assigned him. It is not necessary to serve the most wealthy or the largest churches to have wide influence and usefulness. A study of any Annual Conference will show that many of their strongest and most influential men have never filled its most prominent pulpits. Transfers have come and gone, and scarcely left an impression; but these faithful men have done work which has remained. There is great danger of confounding great popularity with great influence. These may coexist, and they may not. He who stands by the work, in its general and special obligations, in some particular locality has a better opportunity for permanent usefulness than he who is constantly going from place to place. While a Methodist minister cannot remain in one church he can become an influential part of some Conference which is his home.

This position is enforced by the fact that it is common to hear preachers, who have filled the most prominent appointments in our various Conferences, declare that they now propose to settle down and have a Conference home. This is not an argument for lifelong pastorates, nor yet against the acceptance of a responsible position in some other part of the country; but it is an argument against changing chiefly to maintain one's ministerial standing. A reference to the men who have been transferred from time to time will show how devoted they have been to the Church, and probably no conditions will arise which would even suggest the elimination of the transfer system.

There is a point of importance to young preachers growing out of the above considerations. They are often anxious to advance rapidly to the most difficult fields of labor, and in doing so they often hinder their highest usefulness in the coming years. They take upon them responsibilities which can be borne far better with accumulated knowledge and experience. They have no time to grow. They are so pressed that they have only opportunity for those studies which bear upon their immediate work. If they attempt more it involves a strain upon their health which might otherwise have been avoided.

The conditions of our Church life enable a young man to grow in position as well as in ability and experience from year to year. As he advances in age new and higher responsibilities are put upon him; and

thus his whole life becomes an advance—at least until that time comes, which comes to all, when he can no longer bear the burdens of his earlier years. There is no satisfaction which comes to the minister of the Gospel greater than the knowledge that he is advancing in spiritual experience, in ability to work, and in opportunities for usefulness. Great and noble men have worked for years in small places, and have acknowledged that in them they laid the foundations of their strength.

In a conversation the writer once had with Henry Ward Beecher the latter referred to a young Congregational minister in whom he had a deep interest, and said that he could readily have secured him a position in a city church, but that he had advised him to stay in his remote country parish until he had prepared sermons, gained experience, acquired knowledge, and was thus ready for larger responsibilities. "Whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all."

CONFERENCE EXAMINATIONS.

THE "Itinerants' Club" is glad to note the increased interest that is being taken in Conference examinations and the improved methods which are being adopted. Method in every department is a growth, and the manner of conducting examinations in institutions of learning has been only gradually developed in the course of years; so that we cannot hope at present for such completeness of method as will be acceptable to all interested in the subject.

A number of communications have appeared in the "Itinerants' Club" on this subject, which have all contributed to fuller information. Interest in the matter is shown in all parts of the Church. There is a clear indication, therefore, that after a while some uniformity may be reached on the subject which shall be helpful in the mastery of the extended course of study now laid down for our preachers in the Conferences Brother Townsend in our last issue furnished a communication from the New York East Conference. We herewith print approving remarks by Brother Wright, of the South Kansas Conference, in which he describes the method adopted by that body, and shows the successful working of the plan:

"Brother Townsend's suggestions as to future examinations in the New York East Conference are good. In the South Kansas Conference we study the books together, under competent instructors, at the midsummer session of the Itinerants' Club, which lasts ten days. If examiners are present, and students wish it, the examination then takes place on such books as are mutually agreed on. The questions for remaining books are sent to the pastor nearest the student. There are no examinations at Conference except for those who seek admission on trial and for such brethren as were prevented from taking examination during the year. The plan works well. There is no hurry and worry, as in former times, and the Conference sessions are enjoyed much better, as more time can be given to other interests.

"*Independence, Kan.* J. W. WRIGHT."

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

UR OF THE CHALDEES.

THE biblical references to this ancient city are very brief and purely incidental. The longest is: "And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran his son's son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife; and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan; and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there" (Gen. xi, 31). The exact site of Ur has been a disputed point, and no less than five places have been named as the probable early home of Abraham. The fact that he came to Canaan by way of Haran, where Terah died, has led some to identify it with Urfa, a little north of Haran. This looks, at first sight, quite probable, for, if Ur was in the extreme south, not far from the Persian Gulf, and on the right bank of the Euphrates, why, it is asked, should Abraham start directly north instead of west, and cross the Euphrates twice, when he might have reached Canaan without crossing this river at all? The question of route depended on several circumstances. In the first place, Terah was not an ordinary emigrant with his own family alone, but rather a powerful chieftain, with two or three thousand followers in his train and a very large number of cattle and flocks of various kinds. Thus not only the pasture for his flocks, but also their safety as well as that of his people, would influence the choice of a route. Without, however, entering into details, we might say that most Assyriologists now favor locating ancient Ur at the present ruins of Mugheir, on the western bank of the Euphrates. These ruins, though now about six miles from the river, were formerly without doubt quite near its bank, and not very far from the gulf. The accumulation of alluvium might explain the apparent receding of the sea, while the construction of canals or the changing of the course of the river might account for the distance between the ruins of Mugheir and the Euphrates. The ancient name of Mugheir was Uru. This, as Schrader remarks, is proved by the records of ancient Babylonian kings, found on the very spot. This great scholar, as well as most Assyriologists, agree that Uru of the cuneiform inscriptions is the identical biblical Ur. The inscriptions found in this most important, and perhaps the oldest, city of southern Chaldea, and in neighboring places which were dependencies of Ur, have been very numerous and varied in character. Hommel has done great work in deciphering them.

The word "Ur" probably means "city;" then "Ur of the Chaldees" is equivalent to "the city, or capital, of Chaldea." According to Sayce, Uru is the Semitic form of the Sumerian *eri*. That Ur was a most important city, in short, the metropolis, is proved by many inscribed bricks, found not only at Ur itself, but in the ruined temples of neighboring places, as at Niffer, Senkereh, etc. These bricks bear the name of Urukh

(better Urbau), king of Ur. There are also many inscriptions, as those on the statues of Gudea (about 2800 B. C.), which bear testimony to the greatness of Chaldea, and of Ur, in particular, which ages before Abraham was a great commercial and industrial center. Professor McCurdy, in his recent and very able work,* says of the earliest inhabitants of Babylonia: "The obscurity that involves the early times of western Asia is first pierced by the light that breaks in upon it from the east, the scene of man's creation and the seat of the earliest civilizations; and though the rays are rare and scattered, and reach only a little way, leaving long tracks of time unillumined, yet we know that three empires, each of them lasting for hundreds of years, had risen, flourished, and fallen in Babylonia, while the rest of western Asia was as yet politically unorganized, and before the ancestor of the Israelites had left his native Ur of the Chaldees." Whether the ancient rulers of Chaldea were Semitic need not be discussed here. We are, however, inclined to the belief, with Professor Hilprecht, that the recent expedition sent out by the University of Pennsylvania "supplied irrefutable proof of the historical character of this primitive Semitic kingdom."

Ancient classical writers have wonderful things to relate regarding the fertility of the soil of the country about Ur, which repaid the toils of the cultivator of wheat and barley sometimes with a yield which was three hundredfold. Such enormous crops would be a source of great revenue, and doubtless large quantities of these cereals would be exported to distant lands less favored by nature, whence useful articles would be brought back in return. We know from the monuments that western Asia, Arabia, and Egypt were connected by numerous caravan routes as early as the thirty-ninth century B. C., and that the ships of Ur made voyages far and wide, as to Nituk, or Dilmun, Magan, and Milukhkha. Delitzsch thinks Dilmun to be the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf, which was a great emporium for the exchange of commodities. Magan, though not positively identified, was most probably some port on the Red Sea. This conclusion is favored by the nature of the goods said to have been imported from Magan. Many think that the stones used for the statues of Gudea, diorite and dolomite, must have come from the peninsula of Sinai. The cypress, pine, and cedar wood used in finishing the temples and palaces were, according to the inscriptions on Gudea's statue, brought from Amanus; thus Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, and the Taurus would be laid under contribution. The lumber from these distant regions, having once reached the Euphrates, could have been floated down on rafts with great ease.

Naturally such commerce would produce great wealth, which, in turn, would produce skilled workmen. Sculpture had reached a point higher than that of early Egypt. The veteran archæologist Maspero, who is everywhere regarded as an authority on questions pertaining to ancient art, ranks the porphyry cylinder of Shargani's scribe as among the masterpieces of oriental engravings. Neither does this cylinder stand quite

* *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, § 70.

alone, for hundreds of them have been gathered along the Euphrates, of exquisite beauty and form. Metallurgy was also in an advanced state. Not only do we find objects in bronze, such as lances and swords, but articles made of silver have also been unearthed. Indeed, one of the most interesting discoveries of M. de Sarsec was a silver vase. This "earliest known work of the silversmith" is thus described: "The vase is mounted on four feet of copper, decorated in pounced work, with four lion-headed eagles planting their claws in the backs of lions, which alternate with deer and ibexes, . . . and inscribed with the name of Entéména, one of their earliest kings."

The most interesting tablets found in these regions are what are called envelope tablets, used by large business firms. Some seventy of these were discovered, as early as 1856, by Mr. Loftus, at Tel-Sifr, a dependency of Ur. Dr. Budge, on his visit to Babylon in 1888, came across many more of these business tablets. They were from Ur, Larsa, and Sippara, where the firm of Zini-Istar had branch establishments. In these ancient business records we read of land agents, solicitors, hiring of slaves, renting and leasing of houses and lands. One tablet is the lease of a "beerhouse," in the basement of a building. The words used for beerhouse are Bit-Sikari, which the Hebrew scholar will recognize as the equivalent of the Hebrew *beth*, house, and *shekar*, strong drink. A literal translation of this very ancient deed or lease runs thus: "Two thirds *sar* five *gin*, a piece of ground on which a house is built, a room being in the foundation part of the beerhouse adjacent, and a portion of its wall. All of the wall of which is firmly placed with (its) beams and ties. From Sin-abu-su and Sin-remeni, sons of Mur-ili-su, Ikbi-Istar for its full —— price of silver has paid. The bargain is complete, and the price in full for the house is paid. May there be satisfaction to future days. Sin-abu-su and Sin-remeni from this house shall not ask damages. They swore an oath by Samas and Imeru that they will take no proceedings on this contract." Mr. Boscawen, speaking of these ancient documents, says, "They are the records of the very population, if not of the kinsmen, from among whom Abram started to journey to the land of promise." Among the thirty thousand cuneiform tablets discovered at Niffer by the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania there are many contract tablets. Such then was the civilization of the land from which Abraham emigrated.*

*Since the above was in type the following, bearing directly upon the question, has appeared from the pen of Professor Sayce. After calling attention to a pamphlet by Professor Hommel entitled *Aus der babylonischen Alterthumskunde*, which is replete with additional data, new facts, and suggestions calculated to shed light upon the early history of Babylonia, he says: "It will be a surprise to many to learn that six thousand years ago Babylonia was already engaged in active trade with Arabia, Syria, and the highlands of Kurdistan. Perhaps one of the most interesting facts brought to light by Professor Hommel is that Ine-Sin, who was king of Ur about B. C. 2500 or earlier, and in whose reign portions of the great Babylonian work on astronomy were compiled, subdued both Kimas, or central Arabia, and Zemar in Phœnicia (see Gen. 10. 18), while his daughter was *patesi* or high priestess of Anzan in Elam and Markhashi in northern Syria, where the Hittites were already astir. Still more interesting is the remarkable discovery made by Mr. Pinches of a tablet recording the war waged by Khammurabi of Babylon (B. C. 2250) against Eri-ku, or Arioch, king of Larsa, and his Elamite allies, which ended in the rise of a united monarchy

Strange, indeed, it is that in the face of all these facts there are Old Testament students who regard Abraham and even Moses as mythical existences, mere heroes of the poet's creation. The world is not as young as some scholars would make it, nor were all the nations of antiquity barbarians. It is amazing on what meager data some men will construct a top-heavy theory, unwarranted by anything but their own opinions. The story of Abraham, as told in Genesis, has the ring of true history, and there is no sufficient reason for abandoning the old view that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch.

THE PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.

WAS the passage of the Red Sea effected by natural agencies or miraculously? Good Adam Clarke most positively answers thus: "No natural agent could divide these waters and cause them to stand as a wall upon the right hand and upon the left;" while Wellhausen, with equal positiveness, says that a high wind during the night had left the shallow sea so low that it became possible to ford it. How beautiful the language of the psalmist referring to the event: "The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee; they were afraid: the depths also were troubled. The clouds poured out water: the skies sent out a sound: thine arrows also went abroad. The voice of thy thunder was in the heaven: the lightnings lightened the world: the earth trembled and shook. Thy way is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known. Thou leddest thy people like a flock by the hand of Moses and Aaron." And how convincing the words of Robinson on the same subject: "It was wrought by natural means supernaturally applied."

It is not the purpose of this note to enter into the merits of the question pro and con, but rather to call attention to a paper read by Major General Tulloch, of the British army, before the Victoria Institute on the 17th of last June. The general had been engaged recently by the War Office in a survey of what he regarded as the very section of Egypt "through which the route of the Exodus is said to have lain." As might be expected, the configuration of the surface after the lapse of thirty-four hundred years or more had undergone some change. He described with much vividness "the action of a gale of wind, which had stopped all survey work on the borders of Lake Menzaleh, in a few hours carrying the waters of the lake beyond the horizon, leaving all sailing vessels resting on the damp bed of the lake." This is not offered as a solution of the question, but simply as an important historical fact both valuable and interesting, and as showing clearly what has often been suggested before, that "wherever on the Suez the passage of the Israelites took place, the possibility of water being influenced by wind to so great an extent is demonstrated."

in Babylonia, with Babylon as its capital. Among the opponents of Khammurabi mention is made of Kudur-lagа-mar (Chedorlaomer) the Elamite, Eri-aku, and Tudkhal, the Tidal of the Book of Genesis."

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

HOW THE CONVERSION OF EUROPE WAS ACCOMPLISHED.

THE principal of the Bareilly Theological Seminary, in India, the Rev. T. J. Scott, D.D., has published five articles in the *Indian Evangelical Review* of far more than usual grasp and analysis, on "The Evangelization of Europe—a Historical Study." Some exceedingly important lessons are emphasized in the author's masterful survey. He notes the length of time occupied in the conversion of the European continent as suggestive of the patience which must probably be exercised in the efforts to evangelize other continents. Sixteen hundred years were required for the nominal conversion of Europe, and missionaries were proportionately far more numerous than they now are in the great Asiatic fields. They were frequently a large community in the midst of pagans, rather than working singly or by twos among millions of heathen, as is now too often the case. These missionaries made much of preaching the truths of the Gospel, but not much of attacks "against the genealogies" of the "false divinities" of Europe. They also emphasized the education of children. The monasteries were colleges. Something like our orphanage work was carried on. There were also theological schools, as that of St. Martin, at Tours.

Leadership was also an important element. Wherever a born leader came to the front success was achieved. Columba could illuminate a book, bale out a boat, grind corn, give out medicine, or work on the monastery farm. Cuthbert's "life was lightning, his words thunder." Bede "lived in his pupils, and his pupils lived in him." They paid close attention to strategic points and opened great centers of work. The evangelists won by practical sympathy. Wilfrid of Sussex fed the starving people before preaching to them. Converts were pressed early into responsibility. In England a native episcopate was soon raised up. The chiefs and petty kings often led the way; the king secured, the clan followed. It was so in Munster, and so among the Celts of Scotland. It was so in Northumbria; so in Norway; so among the Slavs. It was not so at the beginning, but when Rome's imperial majesty grew to impress the people the Church never despised the provision by which the chiefs were won and the masses followed.

Yet "the sad page in the history of the evangelization of Europe is that which records the brutal force used in the coercion of multitudes into an outward acceptance of Christianity." Heathenism was in some quarters hacked and cut to pieces by German troops and Gospel "knights of the sword." Bishop Otho, with an armed escort of Polish soldiers, baptized seven thousand Pomeranians. Not that all these conversions *en bloc* were from coercion. It was not thus that St. Patrick baptized the seven sons of an Irish chief and twelve thousand of their people at one time. There was also the fact of great defection. Apostasy alternated

with reform. Relapses into idolatry of entire communities were a natural result from change of chiefs, where religion of the tribe followed the faith of the ruler.

One most suggestive point discussed by Dr. Scott is the extent of the toleration of pagan customs and their use in preparing the way for Christianity. The Celtic missionaries availed themselves of heathen temples and sacred wells, and adapted some festivals to their uses, just as the India Methodists have since done in establishing great Christian holidays on the days appointed for heathen festivity. This is an important question, full of peril, and as full of promise if handled judiciously.

Dr. Scott finds a parallel, in the British rule in India, to the effect of Roman colonial rule in its influence on the spread of Christianity. The Latin language and Roman civilization became a vehicle of transfusion of the Gospel among barbarous peoples; just as in India at present there is an unmeasured influence, in destructive and constructive activities favorable to the Gospel, exerted by the civilization accompanying the power and spread of the English language. Now, as in the case of the Roman, there may at times be a hatred of the Christian religion, because the people hate the political representative of it; nevertheless, the steady dissolvent influence of the dominating power surely does its work. The changes in costume and customs are symptomatic of simultaneous change in the mental and moral realm. But behind all such power and influence something else must be found to explain the triumph of Christianity. Jesus Christ kindled and kindles to-day an enthusiasm that cannot be expressed in terms of civilization and secularism. "There is always the supernatural *imperium in imperio.*"

There was ever underlying the historical incidents traversed in this presentation both systematic giving and consecration of life in the noblest altruism. This eventuated in establishing higher moral standards, a more intelligent and dominating Christian conscience, and consequently a better life for Europe. Thus it is to-day in India and elsewhere. The Gospel has not spent its energy; it can have no substitute in the elevation of the race.

THE MIXED ELEMENTS IN JAPAN.

In an elaborate analysis of the present attitude of the Japanese toward Christianity a writer fully conversant with the situation of affairs in Japan points out, among many other features, that there is a portion of the community which maintains silence, many of whom are in sympathy with the progress of Christianity in that land. Among these some are found in the editorial rooms of influential periodicals; some are educators, some lawyers, and some physicians; some are in the army and navy; and some are engaged in the commercial enterprises of the country. These are grieved at any antagonistic demonstrations against Christian evangelism, especially when accompanied by violent manifestation, regarding such demonstrations as damaging to the fair fame of the country, and as indicating an illiberality which will injure the prestige of the empire, now

seeking to be fully recognized in the comity of nations. Some of these men have come into close relations with Christian movements, and a few have been converted.

There is another segment of the community which maintains that the old religions are still in force and binding on all good citizens. The original placards prohibiting the introduction of a new religion have been removed, but the law has not been repealed. These placards were removed, ostensibly, on the plea that the people were fully advised of the law, and did not need further notification. The new constitution guarantees religious freedom, but within the bounds of the civil and national law as the expression of the prescribed "order." The argument goes in a circle. The constitutional liberty is limited by governmental control, and the government has not rescinded its old law; *ergo*, no one has a right under the new constitution to introduce a new religion, or to become a Christian! The emperor's rescript, issued in the interest of national ethics, has been used among the common people as evidence that Shintoism is still the national religion. This use of the emperor's name gives prestige to the old faith.

Another acknowledged difficulty is the offense caused by sundry Christian ideas. Most sweeping changes have ensued from the fundamental proposition of Christianity that a pure family must be the social unit. Then there are Confucianists with great power over middle-aged Japanese. The young men largely follow Huxley, Spencer, and Schopenhauer, and, being philosophers, hold themselves as necessarily skeptics on all religion. To these must be added still another class, the liberal divisions of the Christian Church, some of whose teachings are fundamentally antagonistic to the acceptance of vital Gospel truth. It goes without the saying that an interested commercial class will oppose Christian assault upon the opium traffic and the domestic manufacture of intoxicants from crude alcohol imported for the purpose. All these are, in one way and another, concerned in an appeal to nationalism.

MISSIONS IN THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS.

About a year ago the American Interseminary Missionary Alliance undertook to collect information as to the amount and character of special training given in the several theological schools of all denominations on the subject of missions. The investigation covered fifty-one leading schools, eleven being personally visited by representatives of the body instituting the inquiry. The exact language of the finding as summarized by the Rev. James Edward Adams, traveling secretary for the Missionary Alliance, may be more satisfactory than a restatement. Mr. Adams says: "As a result it was found that of the fifty-one seminaries (1) none had individual chairs on missions; (2) six had the subject as an officially recognized integral part of a chair; (3) thirty-four reported the subject as unofficially included in the general instruction of some other chair, as of Church history, practical theology, etc.; and out of thirty-four cata-

logues examined eighteen made no mention of the subject in their printed course of study; one reported an optional course of several terms in the specific history of missions; and several had special endowed lecture courses for the occasional treatment of missionary themes. Under class (2) of the six, three either never have had, or have not now, the missionary part of the chair in actual operation; in the remaining three, the average amount of time actually given to the subject is thirty-six hours of the seminary course. Under class (3) twelve state that they refer to what is given of the history of missions in the general instruction in Church history; nineteen reported as having it included in practical theology; and the average amount of time given to the subject was only eight lecture periods for the course." These statements are followed by a summary of the value placed on these several courses or partial courses by the students where, indeed, they were attempted to be carried out; and, naturally, the fragmentary treatment brought to them little satisfaction. An enthusiastic missionary professor might overaccentuate the subject; and some teachers have not made the special investigations necessary to the proportional and well-balanced presentation of the theme.

Altogether, it is quite too manifest that the whole matter of missionary training has not had distinct and careful consideration by those who formulate the courses of instruction in theological schools, and that there is no consensus of opinion as to what ought to be done. If the several theological faculties could meet to consider the subject, as the presidents of Methodist colleges did to discuss the question of the Bible in its relation to the college curriculum, they might evolve a general principle of procedure, if not uniformity in the balance and proportion of this subject with other subjects. Every department in a seminary, as in a college, feels the pressure of such demands for special consideration, and the authorities naturally shrink from new chairs and special departments, when the time is short for already approved subjects of drill. But the missionary activities of the age thrust profound problems on the living Church, with which the seminary ought to aid the prospective minister to grapple.

The secular newspaper and periodical press is materially affecting public opinion on some of the topics that involve the very existence of the Church as an aggressive organization. The pew feels the influence of this vigorous and incisive lecturer on missions, and the pulpit must therefore be trained, not only till the conscience of the preacher is aroused and his zeal enkindled, but till he can handle intelligently the missionary problems that press so vitally on the attention of the Christian Church.

Certainly the showing of Mr. Adams suggests that, on the whole, missions are at a serious disadvantage in seminary training. They are not an accident of theology or Church life. They are the center, the soul; that which makes all else of theology valuable. The great French statesman had the kernel of the thought who asked, when the constitution was matured, "Now, how shall we make it go?" The question after all theological training is, "How can we make the Church move?" Missions are the gospel of "Go," and the science of "Go" must be taught.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Eugène Ménégoz. With deep insight and great ability he has given himself to the study of New Testament theology. It may be well here to give some of his ideas concerning the Epistle to the Hebrews. Its author, he thinks, is Apollos, or some one who had been trained in the Jewish-Alexandrian culture, but who was profoundly impressed with the superiority of the Christian over the Jewish view of the world. It belongs to the second Christian generation, but was written prior to the destruction of the temple, probably between 64 and 67 A. D. It is a letter of warning to Jewish Christians who were in danger of apostasy on account of the delay of Christ's second coming, and was intended to attach them more firmly to the Christian community. The author of the epistle knew Christ by tradition. Christ's mission was the sacrifice of his life for the forgiveness of sins. Jesus frees us from all the unsatisfactory means which the pious of the old covenant employed to come near to God. Wherein the power of Christ's sacrifice to set the believer free consists Ménégoz cannot make out from the epistle. But it is not in a vicarious endurance of penalty. The benefits of Christ's sacrifice are appropriated by faith, which the epistle describes without reference to justification, and without any antithesis to the method of justification by works, as confident and persistent obedience in hope. Both Paul and the author of Hebrews recognize the providential significance of the law, as both recognize its fulfillment in the Gospel. But Hebrews marks strongly the difference between the Old and the New Testament covenant. The Gospel is the truth and perfection of the law. Through all, although somewhat indistinctly, there appears as the background of all these ideas the primitive Christian expectation of an early end of all things, which is rendered religiously valuable by such figures as the Sabbatic rest, the idea of an inheritance, a city of God, and the heavenly Jerusalem. The author of the epistle did not proceed as a dogmatician, but as an Old Testament Bible Christian, in reaching his conclusions. He was probably immediately dependent upon Philo for the literary form of his work. The influence of the epistle upon the history of doctrine was not as great as the epistles of Paul. Nevertheless, the universal recognition which it has received proves its power as a religious rather than an intellectual or moral work.

W. Brandt. That the course which criticism has taken is insufferable to sober minds can scarcely be better illustrated than in the case of Brandt. His vast and varied learning all will admit; but when he enters the field of criticism, where the judicial temperament is most needful, he breaks down. Yet it must be admitted that his excesses are the result of the consistent carrying out of methods and principles which others,

holding, fail to apply in their full extent. A recent work of his on the Gospel history and the origin of Christianity, based upon a criticism of the records concerning the sufferings and resurrection of our Lord, brings out his views of our holy religion. By the time he is through with the criticism of the Gospel account of the passion there is precious little left. Concerning the death of Christ the only thing that is fixed is that he died on a Friday. The last supper was only an ordinary evening meal, having no connection with the feast of the passover. In breaking the bread Jesus had in mind only the idea of fellowship; the cup of blessing could have been nothing more than a final draught in gratitude for the meal just enjoyed. Jesus could not have spoken of his death as having a saving significance. Paul, not Jesus, instituted the Lord's Supper, as a memorial of the saving merit of Jesus's death. All the reported utterances of Jesus from Gethsemane are regarded as more or less incredible. The entire account of the trial of Jesus, even in the form found in Mark, is an invention. It is impossible that Jesus should have been formally condemned as a blasphemer, since the Messianic claim was not blasphemous to a Jew. The record concerning Barabbas is set aside. Jesus made no peculiar claim to a divine consciousness. As little was he controlled by a Messianic consciousness, although the thought may have entered his mind. According to Brandt, Jesus did not originate Christianity. His disciples, for various reasons, altered his sayings and doings, and added to them until they were warped almost beyond recognition; and then the record was made of their putting of Christ's life and character, and from this Christianity arose. That is, in plain words, Christianity is not founded upon Christ, but upon a concatenation of falsehoods.

Auguste Gampert. French biblical critics of the first order are scarce. When they do appear they are as liable as critics of any other nation to vary from others in their opinions. Yet it must be confessed that generally they are followers of the newer ideas, particularly with reference to the Old Testament. Gampert is a fair illustration. For example, with regard to the law he thinks that the legislation of the Jews passed through the same phases as were experienced by other nations; that is, it began with oracles, then entered upon the phase of customary law, and finally was codified. He distinguishes a period of oral and a period of written law. In the ninth century B. C. the customary law found its first written form in the book of the covenant, Exod. xx, 23–xxiii, 19, and the decalogue as found in Exod. xxxiv. This customary law was developed under priestly influence, and took on a predominantly ritualistic character. Had it not been for the prophets who renewed the original form of Mosaism the priests would have brought Israel to religious and national ruin by the non-Mosaic, coarse, and sensuous conceptions which they introduced. With the Book of Deuteronomy the law entered upon its written period and resulted in a compromise between the prophets and the priests. As a consequence of the written law Israel remained the people of Jehovah, even in exile. On the other hand, the rule of the letter began thereby and for-

ever after hindered the free, independent influence of the prophets. Upon this fact was based, in the following period, the transition from prophetism to Levitism as it is witnessed in Ezekiel. Nevertheless, even after the exile Deuteronomy remained the official legislation. Ezra brought from Babylon and introduced in the temple worship of Jerusalem a form of worship which had been worked out by the priests who yet remained in exile. This law was the Priest's Codex in its original form. With it the evolution of the law was practically brought to a close. Soon after 444 P was united with JED into a legislative whole which became the official law of the Jewish Church. Moses, though not the author of the Pentateuch, was the founder of the Hebrew people and of the spiritual monotheism of Exod. xx.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte. By Professor O. Holtzmann. The object of the work as stated by the author is to furnish the historical material necessary to a correct understanding of the New Testament. According to this a *History of the New Testament Period* must furnish just the amount and kind of material from Jewish and Roman history which pertains to a full and clear comprehension of the events, circumstances, and ideas directly or indirectly mentioned in the New Testament. The assumption which underlies all this is that the New Testament is so organically connected with the period in which it originated that it cannot be understood except as the period is understood. But this need not imply that it is merely a product of the intellectual and religious activities of that age. It may be so understood as to mean that the revealing Spirit took into consideration the actual conditions of the people to whom the revelation was made. In any case it is true that no literary work can be understood except in the light of the period in which it originated. The attempt, however, to limit the information by which the reader of this age may be able to comprehend a work belonging to that is precarious. It is a fact that the whole spirit of an age is part of the information necessary to an understanding of any important phenomenon of it. This spirit cannot be sufficiently understood by the piecemeal information contained in a work of the kind under consideration. Well would it be had we a work which should exhaustively treat the entire phenomena of the period, so far, at least, as it falls within the limits of the Roman empire, and which should at the same time point out the specific connections which the New Testament makes with the culture of the age. Judged of from the standpoint of the author, which is essentially that of all who have preceded him, the work is valuable. Under the principal heads the book discusses the historical basis upon which the New Testament rests, the form which the Jewish life of the people manifested at the time, and the religious views and opinions of the Jews of the New Testament period. Under the last head also is discussed the influence of Hellenism upon the Jewish people, which, according to Holtzmann, is very great.

Cæsarius Von Arelate und die Gallische Kirche Seiner Zeit (Cæsarius of Arles and the Gallican Church of his Time). By Professor Carl Franklin Arnold. To the student of Church history the delineation of a great religious personality is a delight. When done in a scholarly and pleasing manner, as in this instance, the contribution to history is doubly valuable. History is not, as some have said, made up of a series of biographies of great men. True it is that the great men of history produced or embodied about all there is of history. But it would be improper to treat the other causes of events so discourteously as such a method would indicate. Nevertheless, the student who does not emphasize the importance of great characters and carefully study them cannot understand history. This it is which places us under such great obligations to the one who gives us a careful biography or study of some pivotal character. The Gallican Church cannot be understood without a knowledge of Cæsarius of Arles, the bishop, the preacher, the theologian. This book is the product of many years of careful research, and gives evidence that no pains have been spared to make the book trustworthy and complete, so that it is useful to the scholar, and at the same time entertaining, that it may entice the educated reader. The larger portion of the book is given up to the life and labors of its subject; but following this is a mass of materials from his writings, although strangely enough no complete list of works known to have been written by him is given. In respect to the author's judgment concerning the attitude of Cæsarius toward Augustinianism and Pelagianism there is room for difference of opinion. It is instructive to notice the variety of material which the book furnishes, for example, its discussion of the extent of the influence of the Athanasian Creed at that time, the relation of Cæsarius to the rule of the Convent of Lerins, and to the order of worship in the Gallican Church, the second Council of Orange, etc. But with all its fullness and pains it must be said that many points suggested will remain to be investigated anew. All such studies must only be contributions; the final completion of the work lies in the distance. But when one considers the benefits derivable from such studies he must be regarded as a benefactor who produces a book like this.

Das Indulgenz-Edict des Romischen Bischofs Kallist (The Edict of Indulgence of the Roman Bishop Callistus). By Ernst Rolffs. Tertullian's *De Pudicitia* reveals the fact that a Roman bishop had issued an edict absolving all adulterers and fornicators who should perform due penance. The *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus, discovered about the middle of this century, made it clear that the bishop whom Tertullian so vigorously attacked for this edict was Callistus. Rolffs, following a hint which had frequently been given, has undertaken to reconstruct the edict, which has not been preserved to us, from Tertullian's references to it or apparent quotations from it. About two dozen places in the *De Pudicitia* furnish him, as he thinks, the substance, and even the exact language, of the edict. Although there is nothing to be gained from a

verbal reconstruction of the edict in question, yet must the attempt be commended, though it failed. As a matter of fact, there can be no certainty as to the accuracy of the edict, for the text of *De Pudicitia* is not thoroughly settled, and Rolffs makes no attempt to settle it. But even if no difficulty arose from this source it would be impossible to make sure that Tertullian accurately quoted the edict. Did he have a copy of it before him, or did he quote it from hearsay? He was a bitter opponent of Callistus. Did he, consciously or unconsciously, warp his statements? This is, it is true, a purely literary question; but it is so connected with the historical controversy as to receive therefrom a profound importance. The same difficulty does not lie against the historical inferences to be drawn from Tertullian's work. For although there may be uncertainty as to the exact language in which forgiveness was offered to those who after baptism had committed sins of the flesh, the fact that it was offered is unquestioned. Aside from the acumen in literary criticism which the work displays it has its value in calling attention to the entire controversy which Tertullian waged against the Psychics, and will arouse interest in the investigation of questions more thoroughly practical than the one here proposed for solution.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The So-Called Ethical Movement. While it originated in America and England, it has spread rapidly over continental Europe. In Berlin a "German Society for Ethical Culture" was organized in October, 1892, which has since reached all the most important cities of the Fatherland. Its president is Professor Dr. Förster, director of the Royal Observatory, although the soul of the organization is the soulless atheistic professor of ethics in the University of Berlin, Georg von Gizycki. The writer has seen him wheeled into his lecture room on his rolling chair, he being utterly unable to walk, and has heard him lecture. He is the most cynical-looking educated man we have ever seen. Nevertheless, he is the mouthpiece for a great number of the haters of religion in Germany. The fact that inside of three months from the founding of the society about one thousand persons had become members, mostly Berliners, doubtless drawn chiefly from the more educated classes, is of great significance. Already the society has its organ, *Ethische Kultur* (Ethical Culture), edited by Professor von Gizycki. Another organization springing from essentially the same spirit, but appealing to and controlled by less cultured and respectable personages, is the "Ethical Society," also having its headquarters in Berlin, and especially planned to promote and propagate the ethical views of the German Social Democracy. Alike opposed both to religion and the Church, these two societies divide with reference to practical ethics. The "German Society" is composed of or controlled by educated people, who, naturally, have a philosophical basis for their ethical opinions, and being less coarse in their tastes give their attention to the finer points of morals. The "Ethical Society," on the other hand, is

anxious to enforce the practical division of property and the equalization of incomes as soon as possible. As a specimen of the perversity of the whole movement wherever it has appeared, we may note the book of Stanton Coit, which has been translated into German under the title *Die ethische Bewegung in der Religion* (The Ethical Movement in Religion). Here the ministry are accused of teaching doctrines which they do not believe and taking part in ceremonies which they regard as senseless. The author assumes, not that the ministry are dishonest in the ordinary sense of the word, but that they are guilty of what he calls intellectual dishonesty. They do not say what they do not believe, but they believe what they have no sufficient reason for believing.

Congress of Christian Archæologists. An assembly of an unusual character was that which met near Salona, on the coast of Dalmatia, recently. The most distinguished archæologists of Europe, representing the Roman Catholic, the Greek Catholic, and the Protestant Church, met and discussed the problems pertaining to their special department of learning. The meeting was held in the historic spalato which is built in and around the ruins and remains of the splendid palace in which Diocletian sought refuge after his frantic but futile attempt to wipe the Christian religion from off the face of the earth, and where, in A. D. 313, shortly after Constantine and Licinius had proclaimed religious tolerance in Milan, he committed suicide. The entire region is rich in treasures of Christian antiquity, and this, together with the efforts of the Roman Catholic archæologist Bulic, induced these scholars to meet there. The committee having in charge all the arrangements was composed of eight Roman Catholics, the Greek Catholic, Dr. Dandaloff, of St. Petersburg, and Dr. Victor Schultze, of the University of Greifswald, the most prominent of Protestant scholars in this department. Every important country of Europe except England and France was represented in the congress, and about one hundred persons took part in the discussions, which were conducted in Latin, Italian, German, and other languages. Two of the principal speakers were Protestants, namely, Dr. Schultze, and Dr. Bosse, of Kiel. The former emphasized the importance of the foundation of museums of Christian archæology, and the latter the value of photography in archæological investigations. This first congress was so successful that it was decided to hold another in the near future.

The Drink and Tax Bills in Germany. The startling statement was made some time since in open parliament by the German imperial chancellor that the nation paid out annually for intoxicating drinks the enormous sum of 2,000,000,000 marks, or forty marks *per capita* of the population. Much is heard about the support of the army and its burden upon the people; but it costs only twenty marks *per capita* for the maintenance of the German government, including the army, or just half the *per capita* drink bill. So plain is the case becoming that economists and philanthropists are devising ways by which the evil may be abated or abolished.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

WELL is it for the purblind world that there are some who can read and interpret the signs of the times. Among those thus gifted with the prophet's discernment is Dean Farrar, of Canterbury. In his article on "Some Problems of the Age," in the October *North American*, he speaks with no uncertain voice of some existing social conditions "which it is blindness to ignore and madness not to appreciate in their full significance." The "problems and perils" he enumerates are: 1. The "enormous growth of stupendous fortunes" side by side with the existence of "squalid wretchedness and practical heathendom." 2. The "abnormal growth of great cities." In nearly every nation, "by a slow and hardly noticed social revolution, the old sweet country life is being merged into the struggling life of towns." London, for example, is "an appalling phenomenon," whose magnitude overwhelms such men as Heine, Huxley, and Rosebery. 3. The "unparalleled growth of population." In India this rapid increase has brought the masses to "almost chronic starvation." In England the births exceed the deaths by hundreds per day, and the competition for a livelihood is "almost overwhelming." 4. The increase of the dangerous elements of society. "There is," says Lowell, "a poison in the sores of Lazarus, against which Dives has no antidote." 5. A "deficiency of adequate charity." On "Hospital Sunday" the contributions in the many churches of London, says the Dean, average from £40,000 to £50,000. But the next day one reads "that £76,000 or £100,000 has been emulously poured out by a handful of rich people at Christie's, to purchase buhl, or bric-à-brac, or Queen Anne plate, or Louis Quatorze furniture, and that more has been bidden for a piece of ormolu, or a gold snuffbox, or three Sèvres vases than is contributed by several of our wealthiest congregations." 6. The growth of democracy. Together with this, the power of the workingmen and the demands of socialists and the labor party "are not without a sinister significance." 7. The possible decay of faith, as shown by the wide prevalence of atheism, socialism, and agnosticism, by the fact that Roman Catholicism has lost hold of millions on the Continent, and by the further fact that "powerful governments have erased from their statute books the name of God." Profound are these lessons pointed out by Dean Farrar, though they are familiar; and deserving of study are they by American sociologists, though they have for the most part an English setting.

THE *New Church Review* for October opens with an article on "Jonah," by T. F. Wright. He shows that the prophet was an historic character, and that the Book of Jonah is a "true account of events." L. P. Mercer contributes "The Stages of Regeneration, Illustrated in the History of the Patriarchs," and E. D. Daniels asks, "Do We Know the Absolute?"

The nature of "The Lord's Temptations" is considered by Arthur Faraday; and "The Structure of the Word" is discussed by P. B. Cabell. In "Hypnotism and Moral Responsibility" J. A. Hayes is slow to believe that the hypnotic subject should be relieved from the consequences of his acts. In "The Book of Daniel" W. H. Hinkley reviews Farrar's recent volume. "Through Egypt and Canaan," by F. A. Dewson, gives us interesting glimpses of Eastern travel. The concluding paper, by Frank Sewall, on "Coventry Patmore's Recognition of Swedenborg," shows the influence on this modern author of the great religious teacher, who is the patron saint of the New Church.

THE *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October has first a discussion of "The Sociological Value of the Old Testament," by Professor O. H. Gates. His main positions are that "the unit for consideration in the Old Testament is the people, and not an individual;" that the development of the history of Israel "constituted a sociological experiment;" and that in the preparation for Christ's coming there was "the growing recognition of the sociologica limportance of character." In the second article Dr. Washington Gladden writes clearly and strongly of "The Relation of Corporations to Public Morals." Professor C. Walker follows with an article on "Formulation of the Doctrine of the Mass at the Council of Trent," and Abraham Kuyper, D.D., in a translation from the Dutch by the Rev. J. Hendrik de Vries, discusses "Calvinism and Constitutional Liberties." Professor Edward Dickinson concludes an appreciative article on "The Hymns of Martin Luther" with the estimate that they are "stern and imposing monuments, more durable than brass, and upon them, if we have eyes to see, are carved memorials of a great soul and a great age." In considering "The Nature of the Resurrection Body of Christ" Dr. Samuel Hutchings aims to show that our Lord "rose in the same body that was laid in the tomb." The concluding article, by Professor G. Frederick Wright, is entitled "Professor Prestwich on Some Supposed New Evidence of the Deluge." In its critical, sociological, Semitic, and oriental notes, as well as in other editorial departments, this number of the *Bibliotheca* is most able.

IN the *Lutheran Quarterly* for October we find a full table of contents, as follows: 1. "Christian Worship—Its Spirit and Its Forms," by J. C. Koller, D.D.; 2. "The Confessional History of the General Synod," by Professor J. W. Richard, D.D.; 3. "Christ in Theology," by W. H. Dunbar, D.D.; 4. "Individualism, or To Every One His Way," by Hon. Thomas Hedge; 5. "Religious Fanaticism and the Death of Christ," by J. J. Young, D.D.; 6. "The Centrality of Christian Fellowship," by Rev. E. H. Delk; 7. "The Bible and its Expositors," by Professor L. A. Fox, D.D.; 8. "The New Testament Idea of Propitiation," by Professor A. G. Voigt, D.D.; 9. "Modern German Theology—Ritschlianism," by Chr. Jensen, D.D.

THE *London Quarterly* for October has: 1. "Robert Louis Stevenson;" 2. "The Destruction of the Mammoth, and the Great Ice Age;" 3. "Religious Life in Denmark;" 4. "Coleridge's Letters;" 5. "Tennyson's King Arthur;" 6. "Adam Smith;" 7. "Lessons from the Monuments;" 8. "Agrarian Reform." The first article is strongly eulogistic. The great Ice Age, says the second paper, "remains an unexplained marvel and a mystery to men of science." In Denmark, asserts the third article, "the old Lutheran faith and life are found in a purer form than in Luther's own country." Rationalism in its different forms "does not seem to have struck deep root in the soil." Among the foreign denominations there is included American Methodism. The letters of Coleridge, as the fourth article shows, help to explain how "so singular an amalgam of strength and weakness" exerted such an influence as "poet, critic, theologian, philosopher" upon his times. As to the Babylonian inscriptions, says the seventh article, when rightly read they "add fresh light and impart new luster to that word of God which liveth and abideth forever."

IN some of the Swiss cantons, says the opening article of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for October, the head minister is known by the title of "antistes." The service of these officers at Zurich through three centuries is here traced by Professor J. I. Good, in an article entitled "The Antistes of Zurich." The late Professor E. C. Bissell writes elaborately of the "Origin and Composition of Genesis." The baccalaureate sermon delivered by President Patton at Princeton, in June, 1895, on "James McCosh" constitutes the third article. As a biography it is reasonably full; as a citation of an illustrious example of industry and usefulness it is inspiring to the new graduate. Professor B. B. Warfield follows with a discussion of "The Spirit of God in the Old Testament;" Professor Howard Osgood writes of "'Philosophers' and 'Higher Critics;'" and the Rev. S. C. Hodge considers "The Synoptic Problem." Eighty pages of valuable editorial discussions follow.

THE table of contents of the *Nineteenth Century* for October is as follows: 1. "The Gold Mining Madness in the City," by S. F. Van Oss; 2. "The Political Situation in Italy," by the Marchese de Viti de Marco; 3. "Ruskin as a Master of Prose," by Frederic Harrison; 4. "The Trafalgar Captains," by W. Laird Clowes; 5. "The Land of Frankincense and Myrrh," by J. Theodore Bent; 6. "A Medical View of the Miracles at Lourdes," by Dr. Berdoe; 7. "The New Spirit in History," by W. S. Lilly; 8. "Frederick Locker-Lampson," by Coulson Kernahan; 9. "In Germany—A Sketch," by the Duchess of Sutherland; 10. "The Closing of the Indian Mints," by Lord Brassey; 11. "The Religion of Humanity—A Reply to Mr. Frederic Harrison," by W. H. Mallock; 12. "The Religion of the Undergraduate," by the Rev. A. C. Deane; 13. "The Proper Pronunciation of Greek," by J. Gennadius; 14. "A Great University for London," by Lord Playfair; 15. "The Need for an Antarctic Expedition," by Clements R. Markham.

An attractive table of contents is found in the *Canadian Methodist Review* for September–October. In "The Psychology of Revivals" A. D. Watson, M.D., discusses the emotional manifestations in special religious services. The Rev. R. N. Burns writes of "The Kingdom of God;" and Dr. S. P. Rose, in "The Bible and the Newer Criticism," declares that the ultimate purpose of the Scripture, "to bring men into such a knowledge of Jesus Christ that they may live in him," is the sole test by which the Bible should be tried. An interesting biographical sketch by J. T. Pate, D.D., is entitled "Richard Williams, Missionary to the Patagonian Archipelago." Dr. James Henderson next discusses the question, "Has Modern Thought Disturbed the Foundation of Our Faith?" In "The Unwelcome (?) Child" Thomas Lindsay writes some wholesome words; while "Christianity in Everyday Life," by Rev. William Galbraith, is a plea for the incorporation of the Gospel in all social and national institutions.

Harper's Magazine for October has illustrated topographical and other articles on "Hindoo and Moslem," by E. L. Weeks; "Alone in China," by Julian Ralph; "Queen Victoria's Highland Home," by J. R. Hunter; "Three Gringos in Central America. Part II," by Richard Harding Davis; "Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc. Part VII," by Louis de Conte; and "The German Struggle for Liberty. Part IV," by Poultney Bigelow.——The *Presbyterian Quarterly* for October opens with an article by W. M. McPheeters, D.D., on "Dr. Briggs's Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch." Some of its other articles are "The World, in Ruin and Redemption," by H. B. Pratt, and "The Social and Civil Status of Woman," by Hon. W. M. Cox.——*Our Day* for October has among other matters, "Chicago Commons and its Summer School," by Max West; "George W. Childs—A Character Sketch;" "Some Thoughts on American Universities," by A. M. Fairbairn, D.D.; and "Origin of Chinese Outrages," by H. H. Van Meter.——Conspicuous among the special articles of the October *Review of Reviews* is the comprehensive paper by G. P. Morris on "Religious Journalism and Journalists." It is illustrated with numerous portraits, and in it Methodism does not go unhonored.——The *Gospel in All Lands* for October devotes particular attention to Germany, China, and Japan. It is admirably edited by Dr. E. R. Smith, and should command the enthusiastic support of the Church.——The October number of the *Columbus Theological Magazine* has: 1. "The Bible as a Means of Culture;" 2. "New Testament Woman;" 3. "A Short History of Pietism. Chapter VIII," by Rev. P. A. Peter; 4. "Negative Religious Tendencies," by Rev. E. Gerfen; 5. "Mirror of Pastors;" 6. "The Agrapha."—— The *Haus und Herd* for October has attractive illustrated articles on "The Chattanooga and Chickamauga National Park" and "Moses, the Deliverer of Israel."——The *Preacher's Magazine* for October opens with a superior sermon by Dr. Charles Moinet, on "Unsuspected Faith." Among the other contributors are Mark Guy Pearse and Joseph Parker. Dr. W. E. Ketcham, the able editor, continues his "Notes on the International Sunday School Lessons." This magazine is in touch with the times.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch. By WILLIAM HENRY GREEN, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Oriental and Old Testament Literature in Princeton Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 184. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Dr. Green is known everywhere as a most able and accomplished protagonist in the ranks of conservative biblical scholarship against the unwarranted assumptions and audacious attacks of the destructive biblical critics. He does not denounce the higher criticism, which is an entirely lawful and necessary inquiry into the origin and character of the writings to which it is applied, seeking to ascertain the authors by whom, the time at which, the circumstances under which, and the design with which they were produced. He denounces only the perversion and abuse of such forms and methods of study. The purpose and scope of this volume are indicated by the author in his Preface, a part of which we here quote: "The higher criticism has been of late so associated with extravagant theorizing, and with insidious attacks upon the genuineness and credibility of the books of the Bible, that the very term has become an offense to serious minds. It has come to be considered one of the most dangerous forms of infidelity, and in its very nature hostile to revealed truth. And it must be confessed that in the hands of those who are unfriendly to religion it has proved a potent weapon in the interest of unbelief. Nor has the use made of it by those who, while claiming to be evangelical critics, accept and defend the revolutionary conclusions of the antisupernaturalists tended to remove the discredit into which it has fallen. . . . The genuineness and historical truth of the books of Moses have been strenuously impugned in the name of the higher criticism. It has been claimed as one of its most certain results, scientifically established, that they have been falsely ascribed to Moses, and were in reality produced at a much later period. It is affirmed that the history is by no means reliable, and merely records the uncertain and variant traditions of a post-Mosaic age, and that the laws are not those of Moses, but the growth of centuries after his time. All this is based on demonstrably false and sophistical reasoning, which rests on unfounded assumptions and employs weak and inconclusive arguments. It is the purpose of this volume to show, as briefly and compactly as possible, that the faith of all past ages in respect to the Pentateuch has not been mistaken. It is what it claims to be, and what it has always been believed to be. In the first chapter it is exhibited in its relation to the Old Testament as a whole, of which it is only the initial portion, but the basis or foundation upon which the entire superstructure reposes; or rather it contains the germs from which all that follows was developed. In the second the plan and contents of the Pentateuch are unfolded. It has one theme, which is consistently

adhered to, and which is treated with orderly arrangement and upon a carefully considered plan suggestive of a single author. In the third it is shown by a variety of arguments, both external and internal, that this author was Moses. The various forms of opposition to this conclusion are then outlined and separately considered. First, the weakness of the earlier objections from anachronisms and inconsistencies is shown. In the fourth chapter the divisive hypotheses, which have in succession been maintained in opposition to the unity of the Pentateuch, are reviewed and shown to be baseless, and the arguments urged in their support are refuted. In the fifth chapter the genuineness of the laws is defended against the development hypothesis. And in the sixth and last chapter these hypotheses are shown to be radically unbiblical. They are hostile alike to the truth of the Pentateuch and to the supernatural revelation which it contains." A passage taken from the last pages of this book will indicate with additional distinctness Dr. Green's position: "The development of critical hypotheses inimical to the genuineness and truth of the books of the Bible has from the beginning been in the hands of those who were antagonistic to supernatural religion, whose interest in the Bible was purely literary, and who refused to recognize its claims as an immediate and authoritative revelation from God. These hypotheses, which are largely speculative and conjectural, are to a great extent based upon and shaped by unproved assumptions of the falsity of positive scriptural statements. They are in acknowledged variance with the historical truth of much of the Bible, and require, as is freely confessed, the complete reconstruction of the sacred history. They require us to suppose that the course of events and the progress of divine revelation must throughout have been very different from the representations of the Bible. Within a very few years professedly evangelical men have ventured upon the hazardous experiment of attempting a compromise in this matter. They propose to accept these hypotheses in spite of their antibiblical character, in spite of their incompatibility with the historical truth of the Bible, in spite of their contravening its explicit statements, in spite of the grave questions which they raise respecting the fallibility of our Lord's teaching; and they expect to retain their Christian faith with only such modifications as these newly adopted hypotheses may require. They are now puzzling themselves over the problem of harmonizing Christ's sanction given to false views respecting the Old Testament with implicit faith in him as a divine teacher. And some of them in their perplexity over this enigma come perilously near impairing the truth of his claims. Would it not be wiser for them to revise their own ill-judged alliance with the enemies of evangelical truth, and inquire whether Christ's view of the Old Testament may not, after all, be the true view?" It will be seen that this book by Dr. Green differs from Dr. Rishell's volume, recently noticed in these pages, in the fact that the latter is a review of the field and a description of the parties and their positions, while the former is in addition a set argument for one particular party and position; and a strong argument it is, acceptable, undoubtedly, to the great majority of Christians.

The Christless Nations. A Series of Addresses on Christless Nations and Kindred Subjects Delivered at Syracuse University on the Graves Foundation, 1895. By Bishop J. M. THOBURN, D.D. 12mo, pp. 214. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.

Bishop Thoburn, who has passed by more than a decade his "missionary apprenticeship" of twenty-five years, has a large acquaintance with missionary matters and has studied missionary problems on the mission field. Hence, when he speaks on these themes the Church is glad to listen to what he has to say. The special topics of the six lectures embodied in the above-named book are as follows: "The Christless Nations," "Missionary Possibilities," "Woman in the Mission Field," "Missionary Polity," "New Testament Missions," and "Wayside Views." While all these addresses have excellent points, and no one of them is dull or dry, the second and fourth bring out most fully the lecturer's well-known characteristics of boundless enthusiasm, unquenchable faith, and courageous criticism. He believes that the resources of the Church, in reference to giving for missions, so far from being exhausted, have hardly been touched as yet. This is, no doubt, true. He also sees very clearly that an avowed and organized constituency of pledged missionary supporters, if they could be secured, would put the whole matter on an entirely different basis. But as to how this loyal, indefatigable band of collectors and donors can be secured the bishop seems to have no more light than the rest of us. We fear it is simply one part of that huge and immensely difficult problem (for which no patent solution has yet been found) of how to turn our vast aggregates of nominal Christians into real Christians. There are sharp reflections in the fourth lecture, on the shortcomings in the average home management of missionary societies in general, as they appear to active workers in the foreign field, especially to the "broad statesmanship and farseeing views" of our India bishop. "One of the most urgent needs of the hour is missionary statesmanship, and nowhere is this need more urgent than in the councils of those who manage the affairs of the great missionary societies of the present day. . . . The missionary world of the present day has crying need of statesmen." Of course, this sort of language can hardly be relished by those who consider themselves depreciated, but, if it be true, we know of no reason why it should not be spoken. Bishop Thoburn holds very positively that the societies and their secretaries are for the missionaries and their work, not *vice versâ;* and we think his contention cannot be overthrown. Bishop Thoburn has no sympathy whatever with the premillennial views of missions of which so much has lately been heard from Drs. Pierson, Simpson, and others. He says: "There can be no doubt that the sad fact confronts us that the evangelization of our world, so far from being nearly complete, has hardly passed its initial stage." Again he writes: "A nation is not reached when one or more men preach in a given place, nor does the mere proclamation of a message of truth constitute the Gospel so long as Christ is not made known to the people." Nor does fanaticism receive any sort

of countenance from the bishop, in spite of the very large place which hope, not to say imagination, plays in his outline of the future. "Faith," he well says, "should not ignore the ordinary laws of human intelligence." Too many very earnest people allow themselves to be seriously misled by neglecting the exercise of sanctified common sense. It is not wise, and it certainly is not prudent, to send out large parties of untried persons, sometimes married and sometimes single, with little or no culture, little or no experience of life, and with supreme devotion as the one towering virtue which is expected to hide a multitude of shortcomings. There is no real devotion whatever in deliberate folly; and some missionary expeditions have been so unwisely planned as to make it seem that wisdom had been thrown to the winds and devotion made a synonym for rashness or blind presumption." These words are none too strong to characterize some of the loudly heralded "faith" missions of modern days, in support of which deluded people are induced to give hundreds and even thousands of dollars that might be much better used in other ways. The salvation of the world will not be greatly furthered by these measures.

Atonement: The Fundamental Fact of Christianity. By NEWMAN HALL, LL.B., D.D. 12mo, pp. 159. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

Forty years ago, just at the beginning of his long pastorate in London, Dr. Hall published a sermon, entitled "Sacrifice, or, Pardon and Purity Through the Cross," in order to refute the views of the Rev. Frederic Maurice. Now, after more than fifty years' experience in preaching the Gospel, the distinguished pastor presents us with this little book, which places before us substantially the same doctrine as the sermon, and tells us that the years have only served to strengthen his conviction concerning its truth. In the first place, he distinguishes between the fact of the atonement and any theory that attempts to explain this fact. The fact of atonement he holds to be incontrovertible; but any theory of atonement is likely to be faulty and incomplete, partaking of the nature of all human knowledge; for the mystery of the atonement is as deep as is the mystery of God himself. "As we may profit by the solar ray without knowing the nature of light, and be nourished by food while ignorant of the process of digestion, so multitudes are saved through the atonement who cannot explain it." Yet, if "the angels desire to look into" these things, should not we who are the subjects of redemption endeavor to discover some of the treasures of wisdom and knowledge contained therein? In theology, as in natural science, "we know in part;" nevertheless, we know, and as far as we have proceeded we feel that we stand upon the solid rock. By the fact of the atonement our author means that through the life and death of Jesus, and his ever-living intercession in heaven, men are saved from the guilt and power of sin and are prepared for the life of glory. He considers this the essential fact of Christianity. "On this as its strong foundation stands the Church of God. We build on sand if we build elsewhere." "This is the central truth, the denial of which throws the whole fabric of spiritual truth into disinte-

gration and collapse. It sustains the functions of the heart to every other verity in the Christian scheme, giving to it life and power. It is the sun in the heavens of revelation, around which other doctrines revolve, and from which they derive their light." In a few brief sentences Dr. Hall gives us the essence of his theory: "Christ perfectly obeyed the law broken by men, and echoed back from humanity God's thoughts respecting sin and holiness. He offered as our representative a perfect obedience, so that the Father, beholding him as the Son of man, and for men, could say, 'I am well pleased.' He could not as divine, nor as a perfect man, offer the atonement of *remorse;* for 'he knew no sin.' But he did suffer on our behalf many of the consequences of sin—physical infirmities, social wrongs, the malignity of the wicked, mental anguish, spiritual trials; and 'became obedient unto death.' Though sinless, he stood in the place of sinners, confessing their guilt; and thus his soul was made an 'offering for sin.'" And again he says: "All explanations of the atonement have partial truth; Christ did die as a martyr; as an example; as a pattern of self-surrender; to show sympathy; as our representative; to reveal the love of God; to satisfy the claims of government. The atonement fulfills all these purposes; but each is not all, and all are defective without this—'He bare our sins in his own body on the tree.'" Our author objects to the "moral influence theory" as incomplete and one-sided. According to this God might have forgiven the sinner as well without the sacrifice of Christ as with it, provided only the sinful disposition be changed. But the work of salvation is twofold; there are two aspects from which we must view it, the human and the divine. The death of Christ not only made it possible for man to repent and exercise faith, but also removed the obstacles on the divine side and enabled God to show his love, to pardon and cleanse the sinner. What these obstacles were we may but faintly discern; but, whatever they were, we believe that they were forever removed by the life and death of Jesus. Dr. Hall rejects the heathenish notion that the sufferings of Christ appeased the wrath of God; he holds also that it is improper to say that Christ was punished for our sins. Punishment implies guilt in him who suffers it and displeasure in him who inflicts it. An innocent person, therefore, cannot be said to be punished for a guilty one. The death of Christ was substituted for our bearing the penalty of sin, answering all the purposes for which punishment might have been inflicted, and with additional advantages which punishment could not have secured. Punishment would have honored the law but destroyed the sinner; atonement does more honor to the law and saves the sinner. "It was not the being crushed by a wheel which was still to go on crushing those who oppose men's wickedness, but it was the arresting of the wheel of retributive justice which otherwise would destroy sinners. His death was his triumph over the world's evil. It was not the triumph of a whirling wheel. He was not conflicting with a physical or social law and paying the penalty of his daring. He was magnifying the moral law and gaining the eternal rewards of obedience unto death. He was not help-

less in the embraces of an infernal machine. His cross was the weapon of his warfare and the means of his victory." Therefore St. Paul glorified in the cross. "Shall we be ashamed of the battlefield where such a victory was won and such immortal benefits obtained? Were Spartans ashamed of Thermopylæ, or Athenians of Marathon, or Scots of Bannockburn, and shall those redeemed from the debasing tyranny of sin be ashamed of the cross? It is the conqueror's chariot, it is the Redeemer's throne. The grave of the Crucified is the gateway of glory; the death on the cross is the anthem of the heavenly host." In support of his doctrine Dr. Hall appeals to the Old Testament sacrifices and to all the prophets of the old covenant; he cites the testimony of John the Baptist and the very words of Jesus; he summons to the witness stand each of the apostles in turn. And finally, to add yet more to the magnificence of this vast array of witnesses, he makes his appeal to the experience of believers in all ages, and shows that this doctrine has been written not merely with pen and ink, but also in the life history of millions of redeemed ones, of whom by far the greater part already chant the song within the veil, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing."

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

My Literary Passions. By W. D. HOWELLS. 12mo, pp. 261. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.50.

"What a dear, delightful, garrulous old egotist he is!" was said by one man to another concerning an elderly person of eminence to whom both had just listened. It may be possible to read Mr. Howells's book through without disgust or weariness, but we wonder whether it was really worth while for him to set down all the trivialities of personal experience which make up so much of this volume, or for the publishers to preserve them in so many pages of print. So experienced and successful a publishing house must know its public, must know what the market will take, and by printing virtually says, "This is what people want and will pay for." If they are right, then we suppose Mr. Howells must have become so important a personage that, like the royal family, his smallest doings are worthy of record in a court bulletin or a duodecimo. But while this book is frankly egotistical it would not be readable or endurable if its interest were limited to Mr. Howells's affairs and experiences; his life and personality are only the strings on which a great many persons, books, and other things are strung together and brought brightly into view. Nevertheless, his volume belongs to light literature, very light. His successes, he is reported to have said, depend upon the verdict of women. It may be that there are women enough who are interested in the small confessions and self-revealings of a popular author to make an appreciative and approving audience for *My Literary Passions.* It may even be that some profit, encouragement, and help may be derived from this minutely detailed narrative of literary effort

and experience by some who are wistfully looking or uncertainly struggling in the direction of literary life. Hints and heartenings flash abroad by the telling of personal experience, whether religious, literary, commercial, social, or whatever else. In this dull, sordid world, if a man has lived intensely or eventfully, if he has really had passions, noble ones, if he has aspired and striven strenuously and achieved something, probably no harm can come of his giving the world glimpses of his quick and quivering experience here and there. And assuredly it is lawful for an author, or anybody else, who has been helped by others, to name them, describe how they did it, and acknowledge his debt. Mr. Howells's grandfather was a Friend who married out of meeting and became a perfervid Methodist. His father failing to get himself converted at the camp meetings by all the prayers that were offered for and around him—that is the way in which our author puts it—was given up as a mysteriously difficult case, got discouraged himself, and drifted off into Swedenborgianism, where he stayed all his days. The father was editor of a country paper in a little southern Ohio town, and had a passion for poetry. Did he make poetry of his religion, and did this make him a Swedenborgian? Some fine, sweet, imaginative, trustful, tender, sentimental natures have been Swedenborgians. From "The Bookcase at Home" of his boyhood on to Tolstoy, Howells mentions, one would think, about all the authors who have fashioned and colored him. He "passed through a paroxysm of Alexander Smith, a poet deeply unknown to the present generation, but then acclaimed immortal by all the critics and put with Shakespeare, who must be a good deal astonished from time to time in his Elysian quiet by the companionship thrust upon him." He says: "I read this now dead and gone immortal with ecstasy unspeakable; I raved of him by day and dreamed of him at night; I got great lengths of his 'Life-Drama' by heart, and I can still repeat several gorgeous passages of it." "The reading world is very susceptible of such lunacies, and all that can be said is that at that period it was time for criticism to go mad over a poet who was neither better nor worse than many another third-rate poet apotheosized before and since." Mr. Howells is of opinion that the two poets of our day "who preeminently voiced their generation were Tennyson and Longfellow; though Browning, like Emerson, is probably now more modern than either;" but he says that Heinrich Heine dominated him longer than any one author that he has known. "I knew the ugliness of Heine's nature, his revengefulness, malice, cruelty, treachery, and uncleanness; and yet he was supremely charming among the poets I have read." Of one of his Russian favorites he says: "When I remembered the deliberate and impertinent moralizing of Thackeray, the clumsy exegesis of George Eliot, the knowing nods and winks of Charles Reade, the stage carpentering and lime lighting of Dickens, even the fine and important analysis of Hawthrone, it was with a joyful astonishment that I realized the great art of Tourguenief." "The Ring and the Book" is one of his literary passions, although he is not a devotee of Browning. Of it he says: "I was nearly home from Italy when that poem appeared, and whether or

not it was because it took me so with the old enchantment of that land I gave my heart promptly to it. Of course, there are terrible *longueurs* in it, and you do get tired of the same story told over and over from the different points of view; and yet it is such a great story, and unfolded with such a magnificent breadth and noble fullness, that one who blames it lightly blames himself heavily. There are certain books of it—Caponsacchi's story, Pompilia's story, and Count Guido's story—that I think ought to rank with the greatest poetry ever written, and that have a direct, dramatic expression of the fact and character which is without rival. There is a noble and lofty pathos in the close of Caponsacchi's statement, an artless and manly break from his self-control throughout, that seems to me the last possible effect in its kind; and Pompilia's story holds all of womanhood in it, the purity, the passion, the tenderness, the helplessness. . . . Yes, as I think it over, 'The Ring and the Book' appears to me one of the few great poems whose splendor can never suffer lasting eclipse, however it may presently have fallen into abeyance. If it had come down to us from some elder time . . . it would be ranked where it belongs, with the great epics." We are not much pleased with Mr. Howells's confession that Zola has been one of his "great literary passions, almost as great as Flaubert, and greater than Daudet or Maupassant," although this prepares us for the last chapter, which informs us that the noblest of all his enthusiasms is his "devotion for the writings of Lyof Tolstoy." Hear him: "Tolstoy gave me heart to hope that the world may yet be made over in the image of Him who died for it, when all Cæsar's things shall be finally rendered unto Cæsar, and men shall come into their own, into the right to labor and the right to enjoy the fruits of their labor, each one master of himself and servant of every other." "As I read his different ethical books, *What to Do*, *My Confession*, and *My Religion*, I recognized their truth with a rapture such as I have known in no other reading, and I rendered them my allegiance, heart and soul. They have it yet, and I believe they will have it while I live." "There was but one life ever lived upon the earth which was without failure, and that was Christ's, whose erring and stumbling follower Tolstoy is. There is no other example, no other ideal, and the chief use of Tolstoy is to enforce this fact in our age, after nineteen centuries of hopeless endeavor to substitute ceremony for character and the creed for the life." "I do not believe that in the whole course of my reading, and not even in the early moment of my literary enthusiasms, I have known such utter satisfaction in any writer, and this supreme joy has come to me at a time of life when new friendships, not to say new passions, are rare and reluctant. . . . I believe if I had not turned the corner of my fiftieth year when I first knew Tolstoy I should not have been able to know him as fully as I did. He has been to me that final consciousness which he speaks of so wisely in his essay on Life. . . . It is with the wish to offer the greatest homage . . . which any man can pay to another that I close this record with the name of Lyof Tolstoy." So the last heard of Mr. Howells is that he is submerged in Tolstoy without hope or desire for resuscitation. One takes some risk in criticising Mr.

Howells's work, for he has said severe things about the critics: "The critic exists because the author first existed. If books failed to appear, the critic must disappear like the poor aphis or the lowly caterpillar in the absence of vegetation." The critic, it seems, is nothing but a parasite, an insect, a worm. But how is it that Mr. Howells says this? Is not he himself a critic? For one great thing he is entitled to praise: his heart and his pages are pure. He has helped and not harmed his "fellow-heirs of this small island, life."

The Elements of Ethics. By JAMES A. HYSLOP, Ph.D., Instructor in Ethics, Columbia College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 12mo, pp. 470. Price, cloth, $2.50.

We revert to this book for the purpose of adding some things not previously printed. Dr. Hyslop considers conscience to be a synthesis of various functions of the mind. This theory of a composite conscience helps the author to an explanation of the possible origin of conscience which he rather suggests than lays down. The beginnings of the *manifestations* of conscience *may* have been due to evolutional or developmental experience. Intellect, desire, will, in conflict with realities of experience, effected their complex action, or alliance in action, at first incidentally, and repeated incidents passed on into habit and heredity consolidated them. This theory is rather implicit, not explicit, in the concluding pages of the chapter on the origin of conscience. If we understand the author, this phenomenal origin is the only origin to be sought. A simpler theory of the nature of conscience would have excluded any development hypothesis, and our author seems unwilling to antagonize at all points the evolutionist theory. He is, however, very emphatic in his statements that ethical theory is not at all modified by evolution doctrine. This favorite dogma of so many ethical tyros and sages is repudiated with more warmth than any other criticised theory. We set down a few of these strong expressions: "There is a widespread feeling . . . that the whole problem of morality is and must be transformed by the conception of development. This thesis we shall absolutely deny." "The basis of morality remains the same whether evolution be true or not." "The whole question of what constitutes morality and its grounds and validity remains absolutely untouched by the method of development." "All the noise made about its [evolution's] revolutionizing the subject is but sound and fury, signifying nothing, and conceals a most astonishing ignorance behind the mask of knowledge." We must not omit to say that in this chapter Dr. Hyslop displays rare powers of analysis and of dialectic, and is sometimes more happy in destroying other men's graven images than in building his own altar. But this last remark must not be misconstrued as criticism; for our author is not here to dogmatize, but rather to clear away the misconception of other men who dogmatize in place of investigating. There is no other extant book on ethical theory which can compete with this one in breadth of illumination. If irrelevant questions are only handled as specimens, not settled once for all, the main questions are thoroughly lit up, and the categorical imperative, the

supremacy of moral obligation, the majesty of duty, survive the analysis and glow with new fire under the brilliant dialectics of the author. We may also include in this review a brief notice of a theory which we cannot unhesitatingly accept. The key to the problem of punishment Dr. Hyslop finds in the doctrine that men are responsible, but not *equally* responsible. Older schools of thinking assumed equality of responsibility, which was an error. Determinists with their denial of freedom—and therefore of all responsibility—fall into a worse error in teaching that punishment should aim at correction; for on their theory no correction is possible. Corrective punishment logically depends on freedom. The unequal responsibility results from the causes—heredity and education—pleaded for by determinists; but these causes do not destroy freedom and responsibility. This doctrine of inequality is attractive in its theoretical form, and it loses nothing of this charm for the human reader in the author's handling of it. But as a practical matter, with a case to be decided by a court, it suggests insuperable objections. Of course these may be overcome by a legal settlement of the region of doubt—by declaring all criminals imperfectly responsible, and therefore to be subjected to indefinite periods of correction. There might be less hesitation in accepting this doctrine, if experience did not seem to deny success to our methods of correction. Dr. Hyslop has a neat way of accepting determinist conclusions from the premises of freedom. We are disposed to suggest, in reply to his theory of inequality, that the causes alleged *may break down all freedom* as probably as they may impair it. Or, to employ a simple figure, one man may have less light than another and yet may have enough. He may be more liable to temptation and yet have the power to resist temptation. And we see not why corrective punishment may not consist with complete responsibility. Just why heredity and environment should seem merely to weaken freedom is not at all clear anywhere except at the end of Dr. Hyslop's enthymemes. Plain old judicial language such as, "Did the prisoner know he was doing wrong, and had he the power not to do wrong?" may be answered affirmatively in any case of a culprit not insane. If we refine upon the matter in the interest of humanitarianism, we ought not to play fast and loose with responsibility. If it is impaired it may be destroyed; if it is destroyed a new kind of asylums should take the place of our prisons. In fine, it seems to us that Dr. Hyslop's vindication of freedom is of small use in the matter of penology. Nor are we quite sure that he has not in this chapter surrendered what he proved in the preceding one—theoretical freedom. We have to go back a long way in our reading to recall a writer so richly gifted in dialectic as our author is. Like the schoolmen, he can prove anything he likes; and he can do it more neatly and conclusively than any sophist of them all. We greatly admire this dialectical ability as it is employed in this book. If we wanted any theory picked to pieces and reduced to impalpableness, we should, if possible, seek the services of Dr. Hyslop. The misfortune remains, however, in a suspicion that our author might as easily have reached opposite conclusions in some cases. And we should

hesitate to "indorse for" some theories of this book, because the premises may yield, in his future handling of them, conclusions of which we have not so much as a scent of suspicion. The book is stiff but delightful reading, and cannot fail to prove stimulating to the man who enjoys it. But we are wary when its conclusions are modestly set down, especially when they land us in compromises such as lurk in unequal freedom.

The Complete Poetic and Dramatic Works of Robert Browning. Cambridge Edition. Crown 8vo, pp. 1063. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, gilt top, $3.

An unsurpassed triumph in bookmaking; the apparently impossible has been done. In some editions the works of Browning fill twenty volumes; here we have them all in one well-made and manageable volume, which can be held easily in the hand. In addition to the poems and dramas it includes a biographical sketch of Browning, his essay on Shelley, explanatory notes, an index of titles, and another of first lines. With this one volume, and George Willis Cooke's *Guidebook to Browning*, published by the same house, the student is completely equipped for the study of the most profound and powerful of modern poets; though if one chooses he may add the authorized life of the poet by Mrs. Orr, issued also by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. We say again, this volume is every way a marvel of bookmaking. In one tenth the compass, for one tenth the price, it gives us the whole of Browning in handsome, durable, and portable form. It is a great service to the public and a great achievement by the firm who publish it. We add here a few suggestions for the study of Browning. Much depends on how that study is begun. If one begins with "Paracelsus," or "Sordello," or "Fifine at the Fair" he will not be likely to pursue his study far. But let a *minister* begin with "Saul," and go on with "Rabbi Ben Ezra," and "A Death in the Desert," and "An Epistle, containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician," and "Caliban upon Setebos; or, Natural Theology in the Island," and "Prospice," and "The Grammarian's Funeral," and "La Saisiaz," and "Christmas Eve," and "Easter Day." And, speaking generally, let anybody begin with "Evelyn Hope," and "Hervé Riel," and "The Flight of the Duchess," and "One Word More," and "By the Fireside;" and then go on with "The Lost Leader," and "The Patriot," and "Instans Tyrannus," and "Echetlos," and "Halbert and Hob," and "Abt Vogler," and "Clive," and "Waring," and "Muléykeh." After this read anywhere in "Dramatic Lyrics," or "Dramatic Romances," or "Men and Women," or "Dramatis Personæ." Later, try "Pippa Passes," and "Balaustion's Adventure," and "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon," and "Colombe's Birthday," and "Aristophanes' Apology," and "The Agamemnon of Æschylus." At last read that mighty work, "The Ring and the Book," or anything else you please. And, finding out what interests you most, go back to it and read it, study it, again and again. Persevere. Your intellectual muscles will expand. Your spiritual coasts will be enlarged. Your joy in God and in his world will be increased.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850. By JAMES FORD RHODES. Vol. iii, 1860-1862. 8vo, pp. 559. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

Bernardo de Brito, when he began his *Monarchia Lusitana*, or "History of the Portuguese Monarchy," started, on what is obviously the only thorough and philosophic system of writing history, with the very beginning of things—the creation of the world which was to be the scene of his drama. Now, it is certain that without the creation there could have been no history of Portugal. It is equally true that any history supposes the existence of some previous history, to understand which is necessary in interpreting with absolute fidelity the later period; and there can be no doubt that the development of Portuguese institutions and national life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had a vital, if somewhat remote, connection with events in patriarchal and pagan ages. But it detracts something from the value of De Brito's work as an adequate commentary on Portuguese affairs that his life did not prove long enough to enable him to bring it down to a period when there existed any Portuguese monarchy at all. Mr. Rhodes is wiser from a practical standpoint, if not so logical. With the lesson of Bancroft's example before him, he begins at once with the period which he especially desires to portray. Nor was it necessary for him to trace the progress of our government during the earlier half of the century. This has already been done, in whole or in part, by such competent scholars as Schouler, Adams, and MacMaster. The period he covers is, indeed, "within the memory of men still living"—a condition not often favorable to a calm and unprejudiced narrative. Yet probably in no country has there ever been a period, so embittered with strife, of which it was possible at the distance of a single generation to formulate judgments more fair and dispassionate, more sober and historic. The great actors in the events of a third of a century ago have left the stage. The old bone of contention has been removed, sectional hatred has largely subsided, party allegiance has been greatly weakened. There has been since the war a vast expansion of wealth and population. Great commonwealths not existing then now constitute factors in our political affairs. New conditions confront us, new problems are demanding solution. And so Mr. Rhodes can write this able volume and lay before us a broad and mainly impartial view of those modern times that tried men's souls. The first chapter, constituting Chapter XII of the entire work, is a review of material, economic, and social conditions during the years included in the two preceding volumes. He carries us back to a time when the quickest transatlantic voyage lasted ten days, when our newspapers received no dispatches from Europe except by mail, when Mr. Emerson, on one of his lecturing tours in 1851, arrived at Pittsburg "after a very tedious and disagreeable journey from Philadelphia, by railway and canal, with little food and less sleep, two nights being spent on the railcars, and the third on the floor of a canal boat." The author does not hesitate, on occasion, to discard some of the traditional stateliness of history,

without, in our opinion, sacrificing much real dignity thereby. Perhaps the means we enjoy for greater rapidity and convenience in locomotion has exerted an unconscious influence on his style. We note his use not seldom of the first person singular. He also ventures upon some discussions not usually included within the functions of historical composition in its narrower sense, though helpful to an understanding of causes underlying certain events and conditions. In this same first chapter he devotes several pages to a concise exposition of the principles of free trade. He says, for instance: "As the tendency of protective legislation is to make manufacturers look to a paternal government for help, when they ought to rely on their own efforts, so also does it lead statesmen to attribute to their legislation results due mainly to other causes." And he cites the "magnificent development of the iron industry" as caused, not by legislation, but by "the cheapening of pig iron by improvements in the construction of the blast furnace, by the use of better fuel and less of the better fuel per ton of metal, by a study of effects brought about by a mechanical mixture of different ores, and by the introduction of chemical analysis in every stage of operation; by the practical application of the Bessemer process and the substitution of steel for iron; and by economy of work and the use of improved machinery in every department of manufacture." But in what measure protective legislation afforded an opportunity for the development and practical application of these factors in successful iron manufacture, in the face of bitter competition and cheaper production in foreign lands, is another question. The panic of 1857 is attributed to "the expansion of credit, induced by the rapid building of new railroads and by the new supply of gold from California." "Except in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, there was little or no bribery in the legislatures of the States." "Municipal rottenness already existed in New York, and perhaps in some other eastern cities. . . . The condition of New York may have been as bad as it is to-day; but the general complaint, now heard in almost every city having a population of more than two hundred thousand, of bribery, jobbing, and misused funds, is not a feature of the decade of 1850–60. . . . Outside of three or four of the largest eastern cities the direct use of money to buy voters was substantially unknown." The following is hygienically valuable, if not historically important: "Those who argue that Americans labor too much do not give a proper direction to their well-meant counsel. Let the doctrine of more rational and better prepared food, of more active exercise in the open air, be preached. . . . What is called overwork is frequently but under-oxygenation." No one in those times "walked when he could ride." "Athletics were unknown." "The use of the frying pan in the West and South pointed well the quaint remark that 'God sends meat and the devil sends cooks.'" "The hearty English salutation of 'Good morning' had given way to an inquiry about one's health, . . . requiring an answer about one's physical feelings and condition." Chapter XIII deals with affairs in South Carolina, from Lincoln's election to the dispatch of the *Star of the West* to the relief of Fort Sumter. "If anyone is inclined to

doubt that there is other than a single cause for secession and the war that ensued, if he feel himself almost persuaded by the earnest and pathetic statements of Southern writers since the war, who naturally have sought to place the four years' devotion and heroism of the South on a higher basis than that of a mighty effort to conserve an institution condemned alike by Christianity and by ethics, let him read the speeches and newspaper articles of the early days of the secession movement in South Carolina. It cannot be denied that the South Carolinians looked the matter squarely in the face and that sincerity characterized their utterances." When "the palmetto and lone star flag was stretched across the street from an upper window of the Charleston *Mercury* office" it was hailed "with cheers and expressions of passionate attachment;" but "there was anxiety for the future, and on the whole the feeling was stern and deep, as befitted an Anglo-Saxon community on the eve of revolution." Of Buchanan Mr. Rhodes says: "It was a pregnant opportunity for an executive gifted with singleness of purpose, a dauntless temper of mind, and a wisdom to guide his valor to act in safety. . . . Vacillating and obstinate by turns, he floundered about in a sea of perplexity, throwing away chance after chance, and, though not wanting in good intentions and sincere patriotism, he laid himself open to the undisguised contempt of all sections and all parties." Yet "from an oft-repeated Northern charge that he was actuated by treachery to his own section he has been fully absolved." "Of all our Presidents, with perhaps a single exception, Buchanan made the most miserable failure." "That Buchanan deserves historical censure for not having pursued the Jacksonian policy seems to me beyond question." From the remainder of the book our space allows but one or two brief quotations. Of the bombardment of Sumter he says: "In the gray of the morning, when the roar of the cannon was heard, the city poured out its people. They thronged to the wharves and the Battery. On no gala occasion had the reporter seen so many ladies on this favorite promenade as now turned out to witness the opening scene of the great tragedy of the civil war." We could extend our quotations almost indefinitely, but must close with the author's estimate of McClellan: "Personally courageous himself, he had great fear for his army, and was full of apprehension that his movements would not be attended with success." "Could the Northern people have known him as well as we now do, through the publication of his private correspondence, they would have been amazed and their confidence shaken. Rapid advancement and hero worship had swollen him up with conceit." He magnified "Johnston's force of 41,000 into one of 150,000." "Had Johnston been in McClellan's place, we may be reasonably certain that a battle in Virginia perhaps as momentous in its results as Gettysburg would have been fought before Christmas Day of 1861. . . . But McClellan dallied with opportunity, seeing phantoms in the shape of an immense army before him and powerful enemies behind him." President Lincoln remarked, in January, 1862, "If General McClellan does not want to use the army I would like to borrow it, provided I could see how it could be made to do something." In February

"McClellan had an army three times as large as Johnston's." "Had McClellan advanced February 22 a cheap victory awaited him." "It is certain that if the Grant of Donelson had been in command he would have fought Johnston's army and beaten it." At the close of the volume a single page describes the passage of Forts St. Philip and Jackson and the capture of New Orleans in April, 1862. This immediately follows a ten-page discussion of Shiloh. Does the discrepancy imply that the relative importance of the two events is in the same proportion? But we must stop. We commend the work cordially. It is the best, the only history, in the true sense, of the secession and rebellion period. It is able, scholarly, and essentially just, and the author's statements are fortified by ample references to authorities. A welcome feature is the insertion of maps. We especially mention the beautiful two-page colored map of the battlefield of Bull Run. As usual, the imprint of the publishers on the title-page is a guarantee of faithfulness in typographical matters.

History of Religion. A Sketch of Primitive Religious Beliefs and Practices, and of the Origin and Character of the Great Systems. By ALLAN MENZIES, D.D., Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of St. Andrews. 12mo, pp. 438. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.50.

To give a general idea of comparative religion is the purpose of this book. It deals with the principal religions of mankind with a desire to render a service both to Christian faith and to the science of religion. It is a comprehensive and concise review of its great subject, suitable for a text-book or a guide to personal study. It is a calm, clear presentation of the history of human beliefs, in cool scientific temper, without one poetic touch or imaginative illumination or throb of feeling; giving the history of religion as a botanist might describe the evolution of plant life. It has no more gushing of sentiment than is customary in a chemical laboratory; no more display of emotion than attends the field practice of a class in surveying. Yet all the facts are handled with sober respect and a due sense of their sacred significance. Nowhere is there a trace of sneer or scorn at any cherished reverence of any human soul, however dark and crude and ignorant. The austerity of science never seems so grim as when it deals with the things most dear to the heart. Yet the study of practical anatomy is no disrespect to the body or the life of man. The author says at the beginning of his chapter on Christianity: "A view of our own religion, written not from the standpoint of the faith and love we feel toward it, but of scientific accuracy, must appear to many Christians to be cold and meager." This feeling we ourselves have had in reading Dr. Menzies's book; but then we have also marveled many times at the extraordinary composure of the style of the four exangelists, especially at the calmness of the New Testament narratives which tell of the crisis of the ages, the supreme tragedy of history in the miraculous life, the trial, the death, the resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ. The writing there is amazingly unemotional. The exclamations and expletives of feeling are absent. The bare concise history is given without rage or heat or tears or astonishment or wailing on the writer's part, and

left to produce its own effect without note or comment; not one hysterical expression, not so much as a sob, but a statuesque calmness, a placidity almost scientific in the narrator. This is well, because, for one thing, the calm, cool style of the evangelists forbids that anyone should say that these narratives were written by excited men with heated imaginations, carried away by their feelings, the clearness of their intellectual perceptions dimmed by emotional mists. Professor Menzies defines religion as "the worship of unseen powers from a sense of need." He says that religion and civilization advance together. His book is divided into five parts. The first treats of the religion of the early world, its worship, beliefs, and practices; the second, of the isolated national religions of Babylon and Assyria, of China, and of ancient Egypt; the third, of the Semitic group, including the Canaanites and Phœnicians, Israel and Islam; the fourth, the Aryan groups, the religions of the Teutons, the Greeks, and the Romans, the religions of India and Persia; while part fifth has for its title "Universal Religion," and deals with Christianity. A good index closes the book. The author finds psychological necessity to be the primary basis of religion in the human mind. We would judge every book of this kind by the spirit it manifests toward Christianity and the place it gives it in the religious history of our race; and this most critical question is decided favorably when we find the author's historic research, which marches in measured step with scientific steadiness, bringing all things to the conclusion that Christianity is the supreme, universal, and ultimate religion. He says: "We have indicated the chief points which in a scientific comparison of Christianity with other religions appear to constitute its distinctive character; and we have sought to make our statement such as the reasonable adherents of other religions will feel to be warranted. The points are these: Christianity is a religion of freedom, it is a system of inner inspiration more than of external law or system, it is embodied in the living person of its Founder, in which alone it can be truly seen; and the Founder is one who is living himself in the relation to God to which he calls men to come, and feels himself called and sent to be the Saviour of men." We quote disconnectedly a few statements from the closing parts of the volume: "It was the task of the apostle Paul to work out the theory of the universalism of Christianity." "Paul was the first great theologian of the Church." Any new truth or statement thereof, as, for example, Christianity, "inevitably seeks to establish itself as scientifically true, and with the aid of the ruling philosophical tendency of the day clothes itself in a view of the universe and in a creed." "In each of the countries to which it came Christianity adopted what it could of the religion formerly existing there." "So great is the variety of the religions of Europe, not to mention that of the negroes or the Shakers in America, that many have doubted whether they ought all to be considered as branches of one faith, or whether they would not more fitly be regarded as so many national religions which have all alike connected themselves with Christianity." Christianity "is destined to become the faith of all mankind." It "has a message to which men become always

more willing to respond as they rise in the scale of civilization." "In every land where Christianity prevails an influence connected with religion is at work, which makes for the emancipation and elevation of the human person and for the awakening of the manifold energies of human nature." This is "the immediate and native tendency of the religion of Jesus; it opens the prison doors to them that are bound; it communicates by its inner encouragement an energy which makes the infirm forget their weaknesses; it fills the heart with hope and opens up new views of what man can do and can become. It is this which makes it the one truly universal religion." "With growing experience the world becomes more assured that the simplest and broadest religion ever preached upon this earth is also the best and the truest, and that in maintaining Christianity as at first preached, and applying it in every needed direction, lies the hope of the future of mankind."

MISCELLANEOUS.

Christ and His Friends. A Series of Revival Sermons. By Rev. LOUIS ALBERT BANKS, D.D., Pastor Hanson Place Methodist Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., Author of *The People's Christ*, etc. 12mo, pp. 332. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Revival sermons, like those included in this volume, have their peculiar characteristics and are to be measured by their own standards. Some of their distinctive features should be large emphasis of the sinfulness of sin, earnest portrayal of the office work of Christ as a Redeemer, constant directness of appeal, and warm exhortation to immediate action. All of these characteristics, with others we have not mentioned, are found in the discourses of Dr. Banks now under consideration. They were delivered in a series of revival meetings held in his present pastorate during the last winter, and on their face have all the evidences of adaptability to the purpose for which they were designed. Not their least apparent merit, as the discourses now appear in print, is the speaker's employment of frequent and fervid illustrations to reach the hearts of his listeners. We can only emphasize his wish that in their present publication these discourses "may bring comfort and inspiration to the friends of Christ wherever they may go." Dr. Banks is a fertile and fluent preacher, from whose study volumes of living sermons come in swift succession.

The Imperfect Angel, and Other Sermons. By THOMAS G. SELBY. Crown 8vo, pp. 231. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

The Lesson of a Dilemma, and Other Sermons. By THOMAS G. SELBY. Crown 8vo, pp. 400. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Volumes of sermons come from the English and American press in a flood, much of which is "stale, flat, and unprofitable," or flimsy and frothy. Not of that description are the volumes here noticed. A competent judge and critic says that Selby is a preacher, a philosopher, and a poet. The author of these sermons is a gifted English Wesleyan of high repute. A strong desire to attract attention to them prompts this notice.

Dr. Marcus Dods spoke justly and discreetly when he said: "Who Mr. Selby is we do not know, but if he has been preaching such sermons as these for many years he is clearly guilty of hiding a very brilliant light under a bushel. No sermons we have recently met with strike us as being so fresh in thought, and certainly none are so felicitous in illustration. He is never vague, never sentimental, never effusive, but from end to end his sermons are alive with imagination and sense." They are pertinent and powerful for the life of to-day.

The Baptism with the Holy Spirit. By R. A. TORREY, Author of *How to Bring Men to Christ*, etc. 12mo, pp. 67. New York: F. H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

In this little handbook the author's personal baptism with the Spirit is the basis of his dogmatic teaching. Besides other kindred matters he writes of the nature of the baptism, its necessity and possibility, and the method of obtaining it. That the baptism is for service rather than for cleansing is a striking position which he takes. We briefly quote: "There is a line of teaching, put forward by a very earnest but mistaken body of people, that has brought the whole doctrine of the baptism with the Holy Spirit into disrepute. . . . Not a line of Scripture can be adduced to show that the baptism with the Holy Spirit is the eradication of the sinful nature. . . . The baptism with the Holy Spirit is not for the purpose of cleansing from sin, but for the purpose of empowering for service." Such a sentiment will be voted nothing short of heresy, as judged by the standards which generally obtain. Yet there is much in this little treatise which is true, sweet, and winsome.

The Parliamentarian; or, Parliamentary Law Condensed. By Rev. T. B. NEELY, D.D., LL.D., Author of *Young Workers in the Church*, etc. 16mo, pp. 90. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 40 cents.

This compilation carries its abundant credentials. Dr. Neely has long been recognized as a master in the department of parliamentary law. To say that the present manual is written with his usual clearness and force is to give it all necessary recommendation. Young people in their various literary organizations and "members of ordinary societies" will find it a reliable guide; and for their use it has been especially prepared by the author.

History of the Second International Conference of the Epworth Leagues. 8vo, pp. 182. Chattanooga, Tenn.: The Times Printing Co. Price, paper, 50 cents.

The Epworth Leagues of the Canadian Methodist Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, met in a great convention at Chattanooga, Tenn., on the 26th, 27th, and 28th of last June. This handsome pamphlet contains a full account of all the exercises, with reports of all sermons and addresses which were delivered. Our own Church reports a league membership of over one million, twenty-five hundred new chapters having been organized last year. It is a marvelous movement now and promises greater things for the Church of to-morrow.

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